A HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

THE MEDIÆVAL UNIVERSITY

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BY
AUTHORITY

A HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

HALLS

1 S. MARY MAGDALEN
2 OXENFORD INN
3 SPARROW
4 WHITE (UNDER THE WALL)
5 LAWRENCE
6 PLUMMER
7 BLACK
8 HART
9 HAWK
10 WHITE (IN CHEYNEY LANE)
11 PETER
12 CAT
13 PERRY
14 S. MILDRED
15 SHIELD
16 S. THOMAS
17 LITTLE UNIVERSITY
18 LITTLE BLACK
20 S. GEORGE'S (IN THE CASTLE)
21 TRILLOK'S INN (NEW INN HALL)
22 HAMPTON
23 BRASENOSE
24 STAPLE
25 COVENTRY OR MERTON
26 SEKYLL
27 LITTLE S. MARY'S ENTRY
28 SALYSURRY OR SALISBURY
29 BROADGATES (IN ALL SAINTS)
30 HABERDASH
31 LITTLE S. EDMUND
32 GLASSEN (AULA VITREA)
33 GODSTOW
34 INGE OR DROWDA
35 GREAT S. EDMUND
36 WIGHT OR WHITE (NR EAST GATE) (? SAME AS WILBY HALL)
37 S. HUGHS
38 TACKLEY'S INN
39 WOODCOCK
40 COB OR LION
41 S. GEORGE (IN S MARY'S PAR.)
42 DEEP
43 BOSTAR
44 SARACEN'S HEAD
45 PENCRIDGE
47 S. MARY
48 S. CUTHBERT'S
49 BEDELL
50 HINKSEY
53 SOLLER
54 S. ANDREW
55 HARE
57 S. FRIDESWYDE'S
58 PAUL'S
59 LITTLE BEDELL
60 BULL (AULA TAURINA)
62 S. EDWARD'S
63 EAGLE OR HIRON (AULA AQUILINA)
64 VINE
65 LITTLE S. EDWARD'S
66 PECKWATER'S INN
67 S. MARTIN'S
68 S. JOHN'S
69 BEAM (AULA TRABINA)
70 PORTIONISTS (OR LITTLE MERTON)
71 COLCILL
72 ARISTOTLE'S
73 NIGHTINGALE
74 GROVE
75 BURNELL'S INN (LATER, LONDON COLL)
76 GREEK
78 CORNER
79 URBAN
80 CHRISTOPHER
81 NUN
82 S. ALBAN'S
83 ADULSTAN OR DUNSTAN
84 BEEF (AULA BOVINA)
85 S. JAMES'
86 S. MICHAEL'S
87 S. JOHN'S
88 BROADGATES (IN S ALDATE'S)
89 NUN OR LEADENPORCH
90 NEVILL'S INN
91 BEKE'S INN

A HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

BY

CHARLES EDWARD MALLET

VOLUME I

THE MEDIÆVAL UNIVERSITY
AND THE COLLEGES FOUNDED IN THE MIDDLE AGES

WITH 24 PLANS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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TO THE MASTER AND FELLOWS

OF BALLIOL COLLEGE

AN OLD AND FAMOUS HOUSE OF LEARNING

IN THE UNIVERSITY

WHOSE TIME-HONOURED STORY IS HERE TRACED

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

BY A WRITER

DEEPLY CONSCIOUS OF HIS DEBT TO BOTH

PREFACE

IN these two volumes I have endeavoured to write the history of the University of Oxford as far as the accession of King William III. I hope in a third and final volume to deal with the Oxford of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and to bring the story down to the days of the Great War. No man can enter on so large an undertaking without serious misgivings. I could not have attempted it without encouragement and assistance from historical scholars in Oxford and elsewhere. That there is room for a history of the University will hardly be questioned. The subject seems to have been but little studied until comparatively recent years. The volume published by Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte in 1886 was the first critical history to appear, the first indeed of any consequence since Anthony Wood's memorable work. But it closes with the death of Wolsey, and I understand that it is not the author's intention to continue it. Dean Rashdall's great work on the Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, published in 1895, contains an account of Mediæval Oxford, of its origin, its Schools and its constitutional development, which is essential to every student of the subject. But Dr. Rashdall's work, singularly complete within its own limits, does not aim at covering more than a portion of the ground. I may perhaps say that, without the late Dean's kindly assurance that there was still in his view a space to fill, I should not have ventured on this task at all: and it is a matter of deep regret to me that his death, which occurred while these volumes were passing through the press, has deprived me of the pleasure of submitting them to him. My debt both to Dr. Rashdall and to Sir H. Maxwell Lyte is as obvious as its acknowledgment is sincere.

Apart from these two important histories there has accumulated during the last forty years a great deal of valuable material, among the publications of the Oxford Historical Society and elsewhere, which the average reader perhaps has done little to explore. On some points, indeed, and at some periods the wealth of materials available both in print and in manuscript is embarrassingly large. History, says a well-known dictum, cannot be written from manuscripts. It certainly cannot be written without them. But there is truth in the view that the

work of deciphering and editing manuscripts is a special department of historical study, a preliminary process of the first importance before the writing of history can begin. I have been able, with the help given me at Oxford, to draw freely on manuscript sources in the University Archives, the Bodleian and the Colleges, which are referred to in my notes. I have used extracts from the University Registers, which are not, I think, familiar, and other manuscript materials at Lambeth Palace, at the Record Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere. Under the guidance of Mr. Strickland Gibson of the Bodleian Library, whose long-delayed work on the Ancient Statutes of the University is on the point of publication, I have gone rather closely into the history of the early Statutes, and on some points, like the important Lambeth manuscript containing the Statutes of Cardinal Pole, I have had access to unprinted materials that are little known. But the printed matter now available is rich and varied. The example of editing University Registers set by Mr. Anstey in his *Munimenta Academica* (1868) has been followed by well-known scholars since. The work of Mr. Boase and Dr. Andrew Clark on the University Registers, Dr. Clark's untiring labours on the life and writings of Anthony Wood, the studies of Mr. James Parker and other volumes contributed to the Oxford Historical Society by Mr. Falconer Madan, Mr. A. G. Little and a number of distinguished writers, and above all the fine work done for many years by Mr. H. E. Salter, are evidence of the progress made in Oxford historical research. To Mr. Salter's full and exact knowledge, and to his great kindness in sharing it with others, I owe again and again a very special debt. But I owe even more to the generous assistance given me by Mr. Gibson, who for some years has not only furnished me with notes and transcripts, but has put at my disposal his proofs, his scholarship and his invaluable advice. These men and others like them are the real historians of Oxford, and I should be glad to think my book might touch the level which their work has reached.

On the history of the Oxford Colleges a great deal of interesting matter has been made available in recent years. Important volumes upon Merton, Corpus and Pembroke have been written by Mr. Brodrick, Dr. Fowler and Mr. Macleane. The volume on *The Colleges of Oxford*, edited by Dr. Clark in 1892, has been followed by a series of small College histories, containing often admirable work. The Brasenose College Quatercentenary Monographs are a fine example of College patriotism. Mr. Salter has edited not only the Oxford Deeds of Balliol, but more lately the first part of the Merton Register. And Dr. Magrath has published a detailed history of the College whose documents he knows so thoroughly and whose interests he has served so long. On all

these volumes I have ventured to draw freely for my short sketches of College history, and I hope that my indebtedness to their authors will be found to be fully acknowledged in my notes. To the writers of some of them, like the present Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Magrath, Dr. Blakiston, Professor Grant Robertson, Mr. H. A. Wilson, Mr. W. Carr, I am under special obligations for answering questions upon points of doubt. I have been allowed to supplement these printed materials by consulting College records : in only one case was permission refused. And, though in many cases the printed materials are now ample—in the case of Queen's College, for instance, it seemed to me superfluous to go beyond them—and though it would be vain to try in the space at my disposal to re-write from the beginning College histories on which great care and labour have been spent, it is often valuable and sometimes necessary to study the original documents, Statutes and foundation charters, to make excerpts from the Registers, and to examine the accounts and other manuscripts in College archives. If the College Registers, except at Merton, are a little disappointing, the College account-books not seldom furnish delightful details. I have to thank almost every College Head and many College Bursars, Librarians and officials for giving me facilities to see them, and for responding with unfailing kindness to the troublesome inquiries made. May one who owes much to the courtesy of Oxford scholars express the hope that means may yet be found of giving College documents better protection in certain cases where it is still needed, of indexing and cataloguing their contents more fully, and of rendering them perhaps more easily accessible to students who are permitted to consult them ?

The problem of how best to deal with College history in a work of this kind is not easy. To omit it with all its life and colour is impossible. It is equally impossible within my limits to give it in detail. But in these two volumes I have aimed at giving a careful account of the foundation of each College, of its Statutes and its buildings, and a sketch of its story down to 1688. To do this, I have had to choose one of two courses, neither of which is free from objection—either to break up the history of each College into separate periods and to return to it from time to time, or else to follow it up as it arises, to make it for the purposes of these volumes continuous, and thus to anticipate the general history. After trying both courses, I am satisfied that the better one is to make the sketch of each College complete so far as may be in itself, even although this involves, in the case of the earlier Colleges especially, anticipating the story of the University by many years. With the history of the Halls as a whole I have not attempted to deal fully. But

the few which survived the sixteenth century have been treated in some little detail. To the Monastic Colleges, which have vanished, I have given only a small space. But on both these points the materials available are generally slight.

Among many subjects I have had to choose the most important. The constitutional development of the University is becoming daily clearer in the hands of students like Mr. Gibson. The biographical material is abundant. Wood's *Athenæ*, even allowing for criticism, is still a storehouse. The *Dictionary of National Biography*, if not immune from error, is invaluable for reference. Mr. J. Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* is a great achievement. Memoirs are innumerable: and I have drawn on all such sources freely. With certain representative figures I have dealt more or less fully. Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, Wycliffe in the early days, Colet and Wolsey and the men of the Renaissance later, call for special notice. So do sixteenth and seventeenth century Chancellors like Leicester and Archbishop Laud, and Oxford types like Rainolds, Prideaux, Conant, Sheldon, Fell. But to many men of note I have been compelled to give short measure; and others who deserve notice I may have left unnamed. To indicate the chief studies of Oxford from the Middle Ages onwards without going into wearisome detail is not altogether easy. Mr. Mullinger's history of Cambridge University is distinguished by its full treatment of this subject. My limits are narrower. Indeed, to keep a sense of proportion has been not the least difficult part of my task. Without plunging too deeply into scholastic problems I have tried to give some account of the methods of one or two of the most famous Schoolmen, and in this attempt I have had valuable help from Mr. A. G. Little and Mr. C. R. S. Harris. And I have said, I hope, enough to show the growth of the classical and philosophical tradition, the ascendency of logic and of Aristotle, the survival of Greek science, Roman language, Roman law, and the processes by which the Schoolmen, the men of the Renaissance, and the leaders of the Churches stamped their influence upon Oxford education and for so long held its development in check.

For all these subjects many references have been needed, though I have limited notes and appendices as far as I could. When quoting phrases from Wood and others, which are well known or have been used elsewhere, or when referring to incidents the authorities for which have been completely given by earlier writers, I have reduced my references to a minimum. In quoting Wood's works I have followed Dr. Clark in using the term *Annals* for Gutch's edition of the History and Antiquities of the University, *Colleges* for the History of the Colleges, and *City* for the Survey of the Antiquities of the City. I have used, of course,

Dr. Clark's editions of Wood's *City* and of Wood's *Life*, and generally Bliss' edition of the *Athenæ*. To save space, I have often omitted references to writers like Ayliffe, Chalmers and Ingram, whose work has been to some extent displaced, and I have not thought it necessary to repeat the useful list of authorities on Oxford history given by Dr. Rashdall at the beginning of his twelfth chapter. To Wood and Twyne, to the still older Cambridge antiquary, Robert Hare, who found time to collect two valuable volumes of *Privilegia* and *Memorabilia* for Oxford, to later antiquarians like William Smith of University College, and to many another collector, annalist and writer both before and since, many references are given in my notes. One or two recent volumes—by Mr. Salter on the Merton College Register, by Mr. Richards on the Provosts and Fellows of Oriel, and by Mr. Gunther on early Oxford Science—appeared after my first volume was written. But I have where possible inserted references to them: Mr. Salter's I was allowed to read in proof. As regards spellings of names, I have chosen those which seemed to me on the whole the best warranted and the most convenient. As regards illustrations, I have given one or two in each case to explain the College buildings. Loggan's admirable drawings coincide with the end of the period treated here. The map which forms the frontispiece to Volume I has been drawn by Mr. Raymond Morgan under the supervision of Mr. Salter. It is founded on the map made by Mr. Hurst for Volume II of Dr. Clark's edition of Wood's *City*, with some corrections and with the grounds belonging to the Halls more clearly shown. The list of Halls is the list given by Dr. Clark in the preface to that volume. But it must not be assumed that the ninety-one Halls marked were all in existence in 1440, the approximate date given to the map. I have to thank the Oxford Historical Society, and the officials of the Bodleian Library, of the Clarendon Press and of the British Museum for permission to reproduce the maps and drawings given. And in one case, for the use of Hovenden's *Typus Collegii*, I have to thank the Warden and Fellows of All Souls.

I have acknowledged in my notes my great indebtedness to many distinguished Oxford scholars who have helped me, especially in connection with College history. Perhaps I might mention Dr. Watson of Christ Church, Mr. W. H. Stevenson of St. John's, Mr. P. S. Allen of Merton, and Dr. Hazell of Jesus here. But I should like to add acknowledgments to others—though to one old friend, the late Master of Balliol, whose generous encouragement never failed his pupils, it is vain to offer such a tribute now. I wish my acknowledgments to the Master of University to be paid both to Dr. Macan and to Sir Michael Sadler. I owe

special thanks to the Keeper of the Archives for his courteous assistance and his wise advice, to the officials of the Bodleian Library—Mr. Madan, Dr. Craster and Mr. Wheeler I have mentioned elsewhere—to the Archbishop's Librarian, Mr. Claude Jenkins, at Lambeth Palace, to the Registrary of the University and the Librarian of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, in which I should like to include their Assistants, and to the Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin. I am under obligations, sometimes more than formal, to the officials of the British Museum Library, of the Record Office, and of the Society of Antiquaries. I owe thanks for help and information kindly given me to the Bishop of Worcester, the Dean of Bristol, the Sub-Dean of Lincoln, the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, the Vicar of Ilminster and the Vicar of Great Tew; to Sir Charles Oman and Professor Tout; to Dr. B. W. Henderson, Mr. G. C. Richards, Mr. R. T. Gunther; to Sir Arthur Evans, Sir Thomas Jackson, Mr. Edmund New; to Dr. Charles Singer and Dr. Arnold Chaplin; to Mr. G. P. Gooch; to Sir J. A. R. Marriott, to Mr. Charles Llewelyn Davies, to Mr. C. H. Wilkinson of Worcester College, to Dr. Paget Toynbee, and not least to Mrs. R. L. Poole. And I would take this opportunity of thanking, for services rendered in this connection and for many older kindnesses as well, Dr. F. S. Boas, Professor Jack of Aberdeen, Sir Henry Newbolt and Sir Ludovic Grant.

C. E. MALLET.

August, 1924.

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The date 1566 may be taken as the date of all Bereblock's plans. Loggan's were published in 1675.

A HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINS OF OXFORD

A THOUSAND years have passed since the beginnings of a city rose above the water-meadows where the Cherwell meets the Thames. The low slope, climbing up from the two rivers to the crossing of the four ways at the top, gave its shape to the narrow rectangle of the town. Saxons, Danes and Normans built upon it, crowned it with churches, encompassed it with walls. Monks set up in the fields around it altars and cloisters for pilgrimage and prayer. The Middle Ages took possession of it, and filled it with their genius and their dreams, their high-wrought, restless enterprise, their vain debates. And, as superstition widened into study, and the demand for knowledge refused to be repressed, teachers and scholars gradually made the place their own. The city grew. The crowded lanes found room for Colleges, each statelier, lovelier than the last: and in the new quadrangles the old conflict between the tradition of authority and the spirit of revolt went on. Reformers won disciples, martyrs died there. Storms shook the Church and changed her, but her privileged domain survived. A King brought his lost cause to the decaying battlements. A Usurper, intolerant of privilege, swept King and Church and battlements away. And, as the old loyalties lapsed into indifference, the old customs were in peril of settling down into abuse. But through all changes, greater than the traditions gathered round her, wiser than the prejudices which she has outgrown, saved by the new blood ever flowing through her as strongly as the waters underneath her walls, still young in heart and ineffaceable in beauty, Oxford lives, sharing her treasures ungrudgingly with those who seek them, her spirit with those that understand.

The early chroniclers of the University, however, were not satisfied to begin its history a thousand years ago. Imaginative

annalists in the Middle Ages, with whom it was a point of honour to claim a measureless antiquity for the Academy they loved, laboured to carry back its origins to fabled Kings—to Mempric who lived when Saul was reigning in Judæa, to Brutus, the leader of the warlike Trojans, who first brought the Greek philosophers to Grekelade or Cricklade.[1] More serious historians made Alfred the founder or restorer alike of the University and of the College which bore its name. A legend so flattering was readily accepted, even in circles where the critical instinct might have been expected to exist. The Master and Scholars of University College alleged it in a mediæval law-suit. English judges showed little scruple in endorsing it. An Oxford archæologist inserted a passage to support it in Asser's life of the great West Saxon King.[2] One celebrated historian of the sixteenth century[3] lent it his authority. Others discovered that in the nineteenth century it called for refutation still. But neither the College nor the University needs such uncertain ancestry to add to its renown. It is not till the reign of Alfred's son that the town of Oxford is named in English history. It is not until two centuries later that the dim beginnings of the Oxford Schools appear. It was not till the intellectual awakening of the twelfth century had founded an illustrious University in Paris, till Becket's challenge to Henry II had raised issues which checked the flow of English students to the Seine, that the clerks of Oxford entered unconsciously into their national inheritance and the Schools under the shadow of St. Mary's became a centre of study for the Northern world.

For the earliest Universities of Europe there are no single founders, no certain dates to be assigned. As the darker ages passed away and men's thoughts turned to learning once again, searching for a rule of right even in days of violent wrong-doing, searching for reasons to satisfy the doubter even in days when authority and dogma were supreme, the power of the teacher, never altogether lost, revived. Students gathered with strange enthusiasm, and if the records may be trusted in surprising numbers, wherever famous teachers made a school, travelling up

[1] The legend is repeated in the Preface of the famous Chancellor's Book (*Registrum A.* in the University Archives).

[2] The early myths on the subject are exhaustively discussed in the second chapter of Mr. James Parker's *Early History of Oxford* (Oxford Historical Society). The myths about Alfred date from the days of Edward III. But Henry Savile of Banke, who was responsible for misleading Camden, must not be confused with Sir Henry Savile, the Warden of Merton.

[3] Camden did not die till 1623, and his edition of Asser's Chronicle was published in 1603; but it is to the sixteenth century that most of his work belongs.

from lonely districts, voyaging from distant countries, amid the daily perils of mediæval life. The chief of these resorts sprang into European fame. A *Studium Generale*, where students from all parts assembled, began to be something more than a vague term. The *Universitas*, the whole body of Masters or students there collected,[1] began to have something like a corporate existence, to adopt customs, to claim privileges, to form an organisation of its own. At Salerno, even before the eleventh century ended, there was a Medical School or College of Doctors celebrated enough to attract a Royal patient, Duke Robert of Normandy, returning from the First Crusade, and courtly enough to welcome as King of the English the Conqueror's disinherited heir. In the twelfth century the two great primary Universities of Bologna and Paris definitely emerged. And in the vivid life, among the stirring controversies of that famous century, the University ideal at last took shape.

But there were celebrated schools in many parts of Europe long before Irnerius lectured at Bologna, long before the daring eloquence of Abélard drew throngs of eager students to the slopes of Ste. Geneviève. Even in the darkest ages the tradition of learning had never died out. Stern Fathers of the Church like Jerome and Tertullian might denounce the writings of the heathen and proscribe the Pagan utterances of Greek philosophers and Latin poets.[2] Reforming Popes like Gregory the Great might blush to find a Bishop teaching grammar, and Gregory's successors might reiterate his maxim, "the same mouth singeth not the praises of Jove and the praises of Christ." Yet Gregory's writings helped the cause of education and were of service even to the literary tastes which he despised. The schools of the Monasteries might limit their teaching to the elements needed for monastic life—enough reading to study the Bible and the services of the Church, enough writing to make copies of the sacred books, enough arithmetic to calculate the date of the Church festivals, enough music to render the Church chants. The schools for priests which grew up in the shadow of the Cathedrals might sometimes content themselves with even less. The Roman schools might perish. The older seats of learning might disappear. But still, amid the darkness and disorder, amid the "seven-foot barbarians" in whose presence a fifth-century Bishop found six-foot hexameters impossible to write, some fragments of the classical tradition, some taste for

[1] The term *University* does not of course mean a place where all forms of knowledge are taught.

[2] Yet St. Jerome, as M. Ozanam points out in the eighth chapter of his *History of Civilisation in the Fifth Century*, found it impossible to abandon the classics. (See Glyn's translation, I, 226–9.)

literature and some love of books survived. Boethius, standing between the old world and the new, left a great example of philosophy and learning. Cassiodorus abandoned statecraft to mould the education of the future. Gregory of Tours showed the sixth century what liveliness a mediæval chronicle could contain. Gildas wrote history for the British and Jordanes for the Goths. Fortunatus of Poitiers sang in exuberant Latin the tragedies of Frankish Queens. Isidorus taught the teachers of the beginning of the seventh century, and Bede shone out at the end of it in splendour. In the far Monasteries of Ireland a rare enthusiasm for letters went hand in hand with missionary fervour. Irish scholars studied Greek. Irish Saints wrote Latin verses. Irish apostles wandered over Europe, carried their teaching to Iona, Malmesbury, Lindisfarne, planted churches in the heart of Germany, found protectors in the Frankish Kings. They displayed no undue fear of Pagan learning, though they proved indomitable champions of the faith.[1] At Canterbury Archbishop Theodore's school produced scholars who, if Bede did not exaggerate, knew Greek and Latin as well as their mother tongue! At York the school of St. Peter's rivalled the fame of Theodore's foundation. The library which Bede used at Jarrow must have been full of treasures, if not one of the richest of the day.[2] The library at York, which Alcuin described in verse a little later, and which after the depredations of the Northmen few libraries perhaps of the twelfth century surpassed, contained copies of Virgil, Lucan, Cicero and Pliny, with fragments of Aristotle in Latin versions by Boethius, among the writings of the Fathers and the meagre text-books of the time. Within thirty years of Alcuin's death a Roman Council under Pope Eugenius II was ready not only to tolerate but to enjoin the study of letters and the liberal arts. The Church might often draw back in alarm from the dangerous possibilities of knowledge. But in Northern Europe it was chiefly in the Church and through the clergy that learning in any shape survived.

To Alcuin, the English scholar trained at York, and still more to the great Emperor who employed him, the education of the Middle Ages owes a memorable debt. The Palace School

[1] For many of these generalisations I am indebted to M. Ozanam's *History of Civilisation* (*passim*), to A. W. Haddan's *Remains* (258–94), to the chapter on the Schools of Ireland in M. Hauréau's *Singularités Historiques*, to Prof. Ker's illuminating little volume on *The Dark Ages*, to Dr. James' recent and valuable survey in Chaps. XIX and XX of the third volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History*, and not least to Dr. R. L. Poole's *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought*.

[2] On Fulda and other great mediæval libraries see *Camb. Med. Hist.* (III, 520–1).

of Charles the Great set a new standard for the times. Courtiers, poets and nobles gathered round it, as well as the future leaders of the Church. The Royal circle set the fashion of inquiry, the untiring Emperor ever in the forefront with questions which the teacher found it difficult to answer. The text-books of the Palace School were, no doubt, the text-books used at York. The Seven Liberal Arts comprised in the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* were the basis of all secular education. The *Trivium*—Grammar, Rhetoric and Dialectic—included a smattering of classics and philology, the study of Latin, the reading and writing of prose and verse.[1] It included probably the elements of Roman Law. It included also the study of logic, which opened the gates of philosophy and metaphysics, the key to a world of mystery which awed and fascinated the mediæval mind. The *Quadrivium*, which led to a wider course of study as knowledge expanded and the available materials increased, consisted of Music, Arithmetic, Geometry and Astronomy, but it taught little at first beyond the elements of each. Music gave the rules for plain-song. Arithmetic helped to calculate the date of Easter. Geometry included geography, often in its details imaginative enough, and a few incomplete propositions from Euclid. Astronomy explored the movements of the planets and unfolded the wisdom of the stars. But Alcuin had to fall back upon subterfuge to baffle the Emperor's thirst for information when that elusive wisdom failed.[2]

The Seven Liberal Arts of the Middle Ages, which came to be regarded as the foundation of knowledge, may trace their ancestry back to Plato, who furnished the mediæval world with so many of its ideas. But we do not know for certain who is responsible for the number fixed or the selection made.[3] There is no obvious reason why the list should have excluded arts like architecture and medicine, which were widely acknowledged as

[1] Grammar, which meant learning Latin, might be expanded to cover a good deal of Latin literature.

[2] See Mr. J. B. Mullinger's *Schools of Charles the Great* (88). Others besides M. Hauréau (*De la Philosophie Scolastique*, ed. 1850, I, 19) have recalled the old distich:

"*Gramm* loquitur, *Dia* verba docet, *Rhet* verba colorat,
Mus canit, *Ar* numerat, *Geo* ponderat, *Ast* colit astra."

[3] St. Augustine, it seems, would have preferred six to seven. Varro and Plutarch would probably have made them nine. Mr. H. Parker (*English Historical Review*, 1890, 417–61) gives grounds for thinking that Martianus Capella was chiefly responsible for the famous list, and that Cassiodorus helped to stereotype the selection made. Mr. Parker argues with some force that Martianus Capella was an African farmer who wrote before 330, much earlier than most scholars have allowed, and that he founded his list upon the works of Varro, a contemporary of Cicero and Cæsar. The tradition was of course much older than Martianus.

liberal studies. There is still less reason why the Church, had she been free to choose, should have allowed it to include a dangerous study like astronomy, which bordered on astrology and magic, or even a suspected science like mathematics, which Suetonius associated with fortune-telling and St. Augustine lamented as sin. But the Church probably accepted a tradition long established, as a groundwork on which the higher studies, especially theology, might build. It can hardly be contended that the Seven Arts at any time represented the sum of human knowledge, all that was thought worth studying by the mediæval world. But they did represent for many generations, in days when education was still struggling for existence, the framework of the most familiar learning which a greater civilisation had adopted and approved.

The school-books of Alcuin's day were few and meagre. But for centuries they held the field. The groundwork of education differed little as the years went on. Donatus and Priscian were the ruling grammarians,[1] against whose authority St. Gregory rebelled in vain. The Histories of Orosius, written by a pupil of Augustine, translated by King Alfred and praised by Dante, tried to comfort Christians by recalling the calamities which had happened to the world in Pagan times. But they contributed little to the cause of learning or the gaiety of mankind. Martianus Capella had a far greater reputation. His fantastic allegory on the nuptials of Philology and Mercury, in which the Seven Arts appeared as virgins assigned by Mercury to attend upon his bride, made a strong appeal to the student world. His imaginative pedantry, his simple, obvious humour, his ornamental and indifferent Latin, won favour from an early date in Ireland, and achieved universal popularity as generations passed. He handed down a school tradition which became indispensable to the Middle Ages. But his vein of semi-pagan speculation roused distrust in the schools where Alcuin taught. With Boethius, however, there was no such reason for reserve. The great Roman scholar, who served in turn as Minister and victim to Theodoric, cannot claim to rank as a Christian martyr. But his educational writings had profound importance, and his noble treatise on the *Consolation of Philosophy* struck a rare note of simplicity and clearness in the confusion of mediæval thought. Princes and poets combined to do him honour. Churchmen and philosophers for uncounted generations recognised the beauty of the vision which he longed for. His books on music, arithmetic

[1] "It is difficult to appreciate rightly the extraordinary care and affection bestowed on the preparation for literature; Grammar being the proper comprehensive name for that study, with Rhetoric to continue it." (Ker, *Dark Ages*, 32–3.)

and Euclid, his commentaries on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry—an introduction to Aristotle which nearly every student used—his works on logic and his translations of Aristotle, imperfectly known for a long time as they were,[1] made Boethius the greatest name among the teachers of the Middle Ages, and from one famous sentence in his version of the *Isagoge* the Scholastic debate of those ages took its rise. Cassiodorus, a colleague and admirer of Boethius, less illustrious but more fortunate than he, devoted to the pursuit of knowledge and the education of the clergy no small part of a long and busy life. In the peace and orthodoxy of the religious House which he had founded he wrote on Scripture and history, on logic and grammar, and even more meagrely on other themes. But he taught his monks to read. His treatise on the Liberal Arts gave a fresh sanction to the old tradition. It became a necessary hand-book for students. And if it seems to us slight and confused, it yet carried the teaching of the time and the study of dialectic further than before.[2] To Alcuin's pupils Boethius and Cassiodorus must have been familiar names. But Isidorus, Bishop of Seville, had left behind him twenty books of *Etymologies*,[3] illustrated by passages from early Latin writers, which also summed up on almost every subject the insufficient knowledge of the day. And Bede, the first of English historians[4] and the father of English letters, had already contributed his memorable labours to the slow and narrow stream of learning.

How slowly and narrowly that stream flowed at the end of the eighth century no one realised more clearly than the strong, impatient genius whom Alcuin undertook to serve. Charles the Great gave a new impulse to mediæval education. But even his unresting energy could not transform his world. When the Emperor sighed for twelve clergy in his realm as learned as

[1] Boethius' treatises on logic and his translation of the *Isagoge* were in general use. But his version of the *De Interpretatione* was the only part of his translations of Aristotle known in Alcuin's day. The *Categories*, which Boethius had translated, were known only in an abridgment wrongly attributed to St. Augustine. Dean Rashdall (*The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, App. XIV) doubts whether Boethius translated all the books of the *Organon*, as has been supposed.

[2] See his treatise *De Artibus ac Disciplinis Liberalium Litterarum*, in Migne (*Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, tom. 70). Dr. R. James goes so far as to call Cassiodorus "the greatest individual contributor to the preservation of learning in the West" (*Camb. Med. Hist.* III, 486).

[3] They occupy nearly the whole of tom. 82 of Migne—a curious miscellany of information, beginning with grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, medicine, and passing on to almost every subject from God and the angels to the nations and arts and employments of men.

[4] Strictly speaking, the life of Wilfred by Eddius is older than Bede's History, and Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba* is still earlier. Bede wrote educational books too.

Jerome or Augustine, Alcuin drew back, shocked by such immoderate demands. "The Lord of heaven and earth had but two such, and thou wouldst have twelve!" When he threw himself into the labours of the class-room, struggled hard to learn to write, propounded shrewd problems in grammar or science, gave orders for manuscripts to be collected and revised, Charles set an example which his age was hardly yet prepared to follow. His famous Capitularies enjoined the study of letters in all the Bishoprics and Monasteries of his realm, and established schools in every Abbey, where music and singing, arithmetic and grammar could be learned. Some Monasteries, taking the lead in the new movement, threw open their teaching to young clerks who were not vowed to the monastic life, and one of Charles' Bishops even laboured to establish schools in every town and village, where all the children of the faithful could be taught without payment if their parents wished. But both monastic and cathedral schools were founded for ecclesiastics. It was for the service of the Church and as the handmaid of religion that education had its chief value in mediæval days.

If Charles' achievements fell short of his ideals, his successors proved unable to carry on his work. Here and there indeed, in the break-up of the Frankish Empire, in the desolation wrought by Northmen in the North and Saracens in the South, the tradition of learning lingered on. At Orleans and Rheims great Bishops had already built up celebrated schools, and Louis the Pious was urged by his prelates to establish at least three public schools in his dominions, that the labours of his father might not "utterly decay and perish." In some large Monasteries, where discipline persisted and men found time to meditate on knowledge, libraries were still collected and the habit of study maintained. Far away, beyond the Rhine, Rabanus, Alcuin's pupil, made the Monastery school of Fulda the most famous of its day, a place where grammar and dialectic were accepted as valuable and even noble studies. His teaching showed a width and liberality rarely found in his own generation, and his pupils included many of the best-known teachers of the next. Charles the Bald welcomed the scholars from Ireland who flocked to his Court "regardless of the barrier of the sea," as readily as his grandfather had welcomed both Englishmen and Irishmen in Alcuin's day; and the most brilliant of them, John the Scot, Erigena, with his keen wit and his deep originality, flashed like a meteor through the darkness of the time. Called in by an Archbishop to write on a question of theology,[1] Erigena applied himself

[1] Gottschalk's far-pressed doctrine of Predestination, to which Archbishop Hincmar required a reply. Dr. R. L. Poole (*Illusts. of Med. Thought*) has a valuable account of John Scot's work. Dr. Harnack (*Hist. of*

to dialectic and philosophy with a speculative boldness which amazed his world. He appealed to the wisdom of Greek thinkers to expand and illuminate the problems of the faith. He demanded for the Bible narrative a wide interpretation. He found in man's intelligence the dwelling-place of the word of God. He claimed for human thought a new supremacy, and challenged the claims of all authority which reason could not grasp and approve.[1] And if his daring raised a cry of heresy and startled the timider thinkers of his day, his works were remembered by generations after him as "illustrious monuments in the Church of God," and they foreshadowed in their range and methods the great controversy with which the Schools of the Middle Ages were to ring.

John the Scot paid the penalty for his opinions. His books were banned. But his free spirit was not extinguished. A succession of illustrious teachers carried on the tradition which Alcuin and Rabanus had bequeathed. Monkish chroniclers still found romance and humour in the world about them.[2] There was valuable teaching at Reichenau and St. Gall. Remy of Auxerre, inspired by his own great teacher Heiric, drew eager scholars to the Schools of Paris. His pupil Odo made Cluny a centre of learning as well as a model of the monastic life. Archbishop Bruno, the brother of the great Emperor Otto, summoned, it is said, an Irish Bishop to assist him in restoring the ruined fabric of the Seven Liberal Arts. Bruno read everything, even Latin comedies, and carried his library with him "as it had been the ark of the Lord." A still greater prelate, Gerbert, the omniscient Master, the mathematician and philosopher whose dangerous learning won for him, Pope as he was, the doubtful fame of a magician later, encouraged his students to read not only Aristotle and Boethius, but Virgil and Juvenal, Terence and Horace.[3] Under Gerbert's pupil Fulbert, the well-loved and saintly scholar who gathered his young disciples round him

Dogma, tr., VI, 274, n.) comments on Erigena's learning and wisdom: "with him the knowledge of God and of nature coincide." He has some useful comments also on Gottschalk and Rabanus (VI, 293 *sq.*). Among other authorities Stöckl (*Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, I, 31–128) deals fully with Erigena, whose great work *De Divisione Naturæ*, which Prof. Ker calls "the one purely philosophical argument of the Middle Ages," is printed by Migne (tom. 122).

[1] See *De Divisione Naturæ* (Lib. I, c. 71, and elsewhere).

[2] On Paul the Deacon, Einhard, Liutprand, Ekkehard, and other early mediæval writers of prose and verse, see Ker (*Dark Ages*, ch. III), and James (*Camb. Med. Hist.*, III, Chaps. XIX and XX).

[3] See Richerus (*Hist.*, Lib. III, c. 47, in Pertz' *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*), and the Life by A. Olleris, prefixed to his edition of Gerbert's Works (34 and 199). Gerbert, who became Pope Sylvester II in 999, was distinguished in many branches of learning.

in the garden of the Cathedral school at Chartres, that school acquired a fame second to none in Western Europe. Berengar of Tours, as the eleventh century proceeded, disdained the safe limits within which Fulbert taught, and used the art of dialectic and the power of reason to explore the mystery of Transubstantiation, to probe the dogma which was rapidly becoming the central dogma of the Catholic Church. And Lanfranc, from the rising school of Bec, took up the challenge and laboured to confute him, without Berengar's mastery of logic, but with the confidence which orthodoxy only could inspire. But teachers of high fame like these and others were at best rare voices in a wide space of time. It was not till the end of the eleventh century, till the German Emperors had re-established order and entered on their ill-fated contest with the Popes, till the race of Hugh Capet was seated on the throne in Paris and the sons of William the Norman were disputing for the English Crown, till Hildebrand's intrepid claims had opened to the clergy new fields of dominion and spiritual power, that the darkness of the earlier ages disappeared, and men's minds, turning afresh to the pursuit of knowledge, began to stir the philosophic issues which were to make the Schools of Paris a battle-ground of conflict, and the headquarters of the intellectual ferment from which the Universities of modern Europe rose.

It is impossible here to follow in detail, it is equally impossible to ignore altogether, the Scholastic debate which played so commanding a part in the thought and education of the Middle Ages. Pedantic, formal, trivial it often was, artificial in its methods, bewildering in its distinctions. A great English scholar of the twelfth century could condemn the dialectical subtleties it led to as shadows of things that flee and vanish away.[1] A Pope could reduce it to something like absurdity by emphasising the importance of the nominative case when predicating the essence of God.[2] But nevertheless dialectic became the favourite instrument of thought, and the Scholastic issues the dominant issues with the best minds of the Middle Age. Rebel as they sometimes might against authority, the thinkers of the day moved always in an atmosphere of traditional religion. Their chief aim was to reconcile its teaching with the growing demands of philosophy and learning. Latin was studied as the language spoken by the Church. Logic was an instrument for explaining its theology. From theology their science started, and to theology they traced all issues back. Plato's ideas were in the first place worth recovering because they seemed to throw

[1] John of Salisbury (*Polycraticus*, Lib. VII., c. 12, in J. A. Giles' edition of his Works).

[2] R. L. Poole (*Illustrations*, 192).

light on the nature of God. Aristotle was recognised as a Master because his method of analysis helped to elucidate the problems of the faith. Limited as were the materials of those who plunged into the great discussion, even after fresh discoveries and translations had added to their knowledge of the teachers of the past, its influence on the three or four centuries which followed the Norman conquest of England was profound. It was from the mediæval Schoolmen that our forefathers learned to think, and the traces of their studies and their system are deeply stamped on English education yet.

The early teachers of the Middle Ages knew very few of Plato's writings[1] and very little of his philosophy beyond his doctrine of Ideas. Of Aristotle they knew only translations of portions of his treatises on logic, even when Abélard was at the zenith of his fame. It was not till the succeeding generation that the whole of the *Organon* became available for students. It was not until the thirteenth century that Aristotle's science and philosophy dawned in their splendour on Western Europe. But even these fragments of translations had an extraordinary influence on mediæval thought. From the days of John the Scot dialecticians and theologians had noted the issue between the two great schools of philosophy, which was to engross the thinkers of Europe for centuries to come. The absorbing debate on the nature of being had begun. The meaning and reality of genus and species, of differences and accidents, of the general terms known as Universals, became the favourite topics of the Schools. The Realists, seeking with Plato to explore a spiritual and immaterial world, found the only real existence in ideas, drawn from some source eternal and divine, in abstract, inspired conceptions of truth and goodness, of wisdom, beauty, humanity and the like. In the visible world around them they found only more or less imperfect reproductions of these unchangeable ideas. The Nominalists, following Aristotle's method more boldly sometimes than the Church approved, maintained that these Universals, these general conceptions, were names, sounds, phrases only, which had no existence apart from the senses and experience of men, and claimed that it was with the individual intellect, and not with such impalpable abstractions, that the pursuit of the secret of existence must begin.[2]

[1] Only the Latin translations of the *Timæus*, the *Phædo* and the *Meno*. The *Timæus* was known to John the Scot and influenced his writings: the earliest known translations of the others date from the twelfth century. See Dr. Rashdall's *Universities* (I, 37, and II, App. XIV), and Hauréau (*Hist. de la Philosophie Scolastique*, Pt. I, 1872, 91–3).

[2] The theory, here baldly stated, underwent of course many modifications.

"The question concerning genera and species"—so ran the celebrated sentence in Boethius' translation of the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, which launched the whole debate—"whether they have a substantial existence or are found only in bare concepts of the mind; whether, supposing them to have a substantial existence, they are corporeal or incorporeal; and whether again they are found apart from things which the senses can perceive, or exist in those things and with them and about them, I shall forbear to say. For this kind of question is a very deep one and demands a fuller investigation."[1]

Each side found vigorous advocates. The Realists, wrapped in contemplation of invisible and unsubstantial things, had little difficulty in reconciling their conceptions with the authority and traditions of the Church. When Berengar questioned the miracle of Transubstantiation, the transformation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, Realism stepped in to distinguish between the invisible substance, the Universal, which the priest could change, and the visible accidents or adjuncts which remained.[2] The Nominalist, on the other hand, relied on analysis and inquiry, on arguments drawn from human perception and experience, and were led to apply the test of reason to the mysteries and dogmas of the faith. Before the end of the eleventh century Roscellinus had challenged the doctrine of universal substances afresh, and had startled the world by employing the principles of logic to examine the nature of the Trinity itself. In vain the heads of the Church denounced or discouraged a logic and philosophy which they had learned to fear. In vain Anselm, "the last of the Fathers" and the first philosopher among the prelates of his day, brought his serene faith and his inspiring metaphysics to quell the doubts which Roscellinus had provoked. "Credo ut intelligam," cried Anselm. The faithful believed in order to understand. The idea of God in the mind of man was the real proof of His existence. It was from the sure ground of authority that every inquirer in theology must start, though reason as well as revelation was available to help him in his search for truth. In vain William of Champeaux, "the Pillar of Doctors," whose fame as a teacher at Paris dates from the latter years of Anselm's life, tried to defend the Realist

[1] Mox de generibus et speciebus illud quidem sive subsistant sive in solis nudis intellectibus posita sint, sive subsistentia corporalia sint an incorporalia, et utrum separata a sensibilibus an in sensibilibus posita et circa hæc consistentia, dicere recusabo; altissimum enim negotium est hujusmodi et majoris egens inquisitionis." Boethius' version of the Greek might perhaps be improved on, but it was from his version that the controversy took its rise.

[2] For Berengar's views, see Harnack (VI, 47 *sq.*).

position in formulas which both logic and orthodoxy could accept. The spirit of inquiry was now thoroughly awake. And Abélard, descending on the Schools of Paris with the assurance of genius and the intrepidity of youth, raised in the name of religion and philosophy a revolt which not even St. Bernard could subdue.

Many generations have retold the story of Abélard's triumphs and tragedy and shame. He was not only a scholar, an orator, a brilliant teacher. He was the most arresting and stimulating mind in an age newly conscious of its intellectual powers. In a day of half-dead formulas, his fearless logic seemed vividly alive. In a day when man's intelligence was bound and fettered, his free spirit seemed to face unflinchingly the utmost consequences of his thought. And the philosophy which scorned discretion, the self-confidence, the combativeness, the very human frailties revealed by his romantic story and mingled with his extraordinary gifts, while they scandalised the Doctors whom he bearded, won the hearts and the imaginations of the boys who crowded round his chair. St. Bernard, his relentless censor and assailant, complained that Abélard peered into the heavens and searched the hidden mysteries of God, that he discoursed most rashly on things of which no man may speak, that his pestilent books flew abroad all over the world. Reverent in essentials and Christian to the core, Abélard brought all the forces of his reason to examine and illuminate every problem which he touched. He claimed complete liberty of judgment in studying authorities. He recognised the possibility of textual errors, of mistranslation even in the sacred books. He criticised the views of Roscellinus as boldly as those of William of Champeaux, insisting indeed with the Nominalists on the real existence of the individual, but allowing that abstract Universals might have a real existence also as concepts of the human mind. But the Nominalist habit of inquiry Abélard made his own. Revelation and authority were sacred to him, but he must argue out their conclusions for himself. "It is not because God has said a thing that we believe it, but because we are convinced that it is so." It was the fearlessness of his appeal to reason which the timider minds that condemned him could not either answer or forgive.

Abélard fell, but his spirit triumphed. The intellectual tumult which he had stirred could not be silenced by any sentence of the Church. Monkish piety flowed on, but the seculars kept the lead in education. The world, cried a monkish historian, "had cast aside its old garment." New ideals were claiming dominion over the souls of men. Other schools, at Laon and at Chartres, other teachers of no mean reputation, bore witness to the eager quest for learning which was the charm and wonder

of the age. Anselm of Laon was known as "the Doctor of Doctors," and flouted by Abélard as a barren fig-tree. Gilbert de la Porrée, the subtle dialectician persecuted like Abélard by St. Bernard, was a writer on logic whose authority only Aristotle himself surpassed. Bernard Sylvester of Chartres, "the most abounding spring of letters in Gaul," was a scholar and grammarian who found an allegory in the Æneid and in Æneas a symbol of the soul. But the Abélard tradition, helped by the attraction of Paris, was supreme. Students from England, from Germany, from every part of Europe, flocked to the school which he had made so famous, and the method of teaching which he had brought to such perfection became the model of the University system of the future. Councils of the Church might censure him, but twenty of his pupils became Cardinals, and more than fifty, it is stated, Bishops. One of his pupils, Peter the Lombard, endeavoured to satisfy and quiet speculation by collecting and harmonising the opinions of the Fathers on the theology of the Church, and produced in his book of *Sentences* a text-book so universally adopted that it gave rise to no fewer than a hundred and sixty commentaries by English theologians alone.[1] Another, Arnold of Brescia,[2] shocked by the contrast between the Church's lofty and eternal aims and the clergy's pursuit of wealth and temporal power, carried the spirit of revolt into another sphere. And a third, John of Salisbury, who as a boy had listened "with entire greediness of mind" to the entrancing teacher of Ste. Geneviève, and who stood later by the side of Becket in the greatest struggle for independence yet waged by the English Church, was in many respects the most typical representative of the scholars of his day.

We know John of Salisbury almost as a friend from the writings he has left behind him. He spent some ten or twelve years in France in education, studying in turn logic and grammar, dialectic and theology under the most famous masters of the time. Two of his teachers became English Bishops, while a third, Robert Pullen, if the tradition may be trusted, had already lectured in the Oxford Schools. At Chartres, where long after-

[1] The four books of the Sentences (published in Migne, *Pat. Curs. Comp.*, Series Secunda, tom. I.) dealt with the Mystery of the Trinity, the Creation, the Incarnation of the Word, the Sacraments, and with doctrines like Free Will, Original Sin, the Resurrection of the Dead, etc. (See *Hist. Litéraire de la France*, II, 589 *sq.*, and Mullinger's *University of Cambridge*, I, 59.) They supplied a logical argument for the doctrines of theology, and had an extraordinary vogue.

[2] St. Bernard's statements are the chief, if not the sole, authority for regarding Arnold as a pupil of Abélard. Dr. Rashdall has a valuable chapter (*Universities*, I, Ch. II) on Abélard and the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century.

wards he reigned himself as Bishop, John learned to love the classics, and to contrast them with the "bloodless and barren" study of dialectic, which was always unravelling the ancient problems. Mankind had already grown old, he pleaded, in trying to solve Porphyry's questions, and more time had been spent on them than "the House of Cæsar spent in winning and in ruling the Empire of the World."[1] John was the friend of Hadrian IV, the one and only English Pope. He was frequently employed in missions to Rome. He passed the Alps ten times on his journeys, and he has left in one letter a poignant description of his efforts to write on that "place of torment," the Great St. Bernard, where his ink-bottle proved to be a mass of ice, his beard and fingers stiff with frost, and his breath "congealed into a long icicle." He was secretary to Archbishop Theobald and afterwards to Thomas Becket. He shared the great Archbishop's exile. He was a witness of the murder which convulsed the Church of Christendom, and a wise and temperate champion of the cause for which St. Thomas died. But it is as the chief representative of English learning, as a link between the intellectual movements in France and in England which led to the growth of Universities in both, that John of Salisbury calls for record here. He sat at the feet of Abélard "on Mount Saint Genovefa." He saw Paris grow under Abélard's successors into the first city of teachers in the mediæval world. He saw the foreign-born[2] scholars of Paris driven out in 1167 for a season. He saw, though he has failed to note it, the University of Oxford rise.

Englishmen flocked to the Schools of Paris. But teachers from England had already played no small part in civilising Europe, and from very early days there had been schools of repute in many English towns. Canterbury had been renowned for its scholars centuries before Archbishop Theobald made it the home of something like University teaching. York had kept up Alcuin's tradition. Winchester had been associated with Alfred's work for education. Dunstan after the Danish invasions had relit the flame of learning, and all through the dark days that followed the Monasteries had kept that flame alive. Canute and Harold had founded schools afresh. In many

[1] *Polycraticus* (Lib. VII, c. 12).

[2] "Alienigenas." See his letter to Peter the Writer, A.D. 1167, in Vol. II of J. A. Giles' edition of his Letters (83). See also J. C. Robertson's *Materials for Hist. of T. Becket* (VI, 235–6), and Rashdall's *Universities* (II, 329–30). For John's life see his letters and writings, especially the *Metalogicus*, which gives a lively account of the studies of the time, and Dr. Poole's Article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* with the authorities cited there. There is no evidence for the attractive theory that John studied or taught in Oxford.

Midland towns, it seems, schools had grown up round Collegiate churches. Warwick claims a succession of scholars before and after the Norman Conquest. Fitzstephen, Becket's friend and biographer, speaks of three church schools in London, whose scholars flocked on summer evenings to the sweet, clear springs of Clerkenwell. Rivers and fountains, springs and woods were long regarded as essential to a place of study. But the Schools of Oxford probably owed their reputation largely at first to the importance of the town. The origin of the town itself is dim and misty. No Roman colony, no British camp, no early Bishopric brought it sanctity or fame. But from time immemorial the gravel slope between the Thames and the Cherwell, where the cattle-ford crossed the streams among the marshes and the track from North to South met the river flowing East, must have seemed a suitable place for settlement and for protection. The main lines of its rectangle, its ways and crossways and the sites of its churches, were largely planned in Saxon days.[1] In the struggle of the Saxon Kingdoms Oxford at length became a border town, for which the Kings of Wessex and of Mercia probably contended. In 912, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us, Edward the Elder took it for his own. Its central position made it a convenient meeting-place. Its command of the river gave it strategical importance. Edward may well have set to work to strengthen it, and have fortified the ground on which the Castle stands. Danish invaders found their way to Oxford, and sacked and burned it more than once. Danish chiefs were murdered in its precincts. Danish and English Kings alike held Courts and summoned Councils there. Canute gave to the monks of Abingdon the "little minster" of St. Martin's, the central parish of the town, and in Oxford Canute's sons were chosen to succeed him. We have a glimpse of Earl Harold in Council there later, and a tradition, which rests on no solid foundation, of William the Conqueror besieging the city. But even before the Conquest its prosperity had suffered, and many of its houses, it would seem, had been laid waste. As William laid his strong hand upon England, Robert d'Oili the Norman established his hold upon Oxford, and within six years

[1] See, on the Town-planning of Saxon Oxford, Mr. H. E. Salter's *Cartulary of St. John's Hospital* (I, App. II). The earliest roadway at Carfax is traceable 11 ft. 7 in. below the present road (Headlam, *Oxford and its Story*, 59, n.). In his Introduction to *An Archæological Survey of Oxfordshire*, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries (*Archæologia*, vol. LXXI), Mr. E. Thurlow Leeds sums up what little can be said of pre-Saxon settlements at Oxford, usually in the Northern suburbs. The Roman way from Bicester to Dorchester passed within a mile or two on the East. But there could have been no important Roman settlement at Oxford, and no great Roman road came very near.

of the victory at Hastings he began to build his Castle on a mound towards the West.[1]

Besides these few facts there is a legendary history, which contains, it may be, a large element of truth. Whether or not St. Frideswide, the daughter of King Didanus of Oxford, who reigned "about the year of our Lord's incarnation 726," fled from the lover who incontinently pursued her into the fastnesses of Binsey Wood, and issuing thence, when miracles had attested her divine vocation and her persecutor, struck with blindness, had repented of his sin, founded a Nunnery where Christ Church stands, there is nothing improbable in the very old tradition which places an early Convent on the spot. The Monastery of Abingdon, a larger and wealthier foundation, already claimed, from the seventh century onwards, grants of land towards the South and West. At the dawn of the eleventh century St. Frideswide's still existed, but its Nuns had been replaced by Canons, and its church was burned, with the Danes who sheltered in it, during the memorable massacre of St. Brice's day. Soon afterwards King Æthelred, the author of the massacre, restored the ruined minster and founded the Monastery afresh. In the years that followed, however, the Canons of St. Frideswide's played little part in local history. They were quite eclipsed by the great House at Abingdon, whose possessions stretched to Hinksey, Wytham, Bagley Wood, and whose Abbot levied on the Oxford boatmen a toll of a hundred herrings for each boat that passed in Lent. Nor was Abingdon the only rival that St. Frideswide's had to face. As early as the days of Æthelred another Monastery had risen among the Eynsham fields. After the Conquest Robert d'Oili built a Collegiate Church to St. George in his Castle. His nephew founded a statelier Abbey at Oseney among the reedy islands of the river. And in Stephen's days the Convent of Godstow, not yet enriched by fair Rosamund's frailty, grew up beside the waterfall and beyond the Binsey woods. The growth of these religious Houses increased the company of clerks in Oxford, and can hardly have failed to stimulate schools and teaching. But we have no solid ground for tracing back the origins of the University system to the ancient cloisters of St. Frideswide's or to the dim traditions of the Monasteries round.[2]

[1] Mr. James Parker's *Early History of Oxford* contains a careful discussion of the facts and theories of early Oxford history. See also Freeman's *Norman Conquest* (IV, 188 and App. Z, ed. 1871) and *English Towns and Districts*, and J. R. Green's *Studies in Oxford History* (Ch. I). The entry of 912 in the old English Chronicle is the first historical reference to Oxford that we possess. The text of the various MSS. is given in Thorpe's edition (Rolls Series, 1861).

[2] The early history of St. Frideswide's is obscure. But its prosperity was uncertain. The Secular Canons, who followed the Nuns, gave way

With Henry I and his successors, however, a new chapter begins. Oxford was now a prosperous town, with its market, its mills, its merchant-guild, its great Port-meadow stretching far beyond the walls. But it was a place of clerks and churches too. St. Martin's was the earliest of Oxford parishes, and its church, essentially the townsmen's church, stood, as its tower stands yet, by the cross-roads in the centre, where the market stalls clustered and the town meetings were held. St. Mary's already had close-packed lanes about it, and priests, no doubt, giving simple teaching in its aisles. St. Michael's by the North Gate overlooked the town's defences, and like St. Peter's in the East and St. Mary Magdalen's outside the walls bore witness to the pride or penitence of Robert d'Oili. Another St. Peter's and another St. Michael's probably protected gates on the West and South. St. Mildred's recalled a Mercian Saint, a granddaughter of the old heathen Penda. St. Aldate's, assigned to a Celtic patron, possibly recalled no Saint at all.[1] Within the Castle precincts St. George's Canons may have taught. The territory of St. Frideswide ran towards the river. To the East, on the road out of Oxford, King Henry planted a hospital with a leper-house attached. And to the North he not only built a hunting-lodge at Woodstock, and stocked a park with "lions, leopards and strange spotted beasts," but he laid out a Palace near the river-side at Beaumont, which became for a time a home for his descendants, and gave them a special interest in the fortunes of the place.

Henry I, we are told, was "a person of great literature," who delighted in the conversation of the Oxford clerks. But his celebrated grandson was much more. Henry II fills as large a space as any in the roll of early English Kings. None of them perhaps was greater as soldier, law-giver, administrator, diplomatist combined. None for many years ruled such wide dominions. None was more incessant in activities, readier to seek experience of every kind. Insatiable in his love of work, immoderate in his love of hunting, remorseless in the way he moved his Court about, Henry loved his books as a scholar loves them, and was as eager in his reading as in all he undertook.

finally to Regular Canons, probably in 1122. About that time William of Malmesbury speaks of them as "very few" (*De Gest. Pontif.*, ed. Hamilton, 316): but Guimond or Guymundus the Prior was a distinguished man—"admirably well learned," says Wood, "according to those times" (*Annals*, I, 137). See also Parker's *Early Oxford* (138–40 and 165–9), and Rashdall's *Universities* (II, 327 and 335, n.). Eynsham was founded afresh after the Norman Conquest.

[1] Mr. James Parker thought that the name might be a corruption of Aldgate (*Early Hist. of Oxford*, 290–5). But Mr. Boase (*Oxford*, 5) accepts St. Aldate as a Celtic saint. It is not unlike St. Eldad.

He delighted in working out knotty points with the clerks who served him. With the King of England, wrote Peter of Blois, there was "school every day." [1] To Henry, as to his ancestor Fulk the Good, a *rex illiteratus* was an *asinus coronatus*,[2] and the historians, lawyers, churchmen, whom he gathered round him, were among the most learned and enlightened of the time. The King himself was often in Oxford. His son Richard was born at Beaumont. His son John was probably born at Woodstock. The chief romance of his life is linked with Godstow. His visits must have increased the town's importance. His far-reaching schemes of policy brought travellers from every country to his Court. English scholars who were Henry's subjects, like John of Poitiers and John of Salisbury, were promoted to great Continental Sees. An English Pope, a pupil of the Monastery of St. Albans, for the only time in history filled the Papal chair. The Dean of St. Paul's, Ralph de Diceto, himself no mean historian, encouraged his Cathedral Canons to improve their minds by studying abroad. Bishop Foliot, Becket's celebrated rival, sent his young Archdeacons to Bologna, to defy the temptations—brawls, debts and love-adventures—to which Archdeacons were supposed to be peculiarly prone.[3] Walter Map, Archdeacon of Oxford and poet and satirist to boot, whose name tradition has obstinately linked with a favourite drinking-song of the Middle Ages, and who on evidence no stronger has been credited with the creation of Arthurian romance, was a student of Paris, like many of the best English scholars of his time. But his name is found attesting deeds at Oxford, and he must often have resided there. A College was planned at Lambeth which might have made London the first of English Universities. The Archbishop's Palace at Canterbury was a literary centre second in reputation to none in the country, a "camp of God," a "gate of Heaven." Becket's household included something not unlike a staff of Professors. At Winchester Bishop Henry, a grandson of the Conqueror, still in his old age drew men of learning round him. At Salisbury the Dean, John of Oxford, bore a name which almost seems to suggest the University of the future. At Peterborough and St. Albans, at Newburgh and Hexham, monks were busily copying manuscripts,

[1] See his letter "ad Walterum Archiepisc. Panormitanum" in Migne (tom. 207, pp. 195–9). Bishop Stubbs quotes the passage in his *Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History* (Chap. VII, p. 143), from which some of the following details are drawn. See also Mrs. Green's volume on *Henry the Second*.

[2] Roger Bacon attributed the phrase to Henry I. (See the *Secretum Secretorum*, Steele's edition, 58.)

[3] For boy-archdeacons, who coveted pears and required the ministrations of a nurse, see Coulton (*A Medieval Garner*, 193).

chroniclers were steadily writing history. England, says a fine judge, might well have been called a paradise of clerks. Nowhere else in Europe outside Paris was such a supply of writers and readers to be found. And the Latin prose which they wrote with such facility, the Latin verse which they produced in lighter moments, sometimes with such lugubrious results, are proofs of a real educational activity which not even lovers of good Latin will decry.

It is from the days of the second Henry that the University of Oxford probably must date. But the line of Oxford teachers begins when his grandfather was building his Palace at Beaumont, and when the echoes of Abélard's eloquence were still ringing in men's ears. There have come down to us five letters from a teacher and theologian named Theobald of Etampes, who describes himself in some as a Doctor or Master of Caen, and in others as a Master of Oxford. One of the letters, from "Theobaldus Stampensis, Doctor Cadumensis," is addressed almost certainly to Queen Margaret of Scotland, who died in 1093. Another, from Theobaldus, now "Magister Oxenefordiæ," is addressed to Faritius, Abbot of Abingdon, who ruled that great Monastery from 1101 to 1117; and a third, with the same description of the writer,[1] is addressed to Roscellinus. The change of designation implies that Theobald, who was teaching in the well-known school of Caen before the close of the eleventh century, was teaching at Oxford in the early years of the twelfth: and a short treatise written after 1119 by the same Theobald, now "Magister Oxinefordie," is preserved among the Bodleian manuscripts to-day. Theobald, though a sound theologian, was no friend of the monks. He was certain of the damnation of unbaptised infants. But he was equally certain that a Monastery was "a place and prison of the damned." The reply which his attack provoked is also in existence. It is important because it credits him with teaching, evidently in Oxford, "sixty or a hundred clerks more or less."[2] It may be that Theobald's

[1] Only that the spelling is "Oxnefordiæ" here.

[2] See the *Rescriptum cujusdam pro monachis* (*MS. Bodley* 561, f. 62, immediately following Theobald's tract on fol. 61). For his letters see D'Achery (*Spicilegium*, III, 445–9) and Migne (tom. 163, pp. 759–70). Prof. Holland published the extracts in full in his article on *The University of Oxford in the Twelfth Century* (*Collectanea*, O.H.S., II, 151–9). Dean Rashdall was the first English writer to point out the importance of these letters (*Universities*, II, 333–5 and notes). But Twyne knew of the *Rescriptum*, and inferred from it that Theobald was Head of some Oxford Hall or College (*Antiq. Acad. Oxon. Apologia*, 224–5 and 381). And Peshall mentions "Mr. Theobald Stamp, a celebrated tutor" (*Hist. of Univ. of Oxford from the Death of William the Conqueror*, 1). Wood speaks of Theobald as a Master of Oxford under the year 1129 (*Annals*, I, 140 and 142), and adopts Twyne's suggestion.

teaching was promoted by the Secular Canons of St. Frideswide's, and that he was to some extent the champion of their views. It may be that his presence in Oxford was not unconnected with the fact that Robert Bloet, Bishop of Lincoln from 1094 to 1123, to whom one of his letters is addressed, was like himself no lover of the monastic life, but enough of a man of the world to kill himself by hunting with Henry I. If so, a very early link would be established between the Bishop of Lincoln and the Oxford Schools. But whatever influence drew Theobald to Oxford, no one can deny his claim to rank as the first of her recorded teachers eight hundred years ago.

A few years later, in 1133, a more famous theologian, Robert Pullus or Pullen, is stated in the annals of Oseney Abbey to have begun to lecture on the Scriptures at Oxford. A subsequent chronicle, embroidering perhaps on this foundation, adds that he came from Exeter and lectured in Oxford for five years. There is no doubt that Robert Pullen was a great divine, whose writings were an authority for churchmen, and there is no doubt that he lectured later on in Paris, where John of Salisbury sat under him as a student. He became, apparently, Archdeacon of Rochester. He became also, it seems, a Cardinal and Chancellor of the Apostolic See. The details of his life are still uncertain, but there is no strong ground for rejecting the tradition which makes him a teacher in the Oxford Schools.[1] Another Robert, from Cricklade, who became Prior of St. Frideswide's in 1141, and who composed and dedicated to Henry II an abridgment of Pliny's Natural History, must have been well known to the clerks of Oxford, whether he studied in their Schools or not. And while Prior Robert was ruling at St. Frideswide's, Master Vacarius, the great Lombard jurist, was in England, and probably in Oxford, teaching Roman Law. Vacarius was brought over by Archbishop Theobald, who exerted himself to encourage the study of Civil and Canon Law. Gervase of Canterbury, who lived in the famous lawyer's lifetime, tells us that he taught in

[1] The facts and dates given by different authorities for the career of Robert Pullen, who is also called Pulein, Pullein, Pullanus and Pulleyn, are not altogether easy to reconcile with each other. See the Oseney and Waverley Annals (*Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, Rolls Series, IV, 19–20, and II, 231); John of Hexham, in the same series (*Symeonis Mon. Op.*, ed. Arnold, II, 319); *MS. Bodley* 712 (f. 275*a*); John of Salisbury (*Metalogicus*, Lib. II, c. 10); Stubbs (*Lectures*, 151–3); Holland (*Collect.* II, 159–60); Lyte (*Univ. of Oxf.*, 10); and Rashdall (II, 335). By a slight error in Dean Rashdall's note the date is given as 1233, and the word *magister* before *Robertus*, which appears in the Bodley MS., is omitted. Wood suggests that Robert Pullen may have taught Aristotle at Oxford (*Ann.* I, 280).

Oxford.[1] And though King Stephen silenced the lecturer, Civil Law soon became a popular study in the Oxford Schools, and the writings of Vacarius acquired such a reputation that, before the century ended, two students out of Friesland were found sitting up in some dim room at Oxford to pore over them and copy them at night.

It is clear then that before the middle of the twelfth century there were Schools at Oxford, where clerks already gathered in substantial numbers to hear men of learning teach. There were priests and monks and Canons living there, some of whom may well have drawn a following of students round them. There was a thriving town, accessible from all parts of the kingdom, long known as a centre of national activities, under the shadow of an intellectual Court. There was a new stir and independence in the hearts of scholars, a passionate desire for larger knowledge to answer the new calls upon the minds of men. It wanted only some strong impulse to turn into a native channel the stream of English students flowing overseas, to develop in the lanes around St. Mary's a *Studium Generale*, a University for the Northern world. That impulse, there is ground for believing, was found in the great ecclesiastical struggle of the time. English clerks were closely affected by Becket's quarrel with the King. The French Sovereign made no secret of his sympathy for the Archbishop. The expulsion of foreign scholars from France, ascribed by John of Salisbury to the year 1167, even if it amounted to little more than a voluntary exodus, may well have checked the flow of Englishmen to Paris and have sent many who were living in Paris home. The ordinances issued by Henry II against Becket's partisans forbade clerks to cross the seas between England and the Continent without the express permission of the

[1] *Actus Pontificum* (384, in Vol. II of Stubbs' ed. of Gervase's Historical Works, Rolls Series). See also *Roberti de Monte Chronica* (Migne, tom. 160, pp. 465–6); John of Salisbury (*Polycrat.*, Lib. VIII, c. 22); Holland (*Collect.* II, 165–70, and letters in the *Academy*, Nos. 846, 848 and 849). Dr. Rashdall (II, 335–8) thinks that John of Salisbury's words "*Tempore regis Stephani a regno jussæ sunt leges Romanæ, quas in Britanniam domus venerabilis patris Theobaldi, Britanniarum primatis, asciverat*"—I use the spelling of Giles' edition (IV, 357)—imply that Vacarius lectured not in Oxford but in the Archbishop's household. But I submit that the words do not really throw doubt on the statement of Gervase, who could have had no motive for ascribing to Oxford an event which belonged to Canterbury. Vacarius may have lectured in both places, but it was in Oxford that his teaching took root. Bishop Stubbs says that Theobald "settled" Vacarius "at Oxford" (*Lects.*, ed. 1900, p. 348). Three sheets of a MS. of Vacarius have been discovered in the binding of a fifteenth-century MS. at All Souls. But the latter is apparently of French origin, and these Vacarian fragments cannot be regarded as relics of an Oxford School. (See *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, Vol. III, 164–5.)

Crown, and provided that all clerks who possessed revenues in England should be summoned to repair within three months to this country.[1] The students so displaced must have sought some fresh centre of learning. The Masters whom they followed must have set up their chairs elsewhere. And the inference that they found in Oxford the home which they needed, and brought to Oxford a great accession of scholars, of teachers and of fame, is supported by evidence which it is difficult to resist.

From this time onwards indications multiply that Oxford has become a *Studium Generale*, a home of Doctors, Faculties and students from all quarters. Even before 1172 we have Prior Robert of St. Frideswide's claiming to have preached to clerks from various parts of England. About the year 1180 we have a scholar cured at St. Frideswide's shrine, who has come all the way from Yorkshire for his studies, and an ancient conveyance recording that illuminators, parchmenters, a book-binder, a writer—all evidences of an active literary life—are settled in "Cattestrete" close by St. Mary's Church. A few years later Giraldus Cambrensis arrives in Oxford, "where clerks in England chiefly flourished and excelled," to read them his account of his travels in Ireland, and to entertain in three days' sumptuous hospitality not only poor men, scholars, citizens and knights, but the Doctors of the diverse Faculties and their most distinguished pupils.[2] Before the century closes visitors from Friesland are studying in the Oxford Schools. A Hungarian scholar, Nicholas, is enjoying the bounty of King Richard. Students are said to be so numerous that the town can hardly feed them—"men skilled in mystical eloquence, weighing the words of the law." Oxford is classed with Paris and Bologna, with Montpellier and Salerno. Lectures on Canon Law and Civil Law are in full swing. Abbot Samson, the immortal Abbot of St. Edmundsbury, gives a dinner to a party of Masters in the town. Slight as these indications are, they all point in the same direction, to the rapid growth in Oxford, in the latter years of Henry II's reign, of a large and powerful community of scholars with a new system and independence of its own. How much of this there was before, we cannot positively say. But after 1170 the vitality of the Oxford Schools is undeniable, and only a sudden migration from Paris, which the ways of mediæval students render not improbable,

[1] For Henry's edicts see Gervase of Canterbury (ed. Stubbs, I, 214–5), Roger of Hoveden (ed. Stubbs, I, 231–2), Robertson's *Materials* (I, 53–4 and VII, 147–51), and Rashdall (II, 330–2). The date of the edicts is uncertain; the earliest date suggested is 1164, the latest 1169. They may have been issued at different times. Wood (*Ann.* I, 161) represents English clerks as fleeing to France in 1169, to escape obedience to King Henry's policy.

[2] Giraldus Cambrensis (ed. Brewer, Rolls Series, I, 72–3).

seems sufficient to explain the fact.[1] Yet if Oxford owes much to the University of Paris, then just emerging into corporate existence, she can claim an antiquity little less august. From the days of Henry Beauclerc onwards her teachers have a place in history. When Becket lay dead by the altar-steps at Canterbury, the life of the first of English Universities had begun.

[1] I think it is difficult to resist this argument, worked out by Dean Rashdall with so much knowledge and skill (*Universities*, II, 326–48), supported by the extracts—with one exception—quoted by him and by Prof. Holland (*Collect.* II, 160–86), and accepted by scholars like Bishop Creighton. But the positive evidence on which it rests is of course comparatively small. I cannot claim to have found any fresh materials to confirm or weaken Dr. Rashdall's view. But I do not attach the same importance as he does (on p. 345) to the extract from the Llanthony Chronicle preserved by Twyne (*MS.* XXII, 162), which does not in fact prove that the Chaplain referred to was both a Master of Arts and a scholar in a superior Faculty. It is, no doubt, quite possible to hold that the gatherings of clerks from all quarters at Prior Robert's sermons, and the settlement of illuminators and parchmenters in Cat Street, suggest the existence of considerable Schools in Oxford even before 1170; and their development into something like a *Studium Generale* may have gone further than we know. On the other hand, the resort of English students to Paris continued long after the death of Becket. Mr. A. F. Leach has vigorously challenged Dr. Rashdall's theory. But the points which he has pressed in correspondence in the *Oxford Magazine* for 1911–12 (278–9, 331–3 and 384–5) do not dispose of the Dean's case. Under the year 1109 Wood (*Ann.* I, 136) speaks of a "Vicus Scholarum" and a "Vicus Schediasticorum" as mentioned in "the ancientest evidences" which he has seen. But these evidences have never been produced. The old "Vicus Murilegorum," it may be added, the "street of cats or mouse-catchers," has little claim to be called Catharine Street to-day (Wood, *City*, ed. Clark, I, 92).

CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF THE MEDIÆVAL UNIVERSITY

THE Universities of Europe stand beside the Empire and the Papacy among the most illustrious institutions which the genius of the Middle Ages shaped. They became powerful and privileged communities. They built up a great tradition. They made themselves the mouthpiece of mediæval thought. But originally they were only guilds of teachers or of students, drawn together by the instinct of association which played so large a part in a disordered age. These guilds or corporations sprang to life in places where celebrated Schools existed, and where one at least of the higher Faculties was found. The General Schools of Paris and Bologna, famed from the first for Theology and Law, furnished an example for the Universities which followed. The Masters' Guild of Paris developed into a University of Masters, setting a precedent which Oxford was the earliest to adopt. The Students' Guilds of Bologna, where the students exercised unique authority, supplied a model for the Student Universities elsewhere. And, widely as later Universities may have differed from either, it is yet from one or other of these two typical foundations that their successors to this day derive some of the most characteristic features they possess.

As the thirteenth century proceeded, Popes and Emperors stepped in, to found new Schools of General Study, for which something like equality with the first Universities was claimed. Masters from these new Schools maintained their right to teach in any other, without being examined or qualifying afresh, and Bulls from the Heads of Christendom admitted the plea. But the most ancient Universities were naturally unwilling to allow that the *jus ubique docendi* placed all Masters on the same footing as their own. Paris required a fresh test even from the Doctors of Oxford. Oxford, in spite of Papal Bulls, imposed her own terms upon Doctors from Paris. All Universities alike, however, were glad to secure the protection of the Papacy, and to fortify their rights with Papal sanctions. To the Popes Paris owed the first recognition of her corporate existence, the support which established her privileges and independence. To a Papal Legate and the power behind him Oxford owes her earliest Charter, and

the beginning of those imperious immunities which were to make a society of teachers almost supreme within the city walls.

The Masters' Guild which grew up at Oxford before the end of the twelfth century brought most of its customs probably from Paris. But it may have been some time in taking a definite shape. A degree was originally nothing but a license to teach. All qualified persons were entitled to the license and were expected to undertake the duty. There was at first little or no distinction between the styles of Master, Doctor and Professor,[1] while a Bachelor, though allowed to lecture after spending some years in study, was still regarded as a young man serving his apprenticeship in the world of letters. The earliest teachers of the Middle Ages naturally looked to the Church for a sanction. It was only in the Monasteries and Cathedral churches that education then survived. If the monks and canons were not qualified to teach, some scholar was called in and employed for the purpose. But the Master or Head of the Schools became in most cases a member of the Cathedral body. In Northern Europe the Cathedral Chancellor, who looked after its library, its documents and learning, often undertook to supervise its teaching too. The Chancellor might lecture on theology himself. But other subjects were generally taught by a Master, and, as the desire for education spread, Masters ready to teach them multiplied in number. When a student had studied sufficiently under some acknowledged teacher, he might ask for a license to teach others and take his place in the society of Masters. For his license he would apply to the Head of the Schools; the Church claimed and established her right to give it.[2] For admittance to the Masters' guild he must secure his colleagues' help and must actually start upon his duties. Gradually round his initiation or Inception a number of curious ceremonies gathered, some perhaps inherited from dim traditions of Athens or of Rome, some borrowed from the guilds of merchants[3] or from the loftier symbolism which marked the Knight's initiation into the brotherhood of arms, some only the accompaniment, eked out with mediæval formality or humour, of admission to any close association by which privilege was conferred. The scholar received the Master's book. The Master's

[1] It was a later practice to use the title of Doctor specially for teachers of Law, a later still to reserve it, as at Oxford, for the superior Faculties, Law, Medicine and Theology, alone. The Regents were the teachers: *regere* and *legere* meant to teach.

[2] But the early guilds of Masters sometimes claimed the right to license their own members. For this summary I am of course indebted largely to earlier writers, but chiefly to Dean Rashdall.

[3] See Gross (*The Gild Merchant*, 29–34). At Winchester they "drank the Gild Merchant." At Guildford new members were expected to provide a bull for baiting.

ring was placed on his finger. The Master's cap was set on his head. And then, ascending the Master's chair, and receiving his old teacher's kiss and benediction, he proceeded to show his quality in his inaugural address. But in return for his adoption he had to pay his footing, to entertain his new colleagues as liberally as his fortunes would allow, and to find such contributions of gowns or gloves or money as custom sanctioned and good fellowship required.[1]

But it took many generations of students to build up these elaborate ceremonies, and it is not easy to say who granted licenses for teaching to the earliest Masters of the University of Oxford. The authority of the Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Paris over the Schools of the famous island in the Seine may be traced back to a very early date, and so vigorous was that authority that, had it not been for the Pope's intervention, the Chancellor might have brought the rising University into complete subjection to himself. But in Henry II's day there was no Cathedral Church or Chancellor in Oxford. The Bishop of the vast diocese was at Lincoln far away ; and it chanced that in the latter part of the twelfth century there was for several years together no acting Bishop at all.[2] Analogy suggests that the earliest Oxford teachers would look to the Bishop's representative or to one of the local religious Houses for any sanction they required. Teaching so often meant speculation in theology that the Church knew the value of controlling teachers. But, while the Bishop was an absentee, the Oxford Monasteries had no special educational repute. And it is quite possible that from the first the Oxford teachers enjoyed an unusual degree of independence. The Chancellor of the University is first mentioned in the well-known Legatine Ordinance of 1214, which is still preserved in the Tower of the Archives.[3] The wording there suggests that

[1] For the ancient ceremonies connected with Inception, see Dean Rashdall's *Universities* (especially I, 229–32). Evelyn speaks of the ceremonies, "creation of Doctors by y^e^ cap, ring, kisse, etc.," as "yet not wholy abolish'd" (*Diary* for July 10, 1654).

[2] E.g. at various times between 1168 and 1209 (Rashdall, II, 354, n., and 758). Under these special circumstances it is conceivable that some of the early Masters appointed at Oxford were not formally licensed at all.

[3] The earlier document in the University Archives, dated 1201 and referring to the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, which Twyne upheld against Sir Robert Cotton, and which Wood and Du Boulay and later writers accepted, is now admitted to be a forgery, prepared later in the interests of St. Frideswide's. Since these pages were written Mr. H. E. Salter has printed it, with other valuable documents, in the first volume of his *Mediæval Archives of the University* (1–2). To this volume, with its clear and reliable references to the originals, it will now be more convenient for readers to refer. Of the Legatine Ordinance there are two versions in the Archives, one of June 20 and one of June 25, 1214, varying

the title was familiar, and was perhaps already applied in loose parlance to the Head of the Schools. But, on the other hand, the Chancellor is referred to as an official whom the Bishop shall appoint, and it is possible that he was not actually appointed till some years later. When appointed, he was the Bishop's officer, an ecclesiastic who owed to the prelate behind him any jurisdiction he possessed. But he may from the beginning have been chosen from among the Masters. At an early date he became their nominee. As his dependence on the University developed, his dependence on the Bishop declined or disappeared. He became the representative of University pretensions, even of University usurpations, and the judicial powers which he derived from the Bishop he successfully passed on to the University itself.[1]

Before the regular appointment of a Chancellor, however, there was probably some Head of the Schools in existence at Oxford. In the Legatine Ordinance of 1214 "the Archdeacon of the place" is conspicuously mentioned, and the Archdeacon may for a time have granted the license for teaching. At Bologna the Archdeacon acquired in the thirteenth century powers very similar to those of the Chancellor at Paris. Or it is possible that the early Oxford Masters granted the licenses and conducted the Inceptions for themselves.[2] Or again it is possible that they

slightly in their terms. Dean Rashdall (II, 351, notes) quotes from the former (Pyx P. XII, 1)—my reading of it differs on one or two trifling points from his. Mr. Anstey printed the Ordinance in a slightly different form from the Chancellor's and Senior Proctor's Books (*Munimenta Academica*, 1–4). But Mr. Salter has collated the two versions and printed the later one (Pyx P. XII, 3) in his *Mediæval Archives* (I, pp. 2–4; there is a marginal error, July 25 instead of June 25, on p. 2). Three sentences in the Ordinance mention the Chancellor—"quem episcopus Lincolniensis ibidem scolaribus preficiet." In a draft Charter of the same year, to be issued by the commune of Oxford, we find the words "coram archidiacono loci et cancellario scolarum Oxon'" (*Ib.* 9). Three Bulls of Pope Honorius, of March and April 1221, couple the Chancellor with the Archdeacon of Worcester and the Dean of Oxford (*Ib.* 10 and 15). It is difficult to judge how much credit to attach to a note which Twyne quotes (*MS.* XXIII, 67) in regard to another Bull of the same year—and which Dr. Rashdall accepts—to the effect that there was then no Chancellor in existence. Other references to the Oxford Chancellor in documents of 1225, 1230, and 1233 (as set out) are given by Dr. Rashdall (II, 355, n., and 754–6).

[1] Dr. Rashdall (II, 120) points out the resemblance between the early Chancellorship at Montpellier and the early Chancellorship at Oxford.

[2] The earliest Masters at Bologna did so, but it was contrary to custom North of the Alps. But as late as 1246 the well-known Bull addressed to Grosseteste, directing that no Master should teach unless examined and approved by the Bishop or his representative "secundum morem Parisiensem," suggests that the regular ecclesiastical license was sometimes dispensed with still. Dr. Rashdall seems to accept (II, 354, n.) Wood's reference of this passage (*Annals*, I, 236) to the Register of Bishop Hugh

chose a representative to preside over the Schools and to license the teachers. In 1211, if Anthony Wood's story may be trusted, a Papal Bull was addressed to the Prior of Oseney, the Dean of Oxford and "Master Alardus Rector of the Schools."[1] Even Robert Grosseteste, while a famous lecturer at Oxford, was not called Chancellor, but only "Master of the Schools."[2] The Parisian Masters who settled at Oxford may have taken advantage of their freedom to license their own colleagues and to elect their own ruler. And in course of time this ruler, securing the sanction of the Bishop and the name and standing of the Paris Chancellor, in a city very different from Paris where there was no Cathedral, no Bishop and no overshadowing Court, won for the University, whose authority he embodied, a unique position of privilege and power.

But if at the beginning of the thirteenth century the organisation of the University was still undeveloped, its rights not yet defined by charter, its customs not yet stereotyped in Statutes, it already enjoyed a full and vigorous life. Hundreds of students thronged the narrow lanes[3]—little fellows still learning Latin in the grammar schools, older boys of fifteen or sixteen already started on their University careers, youths in the first flush of manhood, eager for mysteries to solve, for worlds to conquer,

Wells of Lincoln. But Bishop Wells died in 1235, and his Register is lost, though his *Rotuli* have been published. Twyne took the reference from a later Register, and the mistake, which Wood copies, was originally his. The Bull is printed in M. Berger's Vatican documents (*Registres d'Innocent IV*, I, 277) and in the *Calendar of Papal Letters* (I, 225). Parisian Masters, during their secession to Angers in 1229, admitted new Masters, and once later they elected an official of their own to give the license (Rashdall, I, 222–3, 337 and 394). Denifle and Chatelain give Papal Ordinances between 1170 and 1180 forbidding the sale of licenses to teach (*Chart. Univ. Paris*, I, 4 and 10). See also Crévier (*Hist. de l'Univ. de Paris*, I, 256).

[1] *Fasti* (6). It is possible but unlikely that "Rector Scholarum" here means only a Regent Master. A Magister Alardus, Sub-Dean of Wells, granted a quit-claim of land in St. Mildred's parish, Oxford, about the year 1215 (*Cartulary of St. Frideswide*, I, 438).

[2] So Bishop Sutton alleged in 1294. The phrase in the Register is "Magister Scolarum" (*Lincoln Reg., Sutton*, f. 117): the Sub-Dean of Lincoln kindly verified it for me. Twyne (*MS.* XII, 7) reproduces it as "Magister Scholarium."

[3] Mediæval writers reckon them by thousands, but their statements must be largely discounted, and the small population of mediæval England borne in mind. Matthew Paris gives 3,000 in 1209 (*Hist. Angl.*, ed. Madden, II, 120, and *Chron. Maj.*, ed. Luard, II, 525–6). But half that number would be more likely. The larger estimates included all clerks in the University precincts, servants, writers, stationers and dependents of all kinds, and are even then probably over-stated. There is little to suggest that many boys came to the grammar schools of Oxford except from the immediate neighbourhood. (See later, p. 139.)

and ripe for any mischief that hot blood could suggest.[1] Poverty and hardship were not unknown among them. Some perhaps went hungry, and some were meanly lodged. Cold and darkness, when the winter days descended, must have been among the worst of their troubles. But most of them probably had enough to live on, and many of them were prosperous and well-to-do. Pictures of student life in Paris have come down to us in two satirical poems of the time of Richard I. One of them is by an English writer, and both to a certain extent apply to contemporary conditions at Oxford.[2] The Englishman, speaking of his countrymen in Paris, notices their good looks and good manners, their open-handedness, their generous receptivity to drink. The Frenchman, writing in a more critical vein, and perhaps with something more of a poet's license, dwells on the poverty and labour of the scholars, their bad lodging, their spare diet and their weary toil, the idleness of the richer students, the hardness of life for the rest. Vices they had, no doubt, and stern denunciations of the vice of Paris are common enough in the Middle Ages. But the love of learning and the love of fighting were as conspicuous as any other characteristics, and at Oxford at any rate the picture need not be too darkly drawn. Men of rank found it worth their while to join the University. Church and King befriended the students. Henry III sent his half-brother to Oxford, and presented him with English benefices for his maintenance, with Royal bucks for his larder and Royal charcoal for his fires. Later on, when King Henry threatened to hang the Oxford clerks in arms against him at Northampton, he was warned that there were sons of his Magnates among them.[3] The spirit of rebellion and the love of turbulence were never far away. Oxford scholars drank and begged. Oxford brawlers justified the distich

[1] At Paris 20 was the minimum age for the Mastership, and a Determining Bachelor had to be at least 14 (Rashdall, II, 604). There may have been Oxford freshmen of 12 or 13, and boys at grammar schools still younger. The carrier or fetcher of scholars mentioned in University documents (*Munimenta Academica*, 346) proves little, but there is no doubt that some undergraduates were very young. Mr. Salter has noted the case of a clerk of 16 dying in 1300 from the effects of a " rag " at " Baylol Hall." In 1374 a guardian states that he has paid for his ward's board at Oxford for thirteen years apparently, from the age of 8 to the age of 21 (Riley's *Memorials of London*, 379). On the other hand, some students were much older.

[2] One is the *Speculum Stultorum* of Nigellus, a Precentor of Canterbury, whose hero is an ass. The other is the *Architrenius* of John de Hauteville (*Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, ed. T. Wright, Vol. I).

[3] Walter of Hemingburgh's *Chronicle* (ed. Hamilton, I, 311). See also Lyte (*Hist. Univ. Oxford*, 31, n. and 43). We can scarcely say with Mr. J. R. Green that the son of the noble stood " on precisely the same footing with the poorest mendicant."

"When Oxford draws knife
England's soon at strife."

But there must have been many early Oxford scholars who lived peaceable, hard-working lives, and the story of Edmund Rich reminds us that from the first they had their dreamers and ascetics too. John of Salisbury, writing to Becket from Paris in 1164, had nothing to say of hardship or turbulence or sin. He dwelt with delight on "the abundance of food, the joyousness of the people, the reverence of the clergy, the majesty and glory of the Church." [1] Plenty and joyousness were probably not wanting even among English students of the days of King John [2]; and in the winter of 1208–9 an incident occurred at Oxford with which the chartered history of the University begins.

At Maiden Hall, on a spot probably now within the bounds of New College, an obscure student killed a woman and fled.[3] The Mayor and townsmen, failing to find the offender, arrested two or three innocent clerks who shared his lodgings, and with the King's ready permission hanged them outside the walls. John, then engaged in a bitter quarrel with the Church, was in no mood to respect the privileges of clerks. The startled students saw their lives endangered and their clerical immunities trampled under foot. The Schools were abandoned.[4] Masters and scholars took refuge at Reading, in Paris, at Maidstone, at Canterbury, at Cambridge. It is not the least of the glories of Oxford that by this chance her sons may claim a share in the foundation of another University as lovely and illustrious as their own.[5] But the Church

[1] Quoted by Denifle and Chatelain (*Chart. Univ. Paris*, I, 17).

[2] There is little reason to think that Mr. Green's phrases about rags and poverty and a "mob of half-starved boys" (*Studies in Oxford History*, Chap. I, 19) applied to any large proportion of mediæval students at Oxford.

[3] "Casu," says one chronicler, "turpiter," another. There was more than one Maiden Hall in mediæval Oxford. Some accounts say three clerks were hanged, some only two. Matthew Paris and Roger of Wendover say both. The latter records the settlement at Cambridge. The migration apparently began in January, 1209. Many chroniclers refer to it, some quite briefly. See Matt. Paris (*Hist. Angl.*, ed. Madden, II, 120, and *Chron. Maj.*, ed. Luard, II, 525–6 and 568–9); Roger of Wendover (*Flores Hist.*, ed. Hewlett, II, 51 and 94); John of Oxnead (ed. Ellis, 124); Walter of Coventry (ed. Stubbs, II, 201); and the Chronicles of Lanercost (ed. Stevenson, 4), Peterborough (ed. Stapleton, 6), and Melrose (ed. Stevenson, 107).

[4] But some Masters "irreverently" stayed on.

[5] This migration from Oxford to Cambridge, like the twelfth-century migration from Paris to Oxford, played, it may be, a larger part than has always been admitted in converting into a *Studium Generale* such local Schools as existed at Cambridge before.

proved stronger than the angry King. Interdict and excommunication were still weapons to be feared. John, who inherited in a meaner form most of the failings and some of the gifts of his race—it is characteristic that, where William the Conqueror swore by God's splendour, John swore by God's teeth—capitulated in due course to the inflexible Pope. Thrown over by the King, the townsmen of Oxford, after four or five years of defiance, perforce submitted too. In 1213 they sought out the Legate, the Bishop of Tusculum, in London, and accepted the penance he imposed. Stripped and bare-footed, scourges in their hands, and chanting in procession the fiftieth Psalm—"I will reprove thee and set before thee the things that thou has done"—they visited one by one the Oxford churches and begged for absolution from the parish priests. And to the University which they had offended the reparation offered was signally complete.

The Legatine Ordinance of 1214, the earliest of University documents and charters, secured substantial benefits for the injured clerks. The townsmen were bidden to forgo for ten years half of the rent of all hostels let to clerks,[1] and to leave the rents agreed on unchanged for ten years more. Other rents were to be assessed every ten years by a board of four Masters and four townsmen. The town was condemned to pay fifty-two shillings yearly for ever for the use of poor scholars, and to feast a hundred poor scholars regularly upon St. Nicholas' day. The obligation was immediately taken over by the monks of Eynsham,[2] but the fine survived when the monks disappeared, and a substitute for it is still, seven centuries later, paid to the University each year by the Crown.[3] The townsmen swore to provide the students with food and necessaries at reasonable rates. They agreed, in the event of any clerk being arrested by them in future, to

[1] "Hospitiorum omnium locandorum clericis in eadem uilla." The rents had been assessed before the dispersion "communi consilio clericorum et burgensium" (*Med. Arch. Univ.* I, 2–3). Twyne notes (*MS.* XVII, 281) that some clerks, who rented houses belonging to Monasteries, tried to take advantage of the clause to reduce their rents, which was not at all what the Legate intended. In 1256 Henry III ordered rents to be reassessed every five years (*Med. Arch.* I, 21, and *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1256, p. 462), and this order was repeated in 1269 (*Med. Arch.* I, 28–9).

[2] The earlier version of the deed in the Archives (P. XII, 1) has words providing that some one might undertake this duty for the town. But the later version of June 25 (P. XII, 3) omits them. (See *Med. Arch.* I, 2–3.)

[3] The Crown took over the Abbey's obligation at the Dissolution, and the Curators of the University Chest still receive each year from the Paymaster-General £3 1*s.* 6*d.*—Income Tax is no longer deducted—for "The Poor Scholars of Oxford." The Assistant Paymaster has kindly supplied me with the latest facts about this earliest of University endowments.

surrender him on the demand of the Bishop or his deputy,[1] and to resort to no devices[2] to infringe the Bishop's jurisdiction. The oath of fifty leading townsmen to observe these provisions was to be repeated every year.[3] The Masters, who had remained at Oxford and "irreverently" lectured when the rest withdrew, were to be punished with three years' suspension. And all responsible for the original outrage were to march to the grave of the murdered men, uncloaked, unshod, ungirdled, with the rest of the townsfolk following behind, and to bear their bodies to hallowed ground, for burial where the Church ordained.[4]

This memorable Ordinance is the first record of Oxford immunities and the first step in the University's ascendency over the town. It shows us the Chancellorship beginning to develop. The Abbot of Oseney and the Prior of St. Frideswide's, two of the principal ecclesiastics on the spot, may act as trustees for the poor scholars in the distribution of the fine. But the management of the affairs of the rising University is in the hands of its Masters and of the Bishop's officials. It shows us the origins of the formidable jurisdiction which was to be the source of the University's power, the right of the Chancellor, as the Bishop's representative, to exempt from secular authority all clerks under his sway, to deal as a churchman with clerical delinquents, to substitute clerical punishments, suspension, excommunication, penance, for the harsher but more effective weapons of the ordinary law. It shows the existence of a working agreement between clerks and townsmen for fixing the rents of houses where the students lived; the ancient office of University Taxor has apparently begun. It shows that some order must have been issued for the withdrawal of the University from Oxford, which the recalcitrant Masters disobeyed, and that some recognised authority, perhaps the whole body of Masters, already existed to speak in the University's name. And it shows, in the annual fine levied for the benefit of poor scholars, the first traces of a University endowment.

[1] "Requisiti ab episcopo Lincolniensi uel archidiacono loci seu eius officiali uel a cancellario seu ab eo quem episcopus Lincolniensis huic offitio deputauerit" (*Med. Arch.* I, 3).

[2] "Nec aliquo modo machinabuntur" (*Ib.*).

[3] By any number up to 50, as the Bishop might require. They swore on behalf of themselves, the commune and their heirs. But to the last words the version of June 20 added the qualification "quantum in eis est"—so far as they could (*Ib.*).

[4] Besides the Legate's award—with the two versions collated—Mr. Salter has printed (*Med. Arch.* I, 2–10) the Legate's letter to the Bishop of Lincoln on the subject, the Abbey of Eynsham's promise to pay the fine and feed the 100 poor scholars—"istud onus in nos integre suscepimus singulis annis perpetuo faciendum" (P. XII, 5)—and the draft charter proposed to be issued by Philip the Mayor and the commune of Oxford (P. XII, 4).

Out of these humble beginnings the system of University Chests arose. In 1240 Bishop Grosseteste directed that the University's new revenues, the fifty-two shillings a year, with any additions made by the faithful, should be paid into a Chest at St. Frideswide's Priory. The Chest was placed in charge of a brother, appointed by the Prior with the Chancellor's assent, and of two discreet men whom the University elected, and it became the first of many charities for financing needy students. The Jews of the town were ready enough to lend money to scholars at exorbitant rates: Royal orders were needed to restrict the interest to forty-three per cent. But the University Chest issued loans without interest. It only required the deposit of some pledge—a cup, a garment, a precious manuscript, an illuminated missal—to be sold at the end of a year if repayment failed. There are yet to be found in English libraries ancient manuscripts so pawned. One of them, which contains the name of Wycliffe, is among the treasures of the British Museum. In early days the right of borrowing from the Chest was restricted to scholars whose income from benefices did not exceed ten marks. The loans were limited to one mark, thirteen shillings and four pence, for a Master, to eight shillings for a Bachelor, and to five shillings for a Sophister; and as time passed these regulations were varied, and others laid down to prevent abuse. The Chest at St. Frideswide's, the University's only bank, was evidently needed. Its foundation was soon followed by the establishment of others. After 1249 a second Chest was required to store the bequest of William of Durham. In 1293 a great lady founded a third.[1] Within a hundred years the University could boast of many such endowments, which rendered borrowers invaluable service, and well deserved to be remembered in their prayers.

Thus even before the death of King John the earliest rights of the University had been won. The Congregation of Masters must sometimes have met. Executive officers of the Masters' Guild, Rectors or Proctors, may already have existed.[2] The

[1] Ela, Countess of Warwick. Several others were founded during the next thirty years, and others again later. After early days they were kept at St. Mary's and the rules were varied. The 52*s.* paid by Eynsham was treated as income, and divided among needy Regent Masters. For the annual feast of 100 poor scholars 16*s.* was paid by Eynsham also. And a further sum of 26*s.* 8*d.* a year was received, under an arrangement of Grosseteste's, from Oseney Abbey. (See *Med. Arch.* II, 276–7, *Mun. Acad. passim.*, and later, Chap. VIII.)

[2] Adam Marsh speaks of two Rectors of the Artists (*Monumenta Franciscana*, I, 347). See also Rashdall (II, 370). The term Rector occasionally reappears. Among the Magdalen MSS. is a Bull addressed by Innocent VIII in 1484, "Rectori et Universitati studii Oxonien" (*Eighth Report, Historical MSS. Commission*, 266)—perhaps only a notary's error.

Chancellorship was a recognised office. The University Taxors were at work. But it is not till the reign of John's successor, the "simple and pacific" King,[1] whose weakness led to so much mischief, that the University organisation took a definite shape. Even in the days of Bishop Grosseteste the Chancellor was only one of his officials, whose authority depended entirely on his chief. The Bishop intervened freely in University administration, and disapproved of the Chancellor's using the University's seal.[2] But no conflict between Bishop and University had arisen yet. We do not know how far at this early date the Chancellor presided over business. But as time goes on his prominence increases and his name recurs. He might attend Congregation as a Doctor, and if he attended it would probably become the custom to put him in the chair. His consent may not have been needed for the withdrawal of a license or the suspension of a teacher; but his powers of excommunication and imprisonment were of obvious value in enforcing the University's decrees. The Proctors, who are first mentioned in 1248, may have been from the beginning the University's executive. But the Chancellor was becoming more and more identified with the interests of the students. Under Henry III the importance of the University developed fast. In 1228 and the years that followed the jealousy between Town and Gown blazed out afresh. The clerks and so-called clerks perhaps abused their privileges. The laymen perhaps failed to keep the spirit of the promises which they had made. Dangerous quarrels followed. Interdict and fine were resorted to again. The townsmen were compelled to send the offenders[3] to Rome, and to accept the arbitration of four Masters in all future controversies with the triumphant clerks. The Friars came, to stimulate the fervour of the Church and swell its numbers. The troubles which in 1229 dispersed the great University of Paris, brought a new colony of Masters and students to the now famous schools by the Thames.[4] Questions arose over food prices. The townsmen tried to raise their rents for lodgings, and the King was called in to settle the dispute. The pride of Oxford scholars was growing, and in 1238 they found themselves in

[1] See Walter of Hemingburgh (I, 324).

[2] *Mon. Francisc.* (I, 100–1).

[3] "Percussores clericorum" (*Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, III, 109–10). See also Lyte (*Hist. of Univ. of Oxford*, 32–3).

[4] "Multitudo," say the Royal letters to Oxford and Cambridge, "e diversis partibus tam cismarinis quam transmarinis" (*Letters of Hen. III.*, ed. Shirley, Rolls Series, I, 398–9). Paris students went to Cambridge also. Du Boulay (*Hist. Univ. Paris*, III, 132) thinks Henry's invitation to them clandestine and unfriendly. It offered to assign them for residence any English cities or towns they liked (*Med. Arch.* I, 17–18).

conflict even with the ecclesiastical superiors to whose powerful protection their immunities were due.

It chanced that the Papal Legate Otho visited Oseney Abbey in that year, and the scholars, who had sent him a present before dinner-time one April day, called after dinner to pay their respects, and perhaps to ask for favours in return. "A certain transalpine Janitor," however, "raising his voice in the Roman manner,"[1] flatly refused them admission, and a free fight followed with the Legate's train. During the fray the master of the Legate's cooks, who happened also to be his Eminence's brother, flung a pot of boiling water over an Irish chaplain begging at the kitchen door. A Welsh clerk drew a bow and shot the master-cook. The scholars broke into the Abbey. The Legate was denounced with all the wealth of their vocabulary as a usurer, a simonist, a stealer of the nation's goods. Startled by charges which would leave a modern sinner undismayed, the Cardinal seized his canonicals and fled into the tower. By night he escaped across the river, and appearing at Abingdon claimed the protection of the King. Henry promptly took steps to punish the scholars. Some thirty of the leaders were arrested and sent like felons to Wallingford and London. The gates of Oxford were closely watched. Lectures were suspended. Excommunication and interdict were solemnly proclaimed. And it needed all the fearless energy of Bishop Grosseteste, and his sturdy plea for common-sense and justice, to appease the angry Cardinal and to secure pardon for either University or town. Even then the offenders had to take part in a penitential procession through the streets of London, and to pay for the repose of the master-cook's soul. Many days elapsed before the fugitive scholars, who had taken refuge at Northampton and Salisbury,[2] and had founded there schools which lingered on for several years, returned to Oxford and resumed their studies in peace.

The Legate's servants, as the English Bishops bluntly told him, were largely to blame for the outbreak at Oseney. But the disorders of Oxford students in the thirteenth century had not always, it is to be feared, so much excuse. Their love of mischief was proverbial. Their brawls and riots, their high spirits and low conduct, often broke the bounds of decency and law.[3]

[1] Matt. Paris (*Chron. Maj.* III, 482). The story has been often told, and the Oseney Annals (*Ann. Monast.*, IV, 84–6) ought to give the most reliable account. But Matthew Paris has the liveliest details. There are several references to the incident in the Close Rolls and Patent Rolls for 1238.

[2] Trivet (*Annales*, ed. Hog, 224).

[3] E.g. in 1259, when a body of clerks, with the Vicar of St. Giles' among them, rescued from prison a man condemned to death for murdering his wife (Lyte, 49). Matt. Paris (*Chron. Maj.* V, 743–4) connects this incident, rather vaguely, with a disturbance at Cambridge.

Discipline was clearly the first thing to insist on, and the most ancient University Statutes were chiefly occupied with the preservation of the peace.[1] They proclaimed punishment and excommunication for all offenders. Seditious pacts and factions were prohibited. To bear arms for purposes of doing evil, to enter laymen's houses with mischievous intent, to indulge in games which led to quarrels, were forbidden as firmly as night-prowling, poaching, loitering after curfew, or the temptations of concubines and women of ill fame. Penalties were denounced against violence to townsmen, against fraud in the letting of houses, against conspiracies in the election of University officials. The greater excommunication threatened clerks who went about at festivals, and danced in streets and churches masked or garlanded with flowers. But the most important attempts to enforce discipline were the ancient rules, adopted probably before 1231,[2] requiring every scholar, under pain of excommunication, to have his own Regent Master on whose roll his name was placed, and to attend at least one ordinary lecture of his Master's every day. Only students frequenting the Schools were to enjoy the University's protection, men known to be scholars and of good repute. False scholars and suspicious characters were to be discovered to the Chancellor, and he might banish them from Oxford, or have them cast into prison if they stayed.

Statutes of this kind were proclamations, designed primarily for the maintenance of order. They were published, it seems, yearly in the Schools and recited at Christmas in the churches. They may also have been posted in conspicuous places in the town. As time went on, the King helped to strengthen the jurisdiction of the Chancellor,[3] while that officer for his part did his best to render effective the spiritual law. When he needed weapons stronger than excommunication, he might use the town

[1] The earliest collection of Statutes has only lately been discovered by Mr. Madan and Mr. Gibson on two leaves of a thirteenth-century MS. in the Bodleian (*Bodl. MS. e Mus.* 96), which contains various treatises on grammar. I am here again indebted, as so often, to Mr. Gibson's notes. This collection, dating apparently from about 1275, has been printed in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (III, 116–18). I refer to other early Statutes also here.

[2] In the year 1231 the King, in letters to the Sheriffs of Cambridge and Oxford, forbade any clerks to remain in those towns who were not under the "discipline or tuition of some master of the schools" (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 586–7). But the Royal authority may have been invoked to confirm some existing Statute or custom.

[3] In March 1236 Henry III promised that, if the University were patient and obedient, he would come with the Primate and provide for its tranquillity. Later in the same year apparently he ordered the Constable at Oxford to put the King's prison at the Chancellor's disposal (*Cal. Cl. Rolls*, 343 and 514).

or Castle prison. For scholars and other slight offenders of the better class a separate prison was presently found in the chamber over Bocardo Gate.[1] But even then, if a clerk declined the Bedel's invitation to surrender, it seems doubtful whether any compulsion except the threat of banishment from Oxford was applied. The Church was apt to be indulgent to her children. The secular arm, Sheriff, Mayor or Bailiff, was not always prompt to enforce ecclesiastical judgments. Serious crimes requiring deposition or degradation the King reserved for the Bishop or his deputy, and refused in spite of the scholars' grumblings to allow the Chancellor to try.[2] The power of degrading clerks, it seems, the Chancellor never possessed. Threats to close the Schools were made and acted on when the University disapproved of the authorities' decisions, and in 1240 there was another migration to Cambridge on the part of discontented students.[3] Universities with no buildings and hardly any property could easily be moved, and a threat to desert Oxford altogether was a weapon which the townsmen could be made to feel.

Meanwhile the Chancellor's jurisdiction steadily grew. In 1244 a memorable quarrel with the Jews ended in a very important increase of his authority, in his securing the right to deal with all cases of debts and contracts in which students were involved.[4] In 1248, when a well-known Scottish scholar died from injuries inflicted by an Oxford mob, the Masters stopped all lectures till retribution had been made. Grosseteste excommunicated the offenders. The Masters sent their Proctors to Woodstock to interview the King, and a Royal charter affirmed the privileges of the scholars. Wrongs done to them in future were to be inquired into by juries on which persons from the neighbourhood

[1] See Rashdall (II, 392–3). Mr. Boase reminds us that Bocardo was the name of a form of syllogism (*Oxford*, 44, *n*). But was the prison named after the syllogism or the syllogism after the prison? Wood makes it a prison "for scollers for little faults," and boldly derives it from "bochord" the Saxon for a library—the University having in Saxon days been at Beaumont just outside (*City*, I, 255). It stood close to St. Michael's Church.

[2] *Mon. Francisc.* (I, 115). The point arose several times in the thirteenth century. But the charter of 1255 gave the Chancellor power to demand the surrender of clerks detained in the Castle even for grave crimes (Lyte, 45–6).

[3] Matt. Paris (*Chron. Maj.* IV, 7–8). Wood (*Ann.* V, 231) gives it under 1241.

[4] Sir H. Maxwell Lyte deals fully with this important Royal edict (41–2), which he terms "the Magna Charta of the University." The jurisdiction over contracts which the Chancellor acquired was limited to moveables, but the rent of lodgings and the prices of horses and of food were important items in it. (See *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1244, pp. 424 and 442.) Sir H. M. Lyte draws attention to the light which the incident throws on the Chancellor's still uncertain position.

as well as townsmen were to serve. Grievous hurt received at the hands of townsmen was to be punished by a fine upon the town. Bailiffs who neglected to bring the offenders to justice were to be held individually responsible. Every Mayor and Bailiff, on assuming office, was to swear to respect University liberties and customs. Jewish usurers were checked in their charges. The Chancellor and Proctors received the right to be present at the assay of bread and ale.[1] A similar quarrel two or three years later, when the town authorities imprisoned two clerks, led to another stoppage of lectures and a fresh demand that the Chancellor alone should deal with University offenders. And in 1255 another charter, while making better provision for the maintenance of order, and safeguarding the rights of the University in the sale of provisions, the making of bread and the brewing of beer, gave the Chancellor for the first time the power to insist on the punishment of laymen for criminal offences. If they injured clerks they were to be arrested and imprisoned, till reasonable satisfaction for the wrong had been received.[2]

Already in these early charters we find phrases[3] destined to play a large part in the conflicts and documents of later years. It was only by degrees that the University succeeded in establishing its rights. The privileges for which it fought so stoutly were by no means all unwarrantable usurpations ; many of them were founded in the special necessities of the case. Almost alone among the towns of mediæval England,[4] Oxford contained two self-governing communities, very nearly equal in importance, dwelling in the same place, using the same streets and markets, and constantly appealing to the Sovereign to see justice done between them.[5] The position was rendered more difficult by the fact that the townsmen were nearly all producers, whose interest it was to keep prices up, while the members of the University were essentially consumers, with a natural preference for cheapness, and obliged to buy what they needed on the spot. The University officials were thus closely concerned in all questions relating to the quality and price of goods. Trade regulations

[1] For this charter see Salter (*Med. Arch.* I, 18–19), and Anstey (*Mun. Acad.* 778–9). It was recited and confirmed in 1268.

[2] See *Med. Arch.* (I, 19–21), Lyte (45–6), Rashdall (II, 394), *Mun. Acad.* (776). The important privileges granted to the University are printed in the *Inspeximus* of Edward IV in the *Registrum Privilegiorum* of 1770, and the Letters Patent in the Appendix to Ogle's *Royal Letters* (327–8).

[3] E.g. the references to the "temptacio panis et ceruisie" in 1248, and to the "regratarius" in 1255. For a fuller discussion of these subjects, see later (pp. 164–5).

[4] Cambridge was the only other example.

[5] On these interesting questions see Mr. Salter's Introduction to his volume of *Munimenta Civitatis Oxonie*, and later, Chap. V.

touched them as nearly as the rents of houses or the sanitation of the town, and it was a matter of no small importance to secure some control over the supplies of bread and beer, of provisions, boots and clothing and other necessaries of life. The Chancellor was obliged in the interests of his clients to ask for more and more authority to deal with bakers, brewers, vintners, and the sale of food. The ancient merchant guild of Oxford was well able to protect its freemen, and in establishing its rights against them the University needed the protection of the Crown.[1]

Conflicts with the townsmen and exactions by the Jews were responsible for many of the Chancellor's troubles and for many of the offences which he had to judge. But quarrels between the scholars themselves were a hardly less prolific source of friction. The division of scholars into Nations, which played so large a part in the University of Paris, appeared at Oxford too. It is possible that the four Taxors appointed to settle rents in 1214 and the four Masters appointed to arbitrate after the dispute of 1228, may indicate some early attempt to reproduce at Oxford the four Nations of Paris.[2] But even with visitors from abroad, and with Irish, Welsh and Scottish students, the material for four Nations must have run short, and so far as we know Northerners and Southerners, Boreales and Australes, dwellers North or South of Trent, were the only Nations recognised in Oxford brawls. The Northerners of course included the Scots; the Southerners embraced the Welsh and the Irish, the latter ever conspicuous in the tumults of the day. It is perhaps a tribute to the fame of Oxford that so many of her students came to her from the North. For many years the feuds of the two Nations broke the peace of University and Town. The Chancellor and Masters had to forbid the celebration of national festivals in churches. In 1252, after a famous fray between Northerners and Irish, a treaty was made " in full congregation " in St. Mary's Church, and representatives of both sides were sworn to observe it.[3] But that did not prevent a regular battle of the Nations a few years later on. Again, in 1267, a solemn agreement was drawn up between twenty-four of each side, after exchanging the kiss of peace; its terms, and the Chancellor's assent, and the seals of many of those who signed it, are preserved in the University Archives still.[4] Northerners and Irishmen alike were to

[1] Hence the multitude of writs addressed to Oxford, which is so noticeable in the fourteenth century. But beyond writs sent in answer to complaints or petitions, *privilegia*, private laws, were needed, as Mr. Salter has pointed out, to amend the general law, and to give the University rights in Oxford equal to those which the burgesses already enjoyed.

[2] See Rashdall (II, 368 and note).

[3] *Mun. Acad.* (20–4) and Rashdall (II, 362–3).

[4] See *Med. Arch.* (I, 26–8).

appoint captains to settle their affairs, with an appeal to arbiters and to the Chancellor or his deputy[1] only in the last resort. The rival parties were bound not to take up arms against each other under penalty of a heavy fine. And once again, in 1274, after fresh and serious disturbances, which had more than once called for the intervention of the Crown, the Nations all joined in a solemn concord,[2] and swore to support the Chancellor in putting down disturbers of the peace. This last agreement, made with great publicity, seems to have taken a long step towards achieving its object. It boldly extinguished the rival factions by uniting Northerners and Southerners in a single Nation. Henceforward the University was to know no parties, but only one "*collegium*" and one "*corpus*." The Faculty of Arts perhaps began to vote as a single body. The Northern and Southern Proctors survived only as representatives of divisions which in theory at any rate had vanished. The English genius for unity and order triumphed in the end. But for a long while the old Adam persisted, and it was not till a much later generation that the feuds of the Oxford Nations completely disappeared.[3]

The Inns and Halls where the students lodged must from a very early date have been conspicuous in Oxford.[4] As time went on, they sprang up in all quarters, but most thickly in the centre of the town. The lads who lodged in them with surprising independence—fourteen or fifteen was not too early to begin—hired their own houses, formed their own societies, and elected one of their own number as their Head. It was only by degrees that this early democratic tradition was extinguished, and that the self-governing Halls developed into boarding-houses ruled by Principals whom the University authorities supervised. Many of the Halls were, no doubt, very small, but some had once been private houses occupied by well-known merchants. Some of the best had been built by Jews, who were among the first house-holders to study solidity and comfort. The Guildhall was the property of Moses, son of Isaac, before Henry III in 1229 gave

[1] The "Hebdomarius," appointed weekly, would hear minor cases.

[2] I. 12 in the University Archives, with many seals attached. See *Med. Arch.* (I, 30–3) and Mr. Salter's valuable note, and Rashdall (II, 369).

[3] In 1313 it was thought desirable, in framing a Statute, to remind the University that Northern and Southern Nations no longer existed (*Mun. Acad.* 92). But the riots of the latter part of the fourteenth century show that the old animosities were easily revived, and the Merton *Register* (I, ff. 161–2) records a very serious one in August 1506.

[4] Inns and entries, Halls and hostels, all alike offered lodgings for students—many of them probably quite small. It seems unlikely that they numbered more than 70 at any one time. The Mitre, the Clarendon and the Roebuck occupy the sites of earlier Inns or Halls.

it to the town. Other Halls, like Jacob's Hall and Lombard's Hall, also descended from the Jews.[1] After the great fire of 1190 stone and slate began to take the place of wood and straw. Stone Halls and Tiled Halls gradually replaced the old Thatched Halls. Glazen Halls and Leaden Halls came into fashion later, and Staple Halls, Wood suggests, when staples to the doors replaced the older plan of latch and catch.[2] It is not always easy to say when the early Halls passed into the hands of students. But before the end of the thirteenth century there are several noted, where sooner or later clerks were housed. Vine Hall, Chimney Hall, Nightingale Hall were names that already existed. The site of Knight Hall near Logic Lane is mentioned in 1238, the site of Aristotle Hall still earlier. There was a Black Hall built before 1267, one of many Black Halls in mediæval Oxford. Broadgates was already a familiar name. In the High Street Inge Hall was standing in the middle of the century, if not, as Wood says, in the days of King John. Bodin Hall, near Balliol, is referred to in 1230. Brackley Hall, in Broad Street also, was known, it may be, even earlier. A Maiden Hall figures in the troubles of 1209; and that and many of the older names were freely repeated as the years went on.

But the records of the Oxford citizens who built these ancient houses go back further. Their names must have been familiar to many generations of Oxford men. Segrims and Kepeharms were leading families in the twelfth century, if not before that. Segrims indeed are mentioned in Domesday, and Segrim By-wall had a house near the North Gate in 1129. Richard Segrim had a great house at the corner of St. Aldate's Churchyard, now swallowed up in Pembroke College, and another house in Shidyerd Street,[3] the rent of which was a rose. Both these houses in the thirteenth century probably passed into the hands of students. Peter Segrim, another of the family, got into trouble in 1285, for fishing—one hesitates to call it poaching—in the company of two Abbots. Kepeharm Hall in High Street figures in a grant of 1249. Kepeharm Lane was in St. Aldate's. John Kepeharm, the Mayor, died in 1205. Laurence Kepeharm's name appears in a beautiful little document of about that date, which has been lately reproduced and published. Adelicia Kepeharm, the

[1] Mr. J. R. Green suggested that the number of substantial houses in Oxford, largely due to Jews, may have helped to draw teachers and students to the town.

[2] Mr. Boase accepts this derivation (*Oxford*, 49). But there are other derivations, from steeple and from stable. (See later, Chap. XVI.)

[3] Or Schidyard Street: there are other spellings. It was called Oriel Street later. But mediæval street names vary. Both Schools Street and High Street were sometimes called St. Mary's Street (*Mun. Civ. Oxon.* 274, n.). There were other Segrim houses near St. Aldate's Church.

Mayor's widow, was sought in marriage by Stephen of Oxford, who offered the King two hundred hens for a Royal letter to recommend him to the lady. But the widow, knowing her Sovereign better, offered a hundred marks and two palfreys for her freedom, and the King apparently secured the hens as well. The Penyverthings, another old Oxford family, left their name in Pennyfarthing Street, till Pembroke Street displaced it. The Peckwethers, also prominent in Henry III's day, are immortalized still in a great quadrangle. Somnore Lane, close by the North Wall, and Cheyney Lane, nearer the Market, may have taken their names from early citizens[1]: there were Cheynes in King Stephen's troubled reign. The Burewalds had "great possessions in Oxford," and were commemorated in St. Michael's Church. Other old names recur persistently in documents—Halegods and Bodins, Padys and Stockwells, Bullocks, Hardings, Owens and Griffins, Inges and Knights, mingled with others less euphonious like Nuky, Log and Rok. Copin the Jew figures as a man of substance. Eilric Helleknave has to live down his name. A shop near the Cornmarket[2] passes about 1220 to the father-in-law of Henry Gamage. A lease of another in High Street is recorded in 1195. The story of one corner tenement in High Street, granted in the thirteenth century to Stephen the book-binder on a perpetual lease, and part of the great property inherited from St. John's Hospital by Magdalen College, is an interesting little example of the continuity of English custom. Its rent was fixed at thirty shillings in 1253. It declined to twelve shillings by 1487. But it stood at that figure unaltered from the days of the first of the Tudors until the reign of Queen Victoria had begun, and for six hundred years we can follow the history of the place. For generation after generation the old cartularies have preserved for us such memorials of the city in which the University was to dwell.[3]

The Halls and hostels used by students were gradually organised on a more regular footing. Their independence admitted limitations. The Principal, originally little more than a leader and not necessarily a member of the University, elected

[1] But there is a strong rival tradition that Somnore's means Summoner's Lane (Hurst, *Oxford Topography*, 141).

[2] It was not till the sixteenth century that Northgate Street became the Cornmarket (Salter, *Names of Oxford Streets*, 13).

[3] See the *Cartulary of St. John's Hospital* (I, 335–8). The details given above have been drawn chiefly from the three volumes of this Cartulary, admirably edited by Mr. Salter, from the *Cartulary of St. Frideswide* (ed. Wigram), and the larger *History of Pembroke College* (ed. Macleane). See also the *Cartulary of Eynsham* (ed. Salter) and Wood (*City*, ed. Clark) *passim*. There were of course other thirteenth-century Halls in Oxford well authenticated besides those mentioned in the text.

by the little society to be responsible for the rent and the running of the house, became by custom a Bachelor or Master.[1] He was compelled to give security before the Chancellor for the rent of his Hall, and was thus gradually brought under University control. He was held responsible for the conduct of his scholars, for their attendance at lectures, for their discipline and learning. The Chancellor even claimed the right to remove him, and to veto the rules, the Hall Statutes, which the students made.[2] Heads of Halls were forbidden to buy or sell their places, to hold more than one such post at a time, to be absent from their duties for more than a year. The University had already established its right to determine rents with the townsmen, and to regulate all houses where its students lodged. If the lay owner of a Hall failed to execute repairs, the clerical tenant could do them and deduct the cost from his rent. The Masters insisted that houses once used as Halls or Schools should never be let to lay tenants, so long as scholars were willing to take them. And Royal sanction was secured for the doctrine that the University had a claim on all houses previously occupied by scholars, and indeed on all that could be spared.[3]

The University was steadily encroaching. But the townsmen were at first well able to defend themselves. Oxford in the days of Simon de Montfort held her head high among the cities of the land. She claimed like liberties with London, "the same custom and law."[4] Her weavers and cordwainers had established their rights under Henry I. There were looms, it seems, at work beside the Cherwell, wool-markets in Northgate Hundred and on Holywell Green.[5] St. Frideswide's and St. Giles' were not the only ancient fairs. There were busy stalls and dealers around Carfax, with rules and customs to govern their trade. The Ordination of the Market was to follow later on.[6] Henry II had

[1] Mr. Anstey quotes an undated Statute forbidding Manciples and servants to act as Principals (*Mun. Acad.* 468–9). Mr. Gibson dates this before 1380.

[2] From the days of Edward I, as a passage in *Reg. A.* asserts (*Ib.* 470 and Rashdall, II, 466). See also *Mun. Acad.* (14, 93, 427). These student ordinances were, no doubt, based on custom.

[3] See the Writ of 1303 (*Med. Arch.* I, 81–2); also Rashdall (II, 467), and *Mun. Acad.* (13–16).

[4] In 1301 the King confirmed the old charter granting the burgesses of Oxford the same liberties as the citizens of London (Ogle, *Royal Letters to Oxford*, 16). Oxford is often spoken of as a *civitas*, but till the days of the Tudor Bishopric it seems better to call it a town.

[5] Boase (*Oxford*, 36). It has been suggested that before the middle of the fourteenth century the Oxford weavers disappeared (Lipson, *Hist. of Woollen Industries*, 11). But in the Poll Tax return of 1380–81, 23 weavers and 13 fullers are mentioned, if Prof. Thorold Rogers' reading be correct (*Oxf. City Docts.* 6).

[6] In 1319. (See *Collectanea*, O.H.S., II, 13.)

confirmed the Merchant Guild which he found in existence, and which may have dated from very early days. His son had given the Guild a perpetual lease of the town and its profits,[1] and the Guild's members formed a community of burgesses, to farm its taxes and to control its trade. These burgesses were the freemen, free to trade in Oxford, an aristocracy, it may be, but not too narrow to secure general assent. About the beginning of the fourteenth century the Guildsmen adopted the name of Hanasters,[2] as the ancient weekly Court or Portmote had adopted the name of Hustengs some twenty years before. The Hustengs Court was attended by all householders, but its procedure, in actions for debt especially, could not compete in cheapness or speediness with that of the Chancellor's Court. The Hanasters have been estimated at something like five hundred in number. They represented at one time probably a majority of adult townsmen, and certainly the wealthiest and most important people in the town. They provided the municipal officers, the Mayor and Aldermen and Bailiffs: the Aldermen were doubled in number by Henry III, to correspond with the four Wards formed by the streets which crossed at Carfax. They provided also a Town-clerk and Chamberlains and other officers, who received perquisites, but no regular salaries, for what must often have been laborious work.[3]

Under Henry III the old town walls were rebuilt solidly in stone. A continuous lane ran round the town inside them. The beauty of the North Gate, the strongest of the four because there was no river on that side to defend it, with its towers and portcullis and battlements and statues, has been dwelt on by Wood with an antiquary's affection. Beyond it was a deep ditch, Candich, above which the buildings of Horsemonger Street rose.[4] Mills were working on the many waters; the Castle Mill

[1] The fee-farm was fixed in 1199 at £63 0s. 5*d*.—that is £40 beyond the sum allowed for maintaining the 13 inmates of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, a duty which the burgesses took over from the King (*Mun. Civ. Oxon.* xxxvi).

[2] Hanaster is connected with *hansa* or *hanse*, a guild. (See Mr. Salter's *Mun. Civ. Oxon.*—a volume to which I am here repeatedly indebted—xxvii and 288.)

[3] There were two sets of officials, Bailiffs and Chamberlains, collecting money, and when Parliament voted a subsidy another collector was required. The Chamberlains collected the town income, rents, fees, mill profits, fishery profits, etc. The Bailiffs collected the fee-farm and paid it into the Exchequer (*Ib.* xxxi *sq.*).

[4] The buildings in mediæval Oxford generally, I think, stood back some little way from the road. Horsemonger Street was the road's name in the thirteenth century: Candich is found in 1379 and for at least 300 years after that. In 1750 Broad Street appears on a map (Salter, *Historic Names of Oxford Streets*, 21).

is standing yet. Certain springs or wells were already famous; Bruman's well, called Aristotle's later, was named from a tenant of Robert d'Oili. The Friars had come and were begging and toiling side by side with the poorest of the poor. Away to the South, beyond the river, lay the forest where the legendary student, armed only with his Aristotle, had choked and conquered the wild boar, the meadows where Edmund Rich in his dreaming boyhood had met face to face the child of God. To the East, outside the Gate beneath St. Peter's, the Hospital of St. John with its many possessions owed its new buildings to King Henry's bounty, but its foundation to an earlier date. And close to the Hospital the Jews had their first cemetery,[1] where the ground fell to the water-side, and where for centuries now the loveliest tower in Oxford has watched the happy generations drifting by.

In thirteenth-century Oxford, until King Edward banished them, there was no denying the importance of the Jews. Persecuted and hated as they might be for their faith and their exactions, for the wealth which helped so powerfully to finance the Middle Ages, to build minster and castle, to develop trade, they were the King's paymasters as well as his chattels, and secure in the tyrannous protection which he gave. Their settlements in the Great and Little Jewry, between the High Street and St. Frideswide's, occupied a considerable part of the centre of the town. Their holdings filled the lanes behind Fish Street,[2] now St. Aldate's, and stretched to the East over St. Edward's parish. St. Frideswide's Priory was induced—it needed perhaps strong inducements—to sell them a site for their Synagogue opposite St. Aldate's Church. The Civil Law Schools and the Canon Law Schools were established in their midst. At the end of the twelfth century Law students clustered thickly round St. Aldate's, and for a while the study of the Law threatened to take possession of Oxford. Next to the Guildhall, once a Jewish building, was a house belonging to the House of Converts which Henry III with pious irony set up. But the Jews, it seems, retorted by making converts too. The Synagogue itself after the expulsion of its old owners became a tavern. But on the ground behind it a Hall for students rose, known, from the

[1] The cemetery was afterwards moved across the road, says Mr. Boase (*Oxford*, 24), to the site of the present Botanic Gardens.

[2] But probably the name Fish Street appeared only in the fourteenth century, after the expulsion of the Jews. It lasted till 1772 or later. It ran then to Folly Bridge. But in the Middle Ages and long after, up to 1750, the Southern part, beyond the South Gate, was called not Fish Street but Grandpont (Salter, *Names of Oxford Streets*, 7–8).

Archdeacon who founded it, as Burnel's Inn.[1] The Hall developed for a time into a College, and was finally swept into Christ Church by the sharp practice of Wolsey and his master. But in early days the Jews still held the field. Shocked Christian chroniclers have told the story of Deus-eum-crescat, the insolent and powerful Jew—his name represents a translation from the Hebrew, not a Christian wish—who openly mocked the miracles wrought at St. Frideswide's shrine. A later story tells how in 1244 the Scholars raided the Jewry so audaciously that it needed all Bishop Grosseteste's influence to get the rioters released from prison. But the quarrel resulted in a Royal Charter which notably increased the Chancellor's jurisdiction.[2] And later still, on Ascension Day 1268, the Jews were the aggressors in an attack upon the clergy, long commemorated in the penalty they paid. While the Cross was being carried through the town in a procession, it was snatched from the bearer and trampled underfoot. The offenders were sentenced to provide as an atonement both a great cross of marble to be set up in the street, and a silver crucifix for the University to carry in similar processions upon ceremonial days.

The University was now grown too strong to attack. Its ancient customs had become established. Side by side with regulations for enforcing order, rules for its internal administration had grown up. But some of the earliest Statutes only endorsed practices already in existence, or referred to legislation, perhaps not very formal or conclusive legislation, which had gone before. They say, " it is ordered," or " it is the custom," [3] that such and such a rule shall be observed, without quoting the authority from whom the ordinance proceeds; and it is not certain that the Chancellor was necessarily a party to these decrees. Sometimes the ordinance is issued by the common consent or counsel of the Masters. Occasionally the Chancellor alone publishes a mandate or a prohibition.[4] On one occasion a decree is made by the authority of the Chancellor and Regent Masters, with the unanimous consent of the Non-Regents. On another, in 1253, the

[1] A careful account of Burnel's Inn is given by Mr. Salter in *Oxford Deeds of Balliol College* (91–135). See also Twyne (XXIV, 588) and Rashdall (II, 758–60). On the Oxford Jews see also *Collectanea* (II, 277–316). The House of Converts was not in Oxford but in London.

[2] See *ante* (pp. 38). Later on, in 1260, the Constable of the Castle tried to limit the Chancellor's authority over the Jews, but the town upheld the Chancellor (Lyte, 59). In 1286 Edward I gave the Chancellor jurisdiction in all personal actions and contracts between Jews and scholars, and the right to imprison Jews (*Med. Arch.* I, 40, and *Collectanea*, II, 286).

[3] " Statutum est "; " consuetudo est " (*Mun. Acad.* 11–16).

[4] " Mandat, prohibet, præcipit (*Mun. Acad.* 17).

University makes an order, but adds that, if the order has been made already, it confirms it afresh.[1] A little later we are told that the Chancellor and University of Regent Masters agree to a certain form of ordinance.[2] But the constitutional forms are still unsettled, and the chief object of legislation is to supplement the customary law.

Only a few Statutes of the University can be definitely assigned to a date before 1275. It was custom which originally settled the rents of houses and the tenancy of Halls.[3] It was custom which at first decided academical dress and academical procedure. It was custom which gave the Faculty of Arts its great predominance, its practical veto on University business, its claim to meet and consider questions before they came up in Congregation. It was custom, the custom of Paris, which long dictated the methods of teaching.[4] It was custom, as the Masters in 1280 assured Bishop Sutton of Lincoln, and as the Bishop in the following year, after the intervention of the Archbishop, grudgingly allowed, which gave them the right to inquire into the delinquencies of scholars, and which gave the Chancellor jurisdiction to try them and to prove their wills.[5] It was custom, no doubt, which gradually settled the whole system of admission for degrees.[6] And it was obstinate custom which for five centuries and a half preserved as a part of that ritual the strange old oath never to consent to the reconciliation of "Henry Simeonis," which originated in an affray of 1242, and which may have had some connection with the migration to Northampton in 1264.[7]

[1] "Statuit Universitas Oxoniensis, et, si statutum fuerit, iterato consensu corroborat" (*Mun. Acad.* 25).

[2] "In hanc formam consentiunt Cancellarius et Universitas Magistrorum regentium Oxoniæ, ordinantes quod, etc." (*Mun. Acad.* 30).

[3] By the King's writ of 1231 assessments of scholar's houses are to be made according to the custom of the University (*Cal. C. R.*, 1227–31, 587).

[4] See Grosseteste's Letter of 1240, which preceded the Pope's Bull on the subject (*Epistolæ*, Rolls Series, 346).

[5] In May 1281 Bishop Sutton agreed that the correction of spiritual offences in members of the University should be left to the Chancellor (*Med. Arch.* I, 37–9). See also later (p. 166).

[6] Confirmed of course by Statutes, as time went on. The ordinance for the admission of Determiners was drawn up by 10 elected Masters in 1267, and confirmed and sealed next year (*Mun. Acad.* 34–6).

[7] The origin of this strange old vow has been explored by Dr. R. L. Poole (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* July 1912). It seems that Henry son of Henry son of Simeon, a citizen of Oxford, was concerned in the death of one or more scholars in 1242. He apparently tried to buy the King's pardon, and leave to return to Oxford from which he had fled. The King, perhaps moved by sordid considerations, was willing to allow his return, if the University consented. But the University steadily refused, and threatened to leave Oxford if the King insisted. The incident may have been one cause of the secession to Northampton. The oath was maintained till 1827, though an unsuccessful attempt to abolish it was made in 1651.

As the thirteenth century proceeded, the activity and reputation of the University increased. When Archbishop Boniface visited Oxford, to denounce a brother Bishop, he was met, the chronicler tells us, by so imposing a multitude of clerks, that all the world was compelled to admit that the University was a worthy rival of Paris. When Henry III wanted support against another Bishop, he applied to Oxford Masters learned in the law.[1] When Bishop Lexington of Lincoln tried to limit the independence of the Masters, they appealed successfully to Pope and King. Henry III was warned that, if the University were interfered with, "the second School of the Church, nay, the foundation of the whole Church," would be endangered. "Heaven forbid that that should happen, least of all in my time," said the pious King. And Innocent IV with characteristic vigour stepped in to protect the University's liberties and rights. The Bishops of London and Salisbury were charged to see that its members were not molested. Its "laudable, ancient and rational customs" were solemnly confirmed. The persons and goods of its Masters and scholars were placed under the protection of the Apostolic See.[2] The terms of the agreement made with the Bishop of Lincoln in 1257 are not exactly known to us, and the issue may not have been pressed to a decision. But it seems clear that the University was claiming the right to discipline its Masters and to govern itself.[3] At any rate by the middle of the century its sense of its own powers was growing and its recorded legislation had begun. And it is characteristic of Oxford that one of its earliest and most famous Statutes should have refused to give a degree in Theology to any student who had not previously taken a degree in Arts.[4]

The fame of the University was now established, but it was

[1] "Magistros Oxonie in Jure legentes." This was in 1243. (*Patent Rolls*, 28 Hen. III, m. 10.d., or p. 438 of the *Calendar*, printed in English.) In Jan. 1244 Henry offered to appeal further to Paris, to "all the Masters Regent in law." See also Matt. Paris (*Chron. Maj.* IV, 265, and V, 352–3 and 618).

[2] *Mun. Acad.* (26–30). The date is 1254. In the same year Innocent IV promised that for five years Masters and scholars should not be summoned to answer outside Oxford for contracts made in Oxford (*Papal Letters*, I, 306). The Pope's intervention may have been due to needless interference on the Bishop's part.

[3] *Ann. Monastici* (ed. Luard, I, 436). The University claimed the right to suspend Regents who did not fulfil their obligations, and the Bishop had treated this as an infringement of his authority (Rashdall, II, 420).

[4] "Quod nullus in eadem Universitate incipiat in theologia nisi prius rexerit in artibus in aliqua Universitate" (*Mun. Acad.* 25). For the history of the Statute of 1253, see later (pp. 72 *sq.*). It is the first written Statute to which a date can be assigned—March 1253, not 1252, as Mr. Anstey, followed by Dean Rashdall (II, 362), gives it.

through its teachers that that fame was won. Before the end of the twelfth century Edmund Rich had studied at Oxford and at Paris, had set his ring upon the Virgin's finger and chosen her for his bride. In the early years of the century which followed he taught the new logic to Oxford students, until, warned by a vision to abandon secular learning, he gave himself up to theology and became the most inspiring preacher of his day. "Study," he told his young disciples, "as if you were to live for ever: live as if you were to die to-morrow." But he was as tender to their shortcomings as he was harsh and austere towards his own. Tradition would connect with St. Peter's in the East at Oxford the little, ancient chapel which he built.[1] His memory lingers in the lanes about it, though seven centuries have gone by since he ceased to teach. The first recorded Master of Arts, Edmund Rich was also, it seems, the first Doctor of Divinity at Oxford. He was in due time appointed Archbishop of Canterbury and canonized as Saint. The old Chronicle of Lanercost tells us that the Schools in his day were in the churchyard of St. Mary's close by the Western doors.[2] Here already ran the ancient Schools Street, which Wood was tempted to call the Street of Minerva, where all things "in relation towards the soule and accomplishment of man" were "only with the price of patience and endeavour" to be obtained.[3]

Edmund Rich had hardly passed from Oxford before Robert Grosseteste was a leader in its Schools. Adam Marsh, the "Doctor Illustris," succeeded later to Grosseteste's authority, and is classed with him by Roger Bacon as one of the "greatest clerks in the world." Bacon himself eclipsed them both. But the story of those three rare spirits is part of the story of the Oxford Friars. In Bacon the young University could lay claim to the most original genius of the Middle Ages. And from Oxford came in Bacon's day some of the best mathematicians of the time.[4] William of Drogheda, a Civilian of distinction, lectured in the Oxford Schools on Civil Law. His name still lingers in the High Street in the house he owned.[5] Ralph of Maidstone, one of the English Masters who left Paris in the migration of 1229, was well known afterwards at Oxford as scholar, Chancellor and Friar. Richard of Wych, who also figures in the list of

[1] But there is no proof that he built it at St. Peter's, and Edmund Hall had nothing to do with Edmund Rich. There are several old lives of St. Edmund. One, still unprinted, is among the MSS. of Balliol College. (See Mr. H. W. C. Davis' article in the *Eng. Hist. Review* for 1907, and other references in *D.N.B.*)

[2] See *Collectanea* (II, 187).

[3] Wood (*City*, I, 83).

[4] Rashdall (II, 526).

[5] "Drawda Hall," No. 33, High Street.

Chancellors, was once a Worcestershire squire or yeoman, whose natural holiness old biographies lovingly record. Student and teacher afterwards at Oxford, Paris and Bologna, he became the life-long friend of Edmund Rich. He succeeded to an English Bishopric at Chichester, and like his friend and master to the honours of a Saint.[1] Walter de Grey is said to have been an Oxford pupil of St. Edmund's, but a man of little learning in spite of his success. He too passed to an Archbishopric, for which he offered an enormous sum, and a prelate who stood so high in King John's favour can hardly have been altogether worthy of respect. Grey kept great state at York, and settled on his See two famous houses, Bishopthorpe and York Place afterwards Whitehall. Accused of avarice and harsh dealings, he yet established some claim to be regarded as a good Bishop and a good patriot in his latter days. And in a younger generation Thomas de Cantelupe, born of a family with strong influence at Court, a Master of Arts of Paris, and in Oxford a successful teacher of the Canon Law, was perhaps the most magnificent Oxonian of his time. At Paris his wealth and hospitality had made him famous. At Oxford his piety was as conspicuous as the style in which he lived. When he took his degree as a Doctor of Divinity, about the age of fifty-four, his old master, Archbishop Kilwardby, declared him to be "as pure in mind and body as on the day of his birth." His hair-shirt proved him an ascetic. His lectures on the Scriptures showed him a divine. His many benefices left him still a conscientious pluralist. His prejudices made him distrustful of all women—none, however old or ugly, were permitted in his house—and still more obstinately distrustful of the Jews. His public spirit made him an active Chancellor of the University, ready to sacrifice even his garments in trying to stop a fray. It made him, moreover, a friend of the great Earl Simon, till the battle of Evesham closed that chapter in his career. And it made him in later days the trusted adviser of King Edward, who sometimes recognised the value of a high-minded and honourable foe.[2] Though excommunicated once by Archbishop Patcham,[3] Thomas of Cantelupe was canonised after

[1] *Acta Sanctorum* (X, 276–316). See also Lyte (60–1).

[2] Prof. Tout gives a full account of the authorities for Thomas de Cantelupe's life in *D.N.B.* See also Canon Capes' Introduction to his *Register* at Hereford, in the publications of the Canterbury and York Society.

[3] Otherwise Pecham or Peckham. But the name comes from the village of Patcham near Lewes, and Peckham is misleading. (See Little, *Fratris Johannis Pecham Tractatus Tres*, Brit. Soc. of Franciscan Studies, II, Preface.) Pecham is a form used by contemporaries. But, encouraged by Prof. Tout, I have ventured to call the Archbishop by the name which he most likely bore.

his death. His name ends the list of Englishmen and Oxford scholars admitted to that lofty dignity by the Church of Rome.

Simon de Montfort had many friends in Oxford. The gathering of the Barons there in 1258, nicknamed the Mad Parliament, must have found adherents in both University and Town. It produced among other things the first Royal proclamation ever published in the English tongue. As the struggle between Henry and Earl Simon proceeded, the University showed its sympathies by lending money to the Barons—money given for poor scholars and taken from William of Durham's Chest. In 1263 or 1264 the scholars themselves were drawn into the struggle. Prince Edward, passing to the Western marches—so Robert of Gloucester tells us in his rhyming Chronicle—lay at the Palace outside the North wall. The Town authorities, foreseeing trouble, shut the gates against him, and the scholars found themselves cooped up inside. Determined to get out to the playing fields at Beaumont, they fetched axes and hewed down the doors at Smith's Gate,[1] chanting over them cheerfully the office for the dead. The Mayor, regardless of the Chancellor's protests, clapped the offenders into prison. The clerks rang the bell of St. Mary's and rushed out to give battle to their foes. Shops were plundered, taps set flowing—the Mayor was a vintner—till the wine ran down the streets. Complaints to the authorities followed. Some of the students, it seems, left the town and joined a colony of Cambridge scholars at Northampton, which had been driven there by a conflict with the Cambridge townsmen three years before. In March 1264 the King, about to unfurl his standard at Oxford, and perhaps mistrusting the loyalty of the clerks, ordered the Masters to withdraw to their homes. But the students flocked in great numbers to Northampton, where a new University was springing into life. When Henry marched upon Northampton, fresh from a visit to St. Frideswide's shrine, he found Oxford scholars in arms against him, and came near to hanging the prisoners he took. The battle of Lewes followed, fulfilling the old warning which boded ill to any King who entered within Oxford walls. Within a few weeks of his victory Simon in the King's name invited the exiled Masters to return.[2] The settlement at Northampton proved to be short-

[1] Where Catharine Street (the old Cat Street) joins Broad Street, and where the town wall ran.

[2] See *Med. Arch.* (I, 24–5), and *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1258–66 (320). The story of the dispersal to Northampton, as told by the old chroniclers, is not very clear. Sir H. C. M. Lyte (63–6) follows Robert of Gloucester, and it is likely enough that the sharp dispute between Town and Gown over the imprisonment of clerks arose out of Prince Edward's visit. The tumult is placed by some chroniclers in 1263, and it probably was one cause,

lived. Thomas de Cantelupe, the Chancellor of Oxford, was made Chancellor of the distracted kingdom. But the scholars seem in no way to have suffered when the popular leaders fell. After the Barons' War was over the King's graciousness to the University revived, and the end of the long reign found its prosperity still growing and its rights and liberties secure.

if not the main cause, of the migration to Northampton (*Chron. of Abingdon*, ed. Halliwell, 16–17, and *Ann. Monast.*, Oseney, ed. Luard, IV, 139–41). On the other hand, Henry's order to the University to go home (*Cal. P. R.*, 1258–66, 307) was probably due in part to doubts about its loyalty (Rishanger's *Chron.*, ed. Halliwell, 22), and not only to the quarrel with the town (*Ann. Monast.*, Winton, ed. Luard, II, 101). It may have been preceded by an attempt to bring the Northampton students back to Oxford. When the migration to Northampton began is uncertain. Mr. C. H. Cooper in his *Annals of Cambridge* (I, 48) suggests that Oxford students were already at Northampton in 1261. But the King's mandate, approving the settlement of "certain masters and scholars" there, dated Feb. 1261 (*Cal. P. R.*, 1258–66, 140), more probably refers to the students from Cambridge. See also *Flores Historiarum* (ed. Luard, II, 487), *Chron. of Edward I and II* (ed. Stubbs, I, 61), and Rashdall (II, 395 and notes). The migration to Northampton was for a time a removal of the University wholesale.

CHAPTER III

THE FRIARS IN OXFORD

IT was a happy circumstance for the spirit and studies of Oxford that, while the young University was establishing its fortunes, a new ideal was being established in the Church. In the year of St. Thomas' murder at Canterbury St. Dominic was born in Old Castile, and from his stern and orthodox devotion the brotherhood of the Preaching Friars arose. Eleven or twelve years later there was born at Assisi, in a wealthy merchant's house, a gentler dreamer no less insistent on reform, who disdaining wealth and knowledge set himself with something of his Master's high simplicity to win mankind to holiness by teaching them the power of love.

Both these preachers of unworldly doctrines received an astonishing welcome from the world. The best minds of the early thirteenth century were already dissatisfied and ill at ease. The Crusades, which had stirred men's hearts so deeply, had helped to shake the old beliefs.[1] It was not blind prejudice only which made the mediæval churchman dread Oriental learning and the spells which the Saracens threw upon the West. In religion and politics, in science and in morals, new tastes and disorders were working, and working in the direction of superstition or revolt. The Church, though in some respects more authoritative and triumphant than she had ever been before, was in danger of becoming the Church of the rich, cumbered with possessions and intent on power. The parish clergy, declining in energy and discipline, shared the lax morals of the day. St. Bernard, with his unfailing eye for Christian weakness, had declared the priests to be worse than the people. Bishop Grosseteste had to complain of a candidate for ordination coming to him dressed in rings and scarlet like a courtier, and to warn his clergy against drinking-bouts and playing publicly at dice. Patronage was constantly abused. Unfit and ignorant clergy were appointed. Out of a hundred and fifty-six presentations made in sixteen years in the Archdeaconry of Oxford, only thirteen of the clergy presented seem to have been University

[1] But the introduction of Oriental science into Europe was due more to Spanish influences than to the Crusades in the East.

men.[1] The Bishop had to insist on the recipients of livings attending "the Schools" before they entered on their duties. Thirteenth-century reports on the examinations of priests indicate the educational standards of the time. "Amply illiterate" is the comment on one. "He is a youth and knoweth nothing" is the verdict on another. A third "knew not how to chant." A fourth "knew nothing, whether of reading or of singing." A fifth, "when asked to parse *omni*, said it was an adverb;" when pressed for the meaning of "annual," he suggested "many times" or "every day." Standards of character were little higher. The priest's heart was too often "in the market-place or street or bed." Sloth and negligence, irreverence and carelessness, were among the least of the offences charged. Incontinence and drunkenness figured among them. Clerical concubines were not uncommon. Quoit-player, dicer, tavern-haunter, leper, were terms applied to clergymen, even if not deserved. One dealt in corn at usurious prices. Another went about with a sword. A third refused to wear a cassock. "Foul and unhonest chants" were heard in churches. "Noxious games" were played there during Mass. Ministers in the diocese of Exeter threw snuffings from the candles at the Choir, and indulged, we are told, in "obscene orgies of gesticulations." Livings fell to the wrong men. Some were too poor to be worth acceptance. The rich ones were often given for unworthy reasons to rectors who put in a vicar "of the cheapest" to do their work.[2]

In the meanwhile Sunday observances were to a large extent neglected. Preaching and practical Christianity decayed. The monks, isolated in their splendid solitudes, might battle with their own temptations, or work for the glory and influence of the great Houses to which they belonged. But they left mankind beyond the cloister to struggle for themselves. Reformers rose in the Monastic Orders, but reforms brought fame and riches, and riches in turn led to ease and apathy. The Benedictine and Cluniac Monasteries had grown too fond of comfort. Their wealth was a byword. Giraldus Cambrensis marvelled at the table kept by the monks of Canterbury, at their levity and luxury, their wines and dishes.[3] The Cistercians, seeking a

[1] "Magistri," which does not here necessarily imply an M.A. degree. In the Archdeaconry of Buckingham there were only 5 "Magistri" out of 138 presentations. (See *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles*, 1206–35, I, xii–xvii. in the publications of the Canterbury and York Society.)

[2] See the passages quoted by Mr. Coulton in *A Medieval Garner* (270–9, 290–5, 312–15, 340 and 582). There was little difference, apparently, between England and abroad.

[3] *De rebus a se gestis* (Pt. II, cap. 5). Compare the installation-feast of a Prior of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in 1309, with its 6,000 guests, and its bill estimated by Mr. Coulton (*Med. Garner*, 677) at £5,000 in modern money.

stricter life far from the crowds and enticements of the world, had from the first turned their backs on the towns. But they had degenerated into wealthy landowners, and by no means commanded universal respect. Walter Map indeed, the witty Archdeacon of Oxford, freely denounced the Cistercian Order as men to whom equal justice was an abomination. Devoted monks and priests there were, no doubt, in every diocese and Order. But for the laity Bishop Golias stood as the type of a degenerate churchman—a hero of drinking-songs who hated thirst like death, and whose ambition it was to die in a tavern.[1]

" Meum est propositum
In taberna mori,
Ubi vina proxima
Morientis ori."

The towns, neglected by the Monasteries but daily growing in strength and independence, the wretched population which they sheltered, beset too often with squalor and disease, were losing faith in spiritual things, when suddenly a missionary movement, addressed directly to the town-dwellers in their distress, swept like a flame through the mediæval Church, and with its fire of practical devotion lit a new hope in the hearts of the poor.

St. Dominic had seen heresy at close quarters in the Albigensian War, and had learned, not the lesson of tolerance, but the dangers threatening society from sectaries and Saracens and Jews. His aim was to champion orthodoxy, to confute heretics, to encourage sound learning. The days of remote contemplation were over. The day for a living and fighting Christianity had come. Dominic's disciples were to be essentially preachers of the faith, instructed, fervent and austere. But their appeal was to the educated classes. The new seats of learning were their natural home The renunciation of endowments was, it seems, no part of Dominic's original plan. His special gift was the power of organisation, while the strength of St. Francis lay in his mystic and spiritual charm. But Dominic appreciated at once the force and popularity which the Franciscans drew from their self-denying creed. As early as 1220 the Friar Preachers adopted the profession of poverty, which the Lesser Friars, the Minorites, had already made their own, and side by side, as Mendicants, the two Orders travelled out to take the world by storm. In 1221 the Dominicans

[1] See T. Wright's *Latin Poems attributed to Walter Mapes* (71–5 and Preface), Mullinger's *Cambridge* (86–7), and J. A. Symonds' *Wine, Women and Song* (20 *sq.*). There are different versions of the song. It is hardly fair to make the Archdeacon responsible for the drinking-song, which is probably much older than his day ; and there is no more evidence for attributing to him the original of the great tale of Lancelot du Lac (see *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, I, 177–8 and 188–91).

landed in England, and passing on in a few days to Oxford, found their first lodging in the heart of the Jewry, where there were most converts to be made. In St. Edward's parish they set up their oratory and school, and from the date of their arrival it seems that their welcome was assured. Their skill in preaching and in dialectics won educated hearers. Their simplicity, poverty, enthusiasm appealed to all. Old pupils of St. Edmund, Robert Bacon and Richard Fishacre, appeared among their earliest teachers. Great personages like the Bishop of Carlisle and the widowed Countess of Oxford granted property for their use. Ere long the Bishop resigned his See and joined their ranks. The King gave them wood from Shotover and Wychwood. The Jews gave them a few converts—most precious of all. Before many years were over [1] the Black Friars sold their home in the Jewry, and moved to larger quarters outside the Little Gate, beyond the South wall. Their patrons had bestowed on them an island between Trill Mill Stream and the Thames, and here already a new Convent had begun to rise. Here on stone arches over Trill Mill Stream they built their Preacher's Bridge. Here they established church and mill and school and cloister. Here names like Blackfriars Road and Preachers' Pool for long recalled them. And here, to the North-west, in St. Ebbe's Parish, and in the low ground by the town wall, they had for neighbours the only community in Oxford which could outshine them in piety or fame.

Before the Dominicans had been long settled in the Jewry, the Franciscans followed in their steps. In September 1224 there arrived at Dover a little party of bare-footed Friars, garbed in the coarse, grey habit of their Brotherhood, and led by Agnellus of Pisa, whom St. Francis had chosen for the difficult task. Homeless and penniless, save for the charity of the monks of Fécamp, who had paid their passage over, they made their way to Canterbury and found a shelter. From Canterbury four of the Friars, with two Englishmen among them, went on to London. There the Dominicans made them welcome, and there in Cornhill they built their first rough cells, stuffing the party-walls with grass. From London soon afterwards [2] the same two Englishmen,

[1] Probably in 1245. For the Dominicans in Oxford see Father Jarrett's *English Dominicans* (especially Ch. IV) and Mr. W. G. D. Fletcher's *Black Friars in Oxford*. But our knowledge of them is slender compared with our knowledge of the Franciscans. See also Wood (*City*, II, 311–42), Stevens (*Additions to Dugdale's Monasticon*, II, 203–7), and the *Victoria County Hist. of Oxford* (II, 107 *sq.*). In Bishop Creighton's *Historical Lectures* there are interesting sketches of St. Dominic, St. Francis and the early Friars.

[2] Probably before Nov. 1, 1224, and even before Agnellus arrived in London. This is most likely Eccleston's meaning (Brewer's edition, 9,

Richard of Ingworth in Norfolk and another Richard from Devonshire, set out again, and in spite of perils from forest and flood, in spite of an inhospitable Prior at Abingdon, who judged them to be mummers and not men of God, they arrived at Oxford safely. There too the Dominicans lodged and fed the newcomers, till they could hire a primitive dwelling of their own. And there they rented first a house from Robert the Mercer in the parish of St. Ebbe, and later, in the following summer, a larger house with some ground about it, which before long Richard the Miller settled in trust for their use. The first Warden of the Oxford house was an Englishman, William of Esseby, who as a young novice had accompanied the mission from abroad. Many "honest bachelors and noble men" soon joined the Order. Sympathisers and enthusiasts brought them gifts. Fresh houses in St. Ebbe's were dedicated to them; and as years went on they were able to enlarge their quarters in the South-West corner of the town.

In 1244 the Grey Friars received the King's permission to break through the South wall, between Little Gate on the East and the Castle on the West, and like the Dominicans they were granted an island in the Thames, with the right to connect it by a bridge with their main possessions. The island perhaps helped to pay the fine imposed on Henry son of Henry son of Simeon for his inexpiable crime.[1] Here, in the poor, low-lying suburb, the first humble buildings of the Order were set up. The Brothers worked with their own hands at the church; a Bishop and an Abbot, who had donned the Mendicant habit, helped to carry water, sand and stone. Luxury in their dwellings was forbidden. St. Francis had told them that the best of sermons was to live in "poor cottages of mud and wood," and the

Little's edition, 11–12), though Denifle and others have accepted the view, which Eccleston indeed suggests, that the Friars stayed in London a year before going on to Oxford. The theory which dates the Grey Friars' arrival in England in 1219 instead of 1224 is discussed at the beginning of Mr. A. G. Little's admirable volume on *The Grey Friars in Oxford* (1, n.). Mr. Little's edition of Eccleston's Chronicle (*Tractatus Fr. Thomæ*, Paris, 1909) is the latest and best. Consult also Little's *Studies in English Franciscan History*; the two volumes of *Monumenta Franciscana*—including Thomas Eccleston's Chronicle and Adam Marsh's Letters—edited with a brilliant preface by Dr. Brewer; Luard's edition of Grosseteste's Letters; Wood (*City*, II, 342–413); and Dr. Jessop's *Coming of the Friars*.

[1] The island was granted in 1245 (*Cal. P. R.*, 1232–47, 451). An annuity of 50 marks was granted to the Warden and Convent of the Friars Minor of Oxford by Edward I. Under Edward II they petitioned for a license in mortmain—"la mortificacioun de une place en Oxenford qe ne vaut qe deux souz par an." (See Parliamentary Petitions in *Collectanea*, III, 141 and 116.)

strictest of his followers clung to this injunction as an article of faith. The chief house of the Order in England grew up near the shambles of Newgate in Stinking Lane.[1] The Franciscan Chapel at Cambridge is said to have been built by a single carpenter in a single day. The dormitory walls at Shrewsbury, first built of stone, were afterwards replaced with mud. A vision warned the Oxford Friars that men might be damned for excess in building. Jealous critics, monkish historians, were on the watch to accuse them of rearing " mansions as lofty as the palaces of Kings." Adam Marsh feared lest his novices should neglect the things of the spirit for flesh and blood and wood and stone and worldly gain. Even Grosseteste preached against such dangerous ambitions. The school reared in the days of Agnellus was probably one of the best of the Grey Friars' early buildings in Oxford. The infirmary was built by his orders so low that a man could scarcely stand upright in it. It was not till the first and sternest years were over, that the spacious Convent of the Order was designed, and the great church built for preaching, where " under a sumptuous pyramid " the heart of its wealthiest benefactor, Richard King of the Romans, was laid. But time and prejudice were destined to sweep both away. No traces of either simplicity or splendour recall the cloisters of the Minorites among the Oxford marshes now.

" Three things chiefly have exalted the Order," said one of the Franciscan leaders, " bare feet, mean garments[2] and the refusal of money "—and there is no doubt that their single-minded poverty gave the Mendicants more than anything else their hold upon the times. Even braver than their poverty, however, was the devotion with which the Grey Friars ministered to the sick, and dedicated themselves to the service of the lepers, the most dreaded outcasts of the mediæval world. In thirteenth-century Europe no harder or truer test could have been devised of a man's readiness to sacrifice himself for others. St. Francis was a poet and he loved mankind.[3] It was bitter and loathsome to him once, he confessed, even to look upon a leper. But " the blessed Lord brought me among them and I did mercy with them : " and mercy and tenderness brought their own reward. Their work among the sick led the Friars to study medicine and physical conditions as few had done before, and gave a valuable stimulus

[1] But there was no deliberate choice of unhealthy sites. The Friars took such sites as they could get, and sometimes cheap ones bought by public subscription.

[2] A coarse, grey gown, bare legs, and a hempen cord for a girdle. Hutten speaks of their " treen shoes or pattens " (*Elizabethan Oxford*, O.H.S., 77).

[3] And not mankind only, but beasts and birds and all created things.

to experimental science. Hardly less powerful in their appeal to popular feeling, to the humble and neglected dwellers in the towns, were the personal and sentimental elements in the Franciscan creed, the Brothers' constant insistence on the humanity and sufferings of Christ, on the purity and womanhood of the Virgin Mother of God. The Grey Friar had to preach to unlearned men. Dependent as he was upon his audience, he was compelled to find a way to touch their feelings. And nothing helped him more than the joyousness of spirit, which the Order, following its Founder's example, made its own. Laughter, it seems, was the young Oxford Friar's temptation. He had to be forbidden to laugh too much at his prayers. Cheerfulness and gaiety were almost a part of his rule. Excessive austerity in diet was discouraged. As guests at other men's tables the Brothers were allowed to eat all manner of meats. Grosseteste once imposed a cup of wine for a penance: "to eat, sleep and be merry," he told them, were all alike necessary to health. Psalms and hymns had no sadness for these "jongleurs of God." They could weep indeed because Love was not loved: the *Dies Iræ* was a Franciscan hymn. But joy in life was a part of their creed. To be a good fellow, to tell a good story, to carry the news and gossip of the neighbourhood through the country-side, were by no means repugnant to the Minorite ideal. The warm human sympathies, the wide understanding which won for the Friars the hearts of the poor, made friends as readily among important people. We find them mingling in public affairs, acting as counsellors, diplomatists, Crusaders. Oxford Minorites were used as Royal envoys. Adam Marsh was sent as an Ambassador over seas. A Master of the Oxford Friars was taken as a companion by Prince Edward to the Holy Land. Before the thirteenth century ended, a Warden of the Oxford Convent marched with the Crusaders, and bore the Cross in the last fierce charge of the Christian Knights at Tripoli.

St. Francis indeed, had he had his way, would have closed to his disciples one avenue of power. Books and learning had no place in his scheme. His sole aim was the practical imitation of Jesus. "A day will come," he told his followers, "when men will throw their books out of the window as useless." The true Doctor was the man who showed good works. "When you have got a psalter," he warned a timid novice, who had just learned to stumble through the psalms, "then you will want a breviary; and when you have got a breviary, you will sit in your chair as great as a lord. . . . How many gape after knowledge! How much happier he who has made himself barren for the love of God!" And though St. Francis died, his spirit lingered, and the sterner zealots of the Order were long before they could

reconcile their aims with the ideals of University education. Roger Bacon had great difficulty in securing not only books and instruments but ink and parchment for his work. Even Agnellus, who built the Grey Friars' School at Oxford, and persuaded Grosseteste to lecture in it, mourned over its vain dialectics. "Woe is me, woe is me! Simple brothers enter Heaven, while learned brothers dispute whether there be a God at all." [1]

But the call of learning was too strong to be refused. Preachers dedicated to religion needed the stimulus of teaching. Even their simplicity longed to know more of the "subtle moralities" about which Grosseteste spoke. So eager were they that they would go daily to the School of theology, "barefoot, in bitter cold and deep mud." [2] Grosseteste, their earliest lecturer, was one of the first theologians of his time, and he warned them plainly that walking in ignorance meant walking to shame. His immediate successors in the School, like him seculars and ultimately Bishops, were all distinguished men. The necessity of studying theology and the Dominicans' example had their inevitable effect. The rigid rules interfering with study were relaxed. Adam Marsh pleaded for concessions. The Franciscan lecturers appealed beyond their Convent to the University outside. The Mendicant Orders became famous for their learning, the Franciscans with their special attention to language and to science at least as conspicuous as the rest. Their libraries were said to be full of treasures—"heaped up, amid the utmost poverty, the utmost riches of wisdom." They were accused of buying up all the books in the market, of keeping books which did not belong to them, as jealous book-collectors are sometimes led to do—though Leland later could find in the Franciscan library at Oxford little except moths and cobwebs. By a strange irony the missionary Brotherhood, whom their Founder had directed to abandon learning, became the intellectual masters of their age, the pioneers of the most original philosophy and the boldest speculation in the mediæval Church.

The great reputation which the Franciscans won in Oxford was largely due to their early leaders. Agnellus of Pisa and the Englishmen who came over with him must have been remarkable men. And Robert Grosseteste, whom Agnellus drew into the service of the Order, became from the first an invaluable friend. Few figures loom larger in the first half of the thirteenth century in England. None is more representative of Oxford in its earliest days. None perhaps, even among the greatest mediæval Doctors, had a wider influence than "Lincolniensis" upon English

[1] The question "Utrum sit Deus" was a favourite thesis of the Schools.

[2] *Mon. Francisc.* (I, 37 and 21).

thought. A Head of the Schools who never failed to defend the University he loved, a Bishop who made himself felt in every part of his vast diocese, an untiring administrator, a fearless reformer, a statesman who never quailed before Pope or King when justice was at stake, Grosseteste was also one of the chief teachers and writers of his time. He did not always escape the pitfalls of an uncritical age. He wasted labour in editing spurious Greek manuscripts.[1] But the list of works attributed to him shows the wide range of his mind. Foremost among contemporary divines, a Schoolman who yet saw the perils of Scholasticism, he urged the Oxford Masters of Divinity to take the Bible itself as the foundation of their teaching. His own *Sayings* placed the authority of Scripture above Pope or Council or text-book of the Church. Though not himself in the first rank of linguists, he realised the need of studying Greek and Hebrew. He set the scholars of St. Albans to translating Aristotle afresh. Tradition attributed to his influence the first direct translation of the *Ethics*, which Oxford men have thumbed and pondered for uncounted generations since. He shared Roger Bacon's impatience with the confused, perplexing versions of Aristotle then current. He shared, he may have suggested, Bacon's opinions on the importance of mathematics as the basis of physical science. He helped to make languages and mathematics appreciated at Oxford in the Franciscan School. Bacon spoke of his knowledge of "the sciences" with unmeasured admiration, and Bacon could be a sharp critic. Grosseteste's labours and experiments, no doubt, suggested and anticipated Bacon's, and his far-ranging studies included husbandry and medicine, poetry and music. He loved the harp: they said he kept a harper by him day and night.[2] He found time to rule a great diocese, to play a leading part in English politics and letters, to intervene, whenever his intervention was needed, on his dear University's behalf, to watch its officials, to advise on its studies, to plead for its turbulent clerks. He found time also to write French verses and to enjoy the lighter sides of life. He left a religious poem behind him which an eighteenth-century Professor compared to "a system of divinity written by a troubadour." He was a gracious, open-handed host, refreshing in his humour, simple in his human kindliness, as generous

[1] E.g. the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, a forgery brought back from Athens by John of Basingstoke, who helped Grosseteste to translate it.

[2] See Appendix XVII to Pegge's *Life of Grosseteste*. Pegge gives a full account of the works attributed to the Bishop. See also Luard's edition of Grosseteste's *Letters*, Perry's *Life*, Little's *Grey Friars* and *Studies in English Franciscan History*, Brewer's *Monumenta Franciscana*, Matthew Paris and the early chroniclers, *passim*.

always in appreciating merit as he was stern in punishing abuses. Severe to the faults of the monks, he was outspoken in his admiration of the spirit and labours of the early Friars. He became their staunchest patron. He wrote to the Pope with enthusiasm of their success. Drawn himself from the ranks of the people, he understood the force of their popular appeal. He left his books to the Franciscan House at Oxford,[1] where they also preserved his sandals as relics. He would preach to them and joke with them and gently mock at their austerities, and bid them be merry as well as devout. It is no wonder that they sang his praises, and treasured up stories about him, and told each other solemn tales of the visions in which he appeared after death.

Even more closely associated with the Grey Friars was Adam de Marisco, Adam of the Marsh, who, eschewing wealth and worldly greatness, spent the best part of his life among them. His letters to Grosseteste, to Simon de Montfort, to other well-known correspondents, remain in all their tortuous Latinity, though unhappily we have no record of the replies.[2] The "Illustrious Doctor," whom Roger Bacon classed with Grosseteste as "perfect in all wisdom," was the first Brother of the Order to lecture at Oxford, and he did more perhaps than any other teacher to found the great Franciscan School. But to the last he pleaded for the old ideal of poverty, for the stern simplicity of the Franciscan creed. Adam Marsh's influence at Oxford was hardly less than Grosseteste's own. He could speak not for the Minorites only, but for the whole University. When differences arose between them, his judgment and moderation helped to keep the peace. By the middle of the thirteenth century he was recognised as one of the leading churchmen of the day. He was summoned to attend a Parliament in London, to accompany Grosseteste to a Council at Lyons, to undertake missions for the King abroad. Princes and nobles, prelates and great ladies came to him for counsel. He was not afraid to preach an uncourtly sermon to his Sovereign, to show his sympathy with the great popular leader, to resist the exactions of the Pope, to insist on humanity and mercy towards the Jews. He did not hesitate to tell Simon de Montfort that a patient man is better than a strong man, "and he who can rule his own temper than he who storms a city." He would even write to the great Earl's wife about the dangers of extravagance in dress and the sweetness

[1] *MS. Bodl.* 198 is annotated both by Grosseteste and by Thomas Gascoigne. Gascoigne testifies that the Oxford Minorite Convent presented the volume to him, so that it must have passed to the Convent among Grosseteste's books. (See *Bodl. Libr. Summary Catalogue*, II, 111.)

[2] See *Mon. Francisc.* (ed. Brewer, vol. I).

of humility in women. At Oxford he was ever working for the interests of his friends and students, interceding for the Chancellor with Grosseteste, appealing for assistance for poor scholars, begging for books for one, for parchment for another, for consideration for a third, for forgiveness for a fourth. But he had time enough still for the duties which made the Friars loved, and was just as ready to help and comfort all who came to him in trouble, a friend or neighbour broken by misfortune, a poor woman overwhelmed by lawyers, a horse-stealer brought by heavenly inspiration to a satisfactory consciousness of sin. Adam Marsh was not a man of genius. He probably owed his great reputation far more to his high character than to his scholarship or his exasperating literary style. But he was essentially, what Grosseteste found him, "a true friend and faithful counsellor," and as such he filled in his generation no small place in the hearts of Oxford men.

A far more famous name stands in the list of Adam's disciples, a name linked with immortality, wizardry, romance. Roger Bacon's life began early in the thirteenth century and continued almost to its close. He came of a family of some importance which suffered in the Royal cause. He was very likely a relative of Robert Bacon, the well-known Oxford teacher, who was one of the first Englishmen to join the Dominicans and to draw students to their Schools. He went, it seems, at an early age to Oxford, and became a devoted admirer of Grosseteste and of Adam Marsh.[1] From boyhood onward he "laboured much at sciences and languages." The scientific writings of Aristotle, made available by Arabic students, were just becoming known in the Western world. Astronomy was already a popular science. Mathematics were advancing with Astronomy. Botany and Medicine were developing.[2] And if Chemistry and Alchemy were still undefined and indistinguishable, the study of the metals was increasing every day. Bacon threw himself into these engrossing subjects. He spent his money freely on instruments and books. From Oxford he went abroad, stayed in Paris, lectured on the new Aristotelian science. By 1251, when he was again in Oxford, he was a well-known teacher and Master of Arts. In 1257 he was sent back to Paris, and there for several years he remained in the Franciscan Convent, "unheard, buried,

[1] He may have heard Edmund Rich preach or lecture in Oxford. But the days when St. Edmund was lecturing there regularly must have been over, even if Grosseteste's lectures were still going on.

[2] The Emperor Frederick II insisted on the study of dissection in his Sicilian kingdom. (See Mr. Robert Steele's essay on Bacon in the *Studies in the History and Method of Science*, edited by Dr. Charles Singer, II, 127, to which I am greatly indebted here.) And at Bologna both medicine and surgery were beginning to make way (Rashdall, I, 244–5).

lost in oblivion," [1] but in spite of criticism, suspicion and hostility by no means lost to the cause of learning.

It was an age of encyclopædias. Great teachers aimed at producing monumental books, which should sum up in all departments the knowledge of mankind. Bacon seems to have followed the fashion, and to have collected materials for a vast and comprehensive work. He would arrange human learning under four main headings—Grammar and Logic, Mathematics, Natural Science, Metaphysics and Morals—and set forth a reasoned scheme of intellectual progress, leading up from the study of things human to the study of things divine. One faithful companion, a beggar-boy of genius, " a virgin not knowing mortal sin," [2] was trained to help him in his studies. And undeterred by the frowns of his Order, by difficulties with copyists and translators, by the want of money and materials and of nearly all that an investigator ought to have, the brave Friar laboured for years at his great task. Pope Clement IV heard of his struggles. In 1266 he asked to see his writings. And thereupon Bacon completed three treatises—the *Opus Majus*, the *Opus Minus* and the *Opus Tertium*—in a remarkably short time, and forwarded them for the Pope's consideration. But these famous treatises, compiled, no doubt, from materials already collected, were little more than introductions to his comprehensive plan, and before the project went much further Clement died.

Unhappily, while Popes changed, prejudice lived on. Bacon was not of a nature to conciliate opponents. He had little

[1] Mr. Little (*Roger Bacon*; essays written for his seventh centenary, p. 7) points out that there is no ground in the *Opus Tertium* for supposing that Bacon was banished or imprisoned at this time. Like Mr. Steele's article already referred to, these essays contain some admirable work on Bacon, including a valuable analysis quoted from the late Prof. Adamson and a valuable bibliography by Mr. Little. See also among other authorities, M. Charles (*Roger Bacon, Sa Vie*, etc.), Dr. Brewer's edition of Bacon's *Opera Inedita* (Rolls Series), Mr. Little's *Grey Friars* and *Studies in English Franciscan History*, Dr. Rashdall's *Universities* (II, 522 *sq.*), and Prof. Adamson's article in *D.N.B.* with the references there given. Dr. Brewer's volume of Bacon's unedited works included the *Opus Tertium*, *Opus Minus* and *Compendium Studii Philosophiæ*. But Mr. Steele is now carrying forward Dr. Brewer's plan, and has published since 1905 important editions of the *Metaphysica*, the *Communia Naturalium* (Books I and II), and the *Secretum Secretorum*. In recent years also Mr. J. H. Bridges has edited the *Opus Majus*, with a Life since separately published; Mr. Little has edited *Part of the Opus Tertium*, and Dr. Rashdall the *Compendium Studii Theologiæ*. M. Hauréau's sketch of Bacon's philosophy is a little disappointing (*Hist. de la Philosoph. Scolast.*, Pt. II, t. ii, ch. XIX). Prof. Adamson (*D.N.B.*) gives details of early editions of parts of Bacon's works.

[2] " Virgo mundissimus " is the odd phrase used in two MSS. of the *Opus Tertium*.

mercy for his contemporaries' failings. For popular opinion he had no respect at all. The strongest mind of the thirteenth century brought him little but trouble and discontent. When life went amiss with him, he broke out bitterly against the folly and unfairness of the world, against the ignorance and corruption, the pride and avarice, of Kings and prelates, monks and clerks.[1] There was no true understanding of the needs of education. The only study that prospered was the Civil Law. "Evil-minded jurists" preoccupied the favour of Princes and carried off all favours and emoluments for themselves. The "greedy Faculty" grew rich, while the devotees of loftier studies had not the wherewithal to live. His complaints, no doubt, had some foundation; but if Bacon was dogged with unpopularity, he may have helped to bring it on himself. In 1278 his opinions were formally condemned, and he is said to have been imprisoned for some fourteen years. His last known work was written in 1292, and he may in that year have regained his freedom. Tradition places his death soon afterwards, his unmarked grave among the Oxford Friars. And Oxford antiquarians, with even less to build on, for centuries gave the name of Friar Bacon's Study to a little chamber in the tower by the South Bridge, where, it was said, the great magician of the Middle Ages, stealing over at night from his Convent, used often to climb up and commune with the stars. Pepys, running through the sights of Oxford, "a very sweet place," in one energetic day, paid a shilling to the man who showed it him in 1668.[2]

It was easier, Leland declared, to collect the leaves of the Sibyl than the titles of the works written by Roger Bacon. Many of his writings still remain in manuscripts difficult of access and still more difficult to read.[3] They must have been often copied in the Middle Ages, but it is uncertain how widely they were known. We may reject the story that the Friars at Oxford nailed down his dangerous books to the shelves. But for long after his death Bacon was most familiar to the public as an alchemist and wizard. It was not till the days of the Renaissance that his real fame revived. It was not till the seventeenth century that another English philosopher, sharing his name and his genius, pleaded as powerfully for observation and experiment as the true basis of knowledge. It was not till the eighteenth century that the *Opus Majus* found a publisher, and revealed

[1] "Totus clerus vacat superbiæ, luxuriæ, et avaritiæ" (Brewer, *Op. Ined.* 399).

[2] See his *Diary* for the 9th June, 1668.

[3] There are, I understand, nearly 30 MSS. in the Bodleian, containing genuine works of Bacon. But Bacon, as Mr. Steele says, had an "inveterate habit of using his material two or three times over."

the breadth of its author's efforts to strengthen the thought and science of his age. Of the Friar's vast projects little more than fragments are preserved. The *Opus Majus* was not only a criticism of the spirit in which scientific studies were pursued. It was an attempt to classify them and to expound a new scientific method with a thoroughness unknown since Aristotle's day. What chiefly distinguished Bacon from his contemporaries was the originality and independence of his views. He was not content with quotations or commentaries upon others. To most of the Schoolmen science was largely a matter of words. To Bacon it was a matter of investigation. To him no form of inquiry came amiss. Moral Philosophy was, no doubt, the end of all the sciences, their mistress and queen: "for this alone teaches the good of the soul." But grammar and philology, astronomy and mathematics, agriculture and medicine, the study of plants and animals, and all forms of experimental science were within the compass of that busy, comprehensive mind. Bacon worked on the reform of the calendar, on optics or perspective. He made burning glasses, magic mirrors. He studied the combination of lenses. He knew a man who had worked out the principle of a flying-machine. He searched the stars and their influence on the lives and passions of men. He plunged into alchemy, the mysterious science which awed and fascinated mediæval thinkers. Speculative alchemy taught "the generation of things from their elements." Practical alchemy taught "how to make noble metals and colours," and the rare art of prolonging life. He loved, no doubt, to linger on abnormal themes. In his version of the *Secretum Secretorum*, the fabled advice of Aristotle to Alexander, he turned aside from maxims of ethics, statesmanship, philosophy, to dwell on the enchantments of astrology, the strange concoctions of mediæval physic, the restless quest of the philosopher's stone. But there is nothing abnormal—indeed there is something curiously modern—in one of Bacon's prescriptions for keeping young. "Listen to beautiful music, look at beautiful things, hold stimulating conversations with sympathetic friends, wear your best clothes, and talk to pretty girls." [1] Above all he saw the powerlessness of physical science unless it called in mathematics to its aid. He accepted Force and Matter as the fundamental physical ideas, and discerned with the intuition of genius that Force was invariably subject to mathematical laws. "*Impossibile est res hujus mundi sciri, nisi sciatur mathematica.*" Mathematics were the master-key to all correct reasoning, to all accurate progress in understanding the secrets of the world.

[1] I quote Mr. Little's version (*Studies in English Franciscan History*, 201–2).

But after all the foundation of learning must be exactness in the use of language. That is why Bacon laboured at philology and produced the most remarkable Greek grammar of his day. He was hampered at every turn by inaccurate translations, which helped to make Scholasticism perplexing and obscure. His knowledge of the new Aristotle came to him chiefly from Arabic commentaries translated into Latin in Spain. But he saw the need of going to the fountain-head. He recognised as clearly as the men of the Renaissance the importance of studying in the originals both the text of Scripture and the science of Greece. Useless text-books must be swept away. He declared he did not know four men among the Latins who could translate grammatically Greek, Arabic or Hebrew. Yet it was from the East that all sciences sacred and profane had come. To clear thought on philosophic subjects language and not logic was the clue. No man in that period understood so well the immediate needs of education, all that the mastery of languages involved. He realised that teaching must be made attractive. "It is the first step in wisdom to have regard to those to whom one speaks."

Bacon saw plainly the failings of the Schoolmen. But it was to their age and race that he belonged, and his influence on Scholasticism has been partly lost sight of in his scientific fame. He had certainly no undue respect for custom and authority, or for the blind deference which they commanded in the Schools. In his *Compendium Studii Philosophiæ*, produced about 1272,[1] he had not spared the obscurantism of the clergy. He denounced the pride of supposed knowledge, the waste of energy involved in metaphysical debate. One individual was of more account than all the Universals in the world.[2] He regretted, as Grosseteste had regretted, the time spent on studying text-books like the *Sentences*, instead of the Scriptures "given to the world from the mouth of God and of the Saints." He complained of the ease with which half-trained and inexperienced boys became prematurely Masters in Theology, a study "which demands all human wisdom." He found vanity, prolixity, unpardonable omissions even, unless the reference has been misunderstood, in the works of Thomas Aquinas. But a writer who dwelt with equal emphasis on the causes of perfect wisdom in Holy Scripture had no contempt for the best traditions of philosophy or religion. The first chapter of the *Opus Majus* strikes no uncertain note. "By the light of philosophy the Church of God is ordered." The last work he produced, the *Compendium Studii Theologiæ*, discussed as the Schoolmen might have discussed the causes and refutation of error. To Bacon the masters of antiquity were fallible like

[1] This is included in Dr. Brewer's edition of the *Opera Inedita*.
[2] *Opus Majus* (ed. Bridges, xlii).

others. But all great thinkers drew their enlightenment from God. He would use their wisdom fearlessly to illuminate and widen the learning of the Church. He would add to it new methods of searching out the truth. He would try to arrive at a knowledge of the Creator by obtaining the fullest possible knowledge of the created world. For the inquirer entering on that high endeavour no field of study was too difficult or too remote.

Bacon drew no followers round him. His loneliness lasted till the end. Proud, impatient, embittered by his treatment, he found little comfort or wisdom in the world. With all his power and genius he failed to make his ideas fully understood. But his writings had yet an appreciable influence on Oxford thought. Incomplete, at times perhaps uncertain, his handling of the problems of the Schools might be.[1] But the germ of the opposition to the rising Dominican philosophy was there. And there too in characteristic vigour was the fine spirit of mediæval independence, which made the Schoolman, with all his deference for authority, still an influence for freedom. In his criticism of the theories of Aquinas, Bacon, perhaps unconsciously, supplied materials which served the whole Franciscan School. He contributed something to the Realism of Duns Scotus, and something also to the Nominalism of Ockham. Contemptuous of merely logical refinements, he yet helped to inspire the fearless thought, and even the over-subtle speculations, which were to render the Oxford philosophers of the fourteenth century in intellectual activity the leaders of the world.

Other names, on which it is not possible to linger, bulk largely in the records of the Oxford Friars. Thomas de Bungay, the wizard associated with Bacon by tradition and romance, lectured to the Franciscans of Oxford and Cambridge in Bacon's day, and shared, no doubt, his interest in mathematics and natural science. Earlier still, Richard of Cornwall and John of Wales were famous theologians, who not only lectured at Oxford, but won great reputations in Paris.[2] John—"Wallensis"—was a prolific writer, many of whose studies on the virtues of philosophy and the temptations of mankind remain. Richard of Cornwall also enjoyed wide popularity, but that did not prevent Bacon from calling him an utter fool. Thomas of Eccleston was the first of the Friars' historians. Adam of Oxford, "of world-wide fame," once secretary to Adam Marsh, was sent by the Pope to preach to the infidels. Ralph of Maidstone, Master at Paris

[1] There may be some point in M. Charles' charge that Bacon's philosophic ideas were "puissantes comme critique, faibles comme système" (*Roger Bacon*, 194).

[2] For Alexander of Hales, who died in 1245, see later (p. 77). His career belongs to Paris, not to Oxford.

and Oxford, then Bishop and finally Friar, helped with his own hands to build the church in St. Ebbe's, and his New Testament, bequeathed to the Minorites of Canterbury, is still to be seen in the British Museum. Hugh of Hertilpoll or Hartlepool was one of the two Proctors entrusted by Dervorguilla with the government of Balliol College. John Mardeslay later was a Friar and Doctor of Oxford who argued so skilfully against Papal exactions as to win admiration from the Black Prince. Thomas Woodford was known for his opposition to the Wycliffites, Nicholas Fakenham for his criticism of the Princes of the Church. William Russell shocked fifteenth-century opinion by maintaining that a religious might enjoy the embraces of a woman without mortal sin, but brought down far sterner thunders by insisting that tithes ought to go to the poor instead of to the parish priest. And Henry Standish later still won fame by defending the Old Learning and by daring rashly to cross swords with Erasmus.

Two more important names than these should appear among those of the Friars of Oxford. Two early Primates, Kilwardby and Patcham, exercised no small authority in the Oxford Schools. Robert Kilwardby, a Dominican, was the first Friar to win the highest honours in the Church of England. He became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1272. Conspicuous as grammarian, logician, theologian, he made his influence felt in Oxford. The Oseney canons complained that he used it to exact exorbitant fees from them. Both Kilwardby and Patcham undertook to condemn erroneous teaching in the University—errors in grammar, logic and philosophy, of which the heresy that *ego currit* was good Latin seemed the most absurd.[1] But there were graver errors than this among the opinions which the two important Visitations of 1277 and 1284 condemned, errors arising from the new Aristotelian teaching for which Aquinas was largely responsible and which the Dominicans were adopting as their own. Archbishop Patcham had a longer lease of power as Primate, and played a larger if not always a wiser part in political affairs. He had learned at Oxford not only science and theology but poetry, it seems, and mathematics. He was all his life a staunch friend of the Franciscan Order. He clung to its ideals and its austerities. He could not bear to see it oppressed. And he was never backward to defend its opinions or to rebuke those of its Dominican rivals. But more important even than Patcham,

[1] " This doctrine," Dr. Rashdall adds, " was of course a logical theory about the copula, not a piece of mere grammatical ignorance, as is supposed by Wood and others " (II, 425, n.). I think there is no doubt that Dr. Landry is right (*Duns Scot.*, 39) in giving the date of Kilwardby's Visitation and of the condemnation of the suspected doctrines as 18 March 1277—not 1276—within a week or two of their condemnation in Paris.

the most popular of the Franciscan Doctors, the men who stirred the student world of Europe as no Oxford philosophers had stirred them yet, were John Duns Scotus, the "Doctor Subtilis," who was a Friar in St. Ebbe's when the fourteenth century began, and William of Ockham, the "Doctor Invincibilis," who in his turn did something to sweep Duns' ingenious intricacies away. Their influence on the University and the problems they debated form a separate chapter in the history of the Schools.[1]

The Franciscans played a great part, none a greater, in Oxford life and Oxford thought. But other settlements of Friars followed where the disciples of Dominic and Francis led the way. About the middle of the thirteenth century the Carmelites or White Friars acquired a house in Stockwell Street.[2] There their white garments[3] soon became familiar. There or close by there King Edward II, in pursuance of a hasty vow made when flying from the field of Bannockburn, granted them the Royal Palace of Beaumont for their home.[4] The name of Friars' Entry near St. Mary Magdalen's still recalls the gift. The Augustinians, very little later, obtained a grant of land and built a Convent just outside Smith Gate, where in the seventeenth century the courts and gardens of Wadham were to rise. The Schools of the Austin Friars took the lead in the teaching of grammar, and their name was long associated with the famous disputations for which their Schools were lent. Leland noted among their most eminent members Thomas Winterton, once "a great familiar" of Wycliffe, John Capgrave, the most learned of all Augustinians, and Thomas Penketh, who has a strong claim to immortality if it be true that he knew all the works of Duns Scotus off by heart.[5] The Friars of the Penitence of Jesus Christ, more commonly known as Friars of the Sack, settled in the same period close by the Minorites, in St. Budoc's parish. But before many years were

[1] See later (Chap. VI). I owe most of these biographical details to Mr. Little.

[2] Stock or Stoke, Mr. Hurst thinks, suggests a ford. The well was called Plato's Well in Tudor days (*Oxford Topography*, 97–100). Grants of houses and lands to the Carmelites between 1317 and the end of 1324 are recorded in the City Archives (Ogle, *Royal Letters*, 25–6 and 34).

[3] Their white habits, Leonard Hutten thought (*Elizabethan Oxford*, O.H.S., 80–1), were originally edged with red, in imitation of the garments of "Elias the Prophett."

[4] Friar Bastion, poet and warrior, the Prior of the Oxford House, happened luckily to be at the King's side (see Wood, *City*, II, 413–45, and Goldie, *Bygone Oxford*, 22–3). Edward also granted them 5 marks a year each for the sustenance of 24 Brethren, which were not punctually paid (*Collect.* III, 130).

[5] See Wood (*City*, II, 453–4).

over the Order was extinguished, and most of its property passed to the Grey Friars. Towards the end of the thirteenth century the Trinitarians were established by Edmund of Cornwall in a House outside the East Gate.[1] And the Crutched Friars for a time, says Wood, found quarters in Grandpont towards the river, and afterwards near St. Peter's in the East.[2] But none of these Orders enjoyed an influence comparable to that of the Franciscans or Dominicans either in the University or in the town.

It was perhaps inevitable that sooner or later difficulties between the Mendicant Orders and the University should arise. All friends and leaders of the Friars had not the authority of Grosseteste or the wise moderation of Adam Marsh. There was always a danger lest their duty to their Convents and their duty to the University should pull them different ways.[3] And as the first, fine enthusiasm abated, critics of the new Evangelists had no hesitation in finding matter for complaint. In Paris the Friars made a determined effort to absorb the teaching of theology, while escaping from the University's control. They secured the Pope's assistance, and a long and memorable conflict followed. But in Oxford the controversy took a milder form. The University "founded in Arts" insisted that even theologians should first qualify in that subject. Bacon protested against boys becoming Doctors of Theology before they had "learned anything of real value." But the Dominicans and Franciscans were interested chiefly in theology and Canon Law. Their aim was to train men for pastoral work. Their greatest teachers had bidden them study the Bible, not the

[1] They had property later within the Gate, but were almost extinguished by the plague in the middle of the fourteenth century. A Trinity Hall for poor scholars, says Wood, grew up on the site of some of their possessions, and William of Wykeham bought up others (*City*, II, 478–88). See also Hurst (*Oxf. Topog.* 146–7). But Mr. Salter points out that the town seized the property in the fourteenth century for non-payment of rent, and kept it till the end of the fifteenth, appointing priests to serve the Chapel (*Mun. Civ. Oxon.* xli, 19–20, 26–9 and 214).

[2] In 1349 Richard Cary of Oxford had a license to alienate to the Crutched Friars by the Tower of London two messuages and a plot of land in Oxford, 30 ft. broad by 60 ft. long, valued at 2*s.* 6d. a year, towards the maintenance of 13 of the Order as Scholars in the University, and for the enlargement of their manse in that town (*Cal. P. R.*, 1348–50, p. 291). Stevens (*Additions to Dugdale*, vol. II) has little to add to our knowledge of the Oxford Friars. On the Crutched Friars, and on the hermit of Grandpont who guarded the South Bridge and other Oxford Bridge-Hermits, see Salter (*Mun. Civ. Oxon.* 117–19 and xlii–v).

[3] The Cambridge Statutes of the fourteenth century show some apprehension that Friars might fail in their duties as Regents and evade their academic oaths. (See Peacock's *Observations* on the Cambridge Statutes, App. A., xliii, n.)

Sentences of Peter Lombard or the dialectic of the Schools. Their rules forbade them to take an Arts degree. In 1253 Thomas of York, a Franciscan Friar of high reputation, petitioned for leave to incept in theology, although he had not previously "ruled in Arts." The University was willing to grant a dispensation, to make a special case for Friar Thomas. But it held firmly to the principle laid down. Perhaps it already realised how important alike to discipline and to education it might prove. Adam Marsh protested: but even he was overruled. The Chancellor and Masters adhered to their Statutes, and kept the right to make exceptions in their own hands.

There for the moment the controversy rested, but early in the fourteenth century it broke out afresh. The Dominicans, never backward in contention, became the protagonists in the new struggle. They charged the University with unfair dealing in a variety of ways. A single Regent Master could block the issue of the Graces or dispensations which alone enabled Friars to take theological degrees, and it was alleged that this power was frequently abused. The University had transferred to St. Mary's the trial sermons and disputations on the eve of Inception, which had previously been held at the Mendicants' Convents or Schools: the latter were perhaps growing too important for the University's peace of mind. The Friars were unreasonably compelled to lecture on the *Sentences*, which involved some metaphysical and dialectical training, before they were permitted to lecture on the Bible. In the passing of Statutes insufficient deliberation was allowed. It had been ordered that any Statute carried by the Regent Masters in two Faculties, together with a majority of the Non-Regents, Masters who no longer taught, should be binding on the University as a whole: and Masters in Arts and in Medicine, if supported by the Non-Regents, could thus overbear the wishes of the theologians and Doctors of Law. It was intolerable that the "supreme science," theology, should have to submit to such dictation. It was flatly contrary to the practice at Paris, where a two-thirds majority of every Faculty was required to pass new Statutes.[1] The Friars were made to swear to all these objectionable regulations, and to vow never to oppose the University itself. One

[1] The Bull *Quasi lignum vitæ*, granted by Alexander IV in 1255, and printed by Denifle (*Chartularium Univ. Paris.* I, 279–85) did not really go so far as the Oxford Friars alleged, but only made a two-thirds majority in each Faculty necessary to carry a decree of suspension of studies. But the Bull was meant to help the Friars, and to give them a veto on the use of that formidable weapon by the University. Dr. Rashdall thinks that both at Paris and at Oxford in the thirteenth century the practice was to require the consent of all four Faculties for a new statute, "with the addition, in the case of Oxford, of the Non-Regents" (II, 375).

Dominican Doctor at least had been excluded from Congregation for refusing to submit. Others had been excommunicated by the Archbishop of Canterbury at the University's request. The Friars' students were being driven from their Schools. Their living, their good name, the affection of their friends, were being taken from them. A storm of obloquy had been aroused by the University's "exquisite and secret machinations." These and other complaints composed a formidable indictment. When all allowance is made for mediæval rhetoric, some of the grievances mentioned were, no doubt, deeply felt.[1]

But the University was not prepared to give way. The Masters may have made mistakes, but they were right on the main issues. They were fighting for the cause of education. They were defending the University's authority against a powerful religious interest, which had already secured in Paris a privileged position for itself. The University's answer justified its action. The Dominicans retorted with more detailed complaints. Their appeal to the Pope was read in the Minorite church "in the presence of a vast multitude of people." The Friars' proctor, prevented from serving the notice of appeal on the Chancellor inside the Schools, waylaid him as he came out and thrust it into his bosom. The Chancellor with appropriate energy of language threw it in the mud. The undaunted proctor proceeded to serve his notice on the Congregation in St. Mary's, and when hustled out of church, mounted a tombstone and shouted it through an open window. The Masters' servants, joining in with gusto, threatened to burn the saucy Friars with their buildings over their heads. But the appeal nevertheless went on. The Masters complained of the malice which dragged them to remote tribunals, of the sinister influence which tainted at the source "the rivers of favour flowing from the Apostolic Court." They declared that the Friars used "oily words" to the Pope, but very different language to themselves, that they stirred up the burgesses of Oxford, those "satellites of Satan," against the University, that they even proceeded to blows in church, a crime naturally horrible to scholars.[2] Arbitrators were appointed finally to deal with the whole question, and

[1] The fullest statement of the controversy will be found in the Digby Roll in the Bodleian, printed and edited by Dr. Rashdall (*Collect.* II, 193–273). See also, among other authorities, *Cal. Cl. R.* (1311, p. 445, and 1318, p. 535), *Cal. Pap. Letters* (II, 167), Rashdall's *Universities* (II, 378–86), Fletcher's *Black Friars in Oxford* (8–11), and Little's *Grey Friars*, *passim*. Edward II may have tried to be just to both sides. But he took up the Friars' grievances and alarmed the University by threatening to overhaul their Statutes.

[2] See the Oxford letters in Lord Harlech's MS. (ff. 144, 147–8, 151, 158–9), and the *Hist. MSS. Comm. 4th Report* (App. 379–97).

their award was confirmed by the King in 1314. On the chief issues the University won. Its Statutes were upheld. Its authority was strengthened. But on some points concessions to the Friars were made. Bachelors of Divinity, before taking their Doctor's degree, were permitted to preach one sermon in the Dominican church. Any Master refusing the Grace which enabled a Friar to graduate in theology without first graduating in Arts, was required to prove to the Regents in theology that his objection was well founded and not due to malice alone. Full notice was to be given in future of the making of new Statutes. And Statutes were not to be deemed carried unless voted by a majority of Regents of three Faculties, instead of two, together with a majority of Non-Regents. Of these three Faculties, however, the Faculty of Arts must always be one.

With these provisions the Friars had to be content. But they did not cease to press their views, when opportunity offered, on Pope and King,[1] and as the years went on their unpopularity in the University increased. In the general feud between Friars and Seculars, the University stood on the Seculars' side, and the Convocations of Canterbury and York voted it support. In the particular matter of Graces for degrees, the Friars were accused of abusing their influence with great persons to secure dispensations on easy terms. "Letters of lords sealed with wax," asking favours for the Friars, were looked on with little favour. The "wax-doctors" found few defenders. Even Wycliffe wondered at the "cursedness" which made a Mendicant, dead to the vanities of the world, try "to get him a cap of masterdom by praier of Lords." The Friars were accused of inveigling boys into their Order by wiles and presents, of carrying them off at the age of thirteen,[2] of teaching them to beg and waste their time. Their encroachments made them enemies.[3] Their rivalries caused scandal. Their growing wealth forfeited respect. The parish clergy resented their activity as confessors, their rights of burial, their interference in parochial

[1] Besides Edward II they found other powerful supporters, especially Pope John XXII and King Richard II. King Richard's Writ of 1379 in their favour is printed by Mr. Salter (*Med. Arch.* I, 204–5).

[2] Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, cited an instance of this in his speech at Avignon in 1357 (see Lechler's *John Wiclif and his Eng. Precursors*, I, 82; the date is wrongly given). A Statute of 1358 refers to the subject (*Mun. Acad.*, 205). The University forbade the Mendicant Orders to receive any student under 18. But in 1366, after the Pope's intervention, this rule was annulled (*Cal. Pap. Lett.* IV, 52, and *Collect.* III, 139).

[3] The Archdeacon of Oxford in 1319 forbade them to give absolution to offenders excommunicated for attacks on clerks. (See *Linc. Reg. Dalderby*, f. 391^{b}, and Twyne, *MS.* II, 15).

work. Vested interests resented their preaching against tithes. The ordinary clerk resented the superior sanctity they claimed. Before long the old story repeated itself again, and the successors of the noble-hearted zealots, whose gospel of self-sacrifice had won the heart of mediæval England, found, as the monks had found before them, that they had outgrown their welcome from the world.

But the great Mendicant teachers of the thirteenth century left their stamp on Oxford learning. Going down into the streets and market-places, to instruct others in the Christian creed, they were compelled also to instruct themselves. The systematic study of theology became for them a matter of supreme importance. And it was hardly less important to reconcile their theology with the teaching of the great philosopher whose logic filled the Schools, and whose authority rested on his appeal to the common-sense of mankind. It would not be easy to exaggerate the impression produced in thirteenth-century Europe by the discovery that Aristotle's logic was only part of a larger philosophy hitherto unknown, and by the translations which made his writings on natural philosophy, metaphysics and ethics for the first time familiar to the Western world. It meant a new birth of science. It was the greatest event in the intellectual history of the age. The earliest Latin versions of the treatises on physical science were taken from the Arabic and reached Europe through Spain. It was Aristotle in an Eastern dress, as interpreted by Arabian commentators and mediæval Jews. The influence of Avicenna, the brilliant Persian doctor, born before the tenth century closed, who knew the Koran by heart at ten and Aristotle's *Metaphysics* a few years later, whose works on medicine held the field for centuries, and whose paraphrases of Aristotle served as text-books in the East, has been traced rightly or wrongly in every page of the writings of Albert the Great. The influence of Averroes, the great twelfth-century philosopher of Southern Spain, the Aristotelian commentator whose speculations alarmed the orthodox Moslems of his own century as much as the orthodox Christians of the next, is scarcely less noticeable in the philosophy of Aquinas.[1] But the Arabic texts were often translations from manuscripts in Syriac, which were themselves translations from the Greek, and it is no wonder if the Latin versions based upon them showed some confusion of language and of thought. "For a translation to be true," was Bacon's caustic comment, "it is necessary that a translator

[1] "Albert doit tout à Avicenne; saint Thomas, comme philosophe, doit presque tout à Averroès" (Renan, *Averroès et l'Averroïsme*, 187). See generally Chap. II of Part II of M. Renan's work, and Mullinger (*Cambridge*, I, 91 *sq.*).

should know the language from which he is translating, the language into which he translates, and the science he wishes to translate." [1] Obscurity was sure to follow from the collaboration of a Spanish scholar who knew no Arabic with a Saracen or converted Jew who knew no Greek. And worse than obscurity were the perilous comments, the unorthodox and anti-Christian arguments, the denial of doctrines like the immortality of the soul, which Averroes and other Arabian scholars deduced too readily from the great Master's text.

For a time the new philosophy was gravely suspected in Western Europe. The Church and her leaders drew back in alarm. Papal Legates and University Doctors agreed to proscribe Aristotle's Natural Philosophy. Lectures on the *Metaphysics* were forbidden in the Paris Schools. But the temptation to explore the new treasures, and the magic of the name behind them, proved too strong. It was too much to ask seekers after knowledge to reject a philosophy so far-ranging and complete, a system of science and ethics, of metaphysics and psychology, of government and conduct, in advance of anything yet known, and all bearing the imprint of the most venerated teacher of the past. The Schoolmen boldly plunged in to solve the problem, to disentangle the Master they believed in from the dangerous glosses of the East. Alexander of Hales was one of the earliest of the great Franciscan teachers, an Englishman whose "irrefragable" eloquence held for long the Paris Schools,[2] though Bacon thought his masterpiece "heavier than a horse." He was the first theologian to give the new philosophy a welcome, even in its Arabian dress. Grosseteste and others laboured to secure new translations of Aristotle directly from the Greek. The Latin conquest of Constantinople made Greek sources more familiar, and versions independent of Arab translators gradually brought the *Metaphysics*, the *De Anima*, the *Ethics* and the *Politics* into use.[3] Before the middle of the century the alarm had died away. In 1254 the Paris Faculty of Arts prescribed as text-books nearly the whole range of Aristotle's writings. His metaphysics and his natural philosophy were admitted to be "sound and useful doctrine." Above all, the

[1] Brewer's Preface to Bacon's *Opera Inedita* (lix). But on Bacon's contribution to the problem, and on the whole question of these Aristotelian translations see Dr. Grabmann's *Forschungen über die Lateinischen Aristoteles-Ubersetzungen des XIII Jahrhunderts* (Sect. III and *passim*).

[2] De Martigné (*La Scolastique et les traditions Franciscaines*) treats of Alexander of Hales, Richard "de Middletown" and Bonaventura—into whose philosophy I cannot go—as representing with Duns Scotus the four Masters of the French Franciscan School.

[3] But it was many years before these translations were complete.

famous Dominican Doctors, Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, set out to prove that, properly interpreted, Aristotle illumined and strengthened the teachings of the Faith, and triumphantly claimed the new philosophy as part of the recognised heritage of the Christian Church.

While Alexander of Hales was lecturing in Paris, Albert the Great was studying at Cologne, and from the Dominican Convent in Cologne he brought to Paris an Italian pupil destined to be even more illustrious than himself. The street where Albert taught in Paris is known by his name yet. His twenty-one folio volumes remain to show his mastery of the learning of his time. The "Universal Doctor" scorned no branch of knowledge. Physical science, botany, geography, astronomy, astrology, even alchemy and the forbidden arts, fell within the vast range of his studies. Architecture was not excluded. He has been credited with designing Cathedrals, and even with planning the first splendours of Cologne. Organ-building owed its development to his pupils if not to him. And his influence on Aristotelian study was profound. The "Ape of Aristotle," as ungrateful critics called him, continued the method of paraphrase adopted by Avicenna. He was the first great Schoolman to endeavour to rearrange the Aristotelian philosophy so as to meet the requirements of the Christian Faith. But it fell to his celebrated colleague and disciple to build up the elaborate structure which was to reconcile philosophy with dogma, and to set Aristotle side by side with the Fathers of the Church.

Thomas of Aquino has no place in Oxford history beyond the place he was to hold for generations wherever men and eager boys discussed the mysteries of belief. He was a Dominican whose authority the Oxford Franciscans were by no means too ready to accept. He was an Italian, trained at Cologne, whose teaching ultimately found its stronghold in Paris. The doctrines which he deduced from Aristotle startled at first the more Conservative spirits of the day. And it took years before the "dumb ox" of the Cologne Convent was recognised, in the flowing metaphors of the Schoolmen, as the "noble and illuminating candlestick," the morning-star of the Universal Church. But no man's name so filled the Schools. And no man organised and expounded so completely the accepted theology of the Middle Ages. In Pisa and in Florence altar-pieces represent the "Angelic Doctor" in his glory, throned among prophets, evangelists, philosophers and saints. Sages like Plato and Aristotle attend him. Heretics like Arius, Sabellius, Averroes are seen crouching under foot. The pictures preserve the fixed tradition of St. Thomas' service to the Church.

He took the two greatest reasoners of antiquity and established their philosophy in a definite place in the scheme of orthodox thought. He rescued Aristotle from the mists of error with which pagans or schismatics had surrounded him,[1] from the perilous meanings which the unguarded student might read into his text. He reconstituted theology on an Aristotelian basis. He proved that Aristotle and Augustine were allies. He borrowed the exegetical methods of Averroes, and used his learning while rejecting his mistakes. He went out to meet the problems which doubt or scepticism suggested, and tried not to flinch from the difficulties involved. Like his master Albert, he was as ready to state the arguments against the Faith as he was to meet and to confute them. And his gift of luminous disputation, no doubt, increased the habit of debating, the tendency to lay stress on verbal argument and controversial methods, which even among the Schoolmen who preceded him was already marked enough.

St. Thomas' great work, the *Summa Theologiæ*, was conceived upon a noble scale.[2] It aimed at building up a perfect system, unfolding all that knowledge had discovered of the

[1] Aquinas had almost all Aristotle's works available in Latin translations from the Greek.

[2] Dr. Harnack (*Hist. of Dogma*, tr., VI, 157–9, n.) gives a summary of it, which I may perhaps condense. The *Summa* consists of some hundreds of *Quæstiones*, divided into *Articuli*, which are subdivided further. The First Part treats of God and the issue of things from God, of the proofs of God's existence, of His nature, His attributes, His will and His omnipotence, etc. It treats also of the Trinity and the Creation, of the origin of angels and of man, of the nature of the soul and the divine government of the world. The Second Part treats of general morality, founded on the Aristotelian ethics, of man's end and will and freedom, of his passions, virtues and sins, of the meaning of law and of grace. And it goes on to discuss, in a second section, special morality, from the point of view of the return of the rational creature to God, the theological and cardinal and special virtues, the characteristics of the contemplative and of the active life. The Third Part treats of Christ and the Sacraments, dwells on the incarnation, the nature and the life of Our Lord, and goes on to discuss the doctrine and meaning of the Sacraments, through which men are incorporated into Christ. St. Thomas left the Third Part unfinished, and it was completed with notes based on the *Sentences* of Peter the Lombard. Each proposition, and the authorities for it and the objections to it, are fully discussed. The dominant thought of the whole elaborate system is that the soul has its origin in God and returns to Him through Christ. Mr. Seebohm (*Oxford Reformers*, 109) has criticised with less respect the "brief compendium" of 1150 folio pages, each containing 2,000 words, with its 43 propositions on the nature of God, its 15 propositions on the nature of angels, its 45 propositions on the nature of man, etc. A fairer estimate of St. Thomas' work, and in particular of his important argument in the *Contra Gentiles*, will be found in Dr. Wicksteed's Hibbert Lectures for 1916 on *The Reactions between Dogma and Philosophy*.

purpose and relationship of God and man. Over-subtle its reasoning might be, incomplete, elusive, credulous at times. But no one could question its monumental industry, its wide and generous learning, its impressive argument, its solid and aspiring thought. Aquinas started from two positions which all the orthodox world was anxious to accept. He was deeply convinced that religion was rational. He was no less deeply convinced that reason was divine. To show how the one supplemented and confirmed the other, was the greatest triumph that either theologian or philosopher could achieve. And in a rare degree St. Thomas was both. As a philosopher he set hardly any limit to the natural truths which reason might examine. As a theologian he recognised that there were mysteries, like the Trinity and the Incarnation, which only faith could penetrate and which no human reasoning could comprehend. Revelation flowed through the channels of authority, the Scriptures and the traditions of the Church. Reason flowed through the channels of philosophy, the thought and methods of Aristotle and Plato. But both reason and revelation had their source in God. The *Summa Theologiæ* was in fact the *Summa Philosophiæ* too. By either path the human mind might seek to scale the heights above.

Under Aquinas the problems of the Schoolmen altered. The older controversies between Realists and Nominalists, and the familiar speculations in regard to Universals, though constantly recurring, became a less absorbing theme. St. Thomas was so moderate a Realist that he has even been called a Nominalist.[1] New debates on the Principle of Individuation, on the Unity or Plurality of Forms in man, arose. Aquinas held that the individualising principle, that which made the individual, was found in matter, not in form. He insisted that there was but one form in man, one soul, the power to live and feel and think, which included every function that souls could fulfil. But these doctrines, though deduced by St. Thomas from Aristotle, and only intelligible to students of that Master, though they might not have proved fully acceptable to the Master himself, raised logical and theological difficulties at once. If individuality depended on matter, it might be extinguished by death. Moreover, angels were admittedly forms without matter, and on this theory their individuality disappeared. By his

[1] By M. Hauréau. Dr. Rashdall adds (I, 366): "With Aquinas the reality of the Universal *ante rem* was acknowledged, but only as an idea in the Divine Mind: the Universal *post rem* was admitted to be an abstraction from the particulars; the Universal *in re* became as with Aristotle, as with Gilbert de la Porrée in the preceding century, a Form inseparably immanent in Matter."

principle of individuation Aquinas endangered the whole system of the celestial hierarchy so dear to mediæval belief.[1] By his doctrine of the Unity of Form he embarrassed all who recognised with Aristotle the existence of separate forms or faculties or energies in the soul of man.[2] It has even been suspected that he embarrassed himself. Critics saw their opportunity. Bacon brushed the new ideas aside. Archbishop Patcham, with his strong Franciscan sympathies, denounced the "profane novelties" which the great Dominican had introduced.[3] Even Archbishop Kilwardby, himself a Dominican, frankly condemned the views of Aquinas.[4] The Oxford Masters consented to this condemnation, and the Franciscan Schoolmen joined keenly in the strife. But the Angelic Doctor's learning and piety triumphed, and up to the critical days of the Renaissance held the field. The fame of his great work, the staunch devotion of his Order, the belief that he had yoked philosophy for ever to the chariot of the Church, made him for posterity the most representative of the Schoolmen, the safest exponent of the Catholic creed. Not only Dominicans, but Cistercians, Augustinians and the clerks of the Sorbonne rallied to his support. Dante, speaking for mediæval Christendom, placed him high in Paradise among the shining spirits of the blessed.[5] Erasmus,

[1] The *Celestial Hierarchy* of the writer who so successfully borrowed the name of Dionysius the Areopagite—and whom French tradition ingeniously identified with St. Denys—had a profound influence on mediæval thought from the days of Erigena to those of Colet. Both of those eminent men made translations or abstracts of it.

[2] On this subject see later (Chap. VI).

[3] But in earlier days he had, apparently, defended the views of Aquinas in Paris. (See Art. on "Peckham," *D.N.B.*)

[4] Kilwardby was responsible for their condemnation at Oxford in March 1277. (See F. Ehrle's article in *Archiv für Literatur-und-Kirchen-Geschichte des Mittelalters* (V, 603–35).)

[5] *Paradiso* (Cant. X). But Averroes, to whom Aquinas owed so much, was left—in very good company—in hell (*Inferno*, Cant. IV). On Aquinas and his writings a large literature exists. His works have been often republished since the great Venetian edition of 1593; and in 1880, Pope Leo XIII, who proclaimed him "the master and prince" of all Schoolmen, set on foot a new standard edition. Of the *Summa Theologiæ* or *Theologica* there are also several editions, notably one in four volumes in Migne (1845), one in five volumes published in Paris in 1887–9, and a careful translation by the English Dominicans lately. Among English books there are a full biography by Archbishop Vaughan (abridged by Canon Vaughan), short lives by P. Cavanagh, P. Conway and M. O'Kane, and volumes on St. Thomas' teaching by J. M. Ashley, H. C. O'Neill, J. Rickaby and others. Among French writers M. Charles Jourdain has two volumes on St. Thomas' philosophy, M. Hauréau two chapters in Pt. II of his *Hist. de la Phil. Scol.*, and M. Crolet a study based on Stöckl's work. Among German authorities the full studies by Frohschammer and by Stöckl (*Gesch. der Philosoph.* II), and the shorter accounts in Prantl

speaking for a very different generation, found him in his own field unsurpassed. And Oxford, while to some extent rejecting his authority, and choosing other leaders to bear her standard in speculation and debate, paid tribute to the commanding reputation which Aquinas had achieved.

(*Gesch. der Logik im Abendlande*, III) and in Ueberweg (*Hist. of Philosophy*, tr. by G. S. Morris) may be mentioned. To Dr. Wicksteed's *Reactions between Dogma and Philosophy*, one of the most recent and valuable English studies of Aquinas, I have already referred.

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLIEST COLLEGES—UNIVERSITY, BALLIOL AND MERTON: GLOUCESTER AND DURHAM

BALLIOL, Merton, University divide the honour of ranking first among the Colleges of Oxford. Each has claims that are not to be despised. If the existence of a College dates from the establishment of its scholars by the bounty of their Founder in a common dwelling-place at Oxford, it seems that Balliol is entitled to precedence; for the House of Balliol Scholars undoubtedly existed in June 1266. Statutes and charters followed later, but the life of the little community had begun.[1] If, however, the existence of a College is to be dated from the promulgation of its Statutes, from the organisation of a corporate society in the Founder's scheme, Merton may claim that its Founder's Statutes, first issued in 1264, mark the beginning of the regular Collegiate system in this country. But the College which Walter de Merton founded was at first an endowed House at Malden in Surrey, managing estates which were to support twenty students at Oxford or elsewhere. A House at Oxford was clearly projected, but it is not so clear that it came into existence before the buildings in Merton Street arose. And it was not till 1274

[1] "Balliol," says Dr. Rashdall (*Universities*, II, 473), "is thus distinctly in actual fact the oldest of Oxford Colleges." By 1266 it had, not improbably, been in existence for some years. (See later, pp. 97–8.) Dr. B. W. Henderson, in his history of *Merton College* (9 and 285–6), argues that Merton College was "founded in Oxford in 1264." It would, I think, be more exact to say that Walter de Merton intended in 1264 to found a College in Oxford, and that his project, after several changes, was finally carried through by 1274. To dismiss Balliol as an almshouse, because it represents an older and simpler type of foundation than the Merton model, is surely to ignore the way in which the earliest Colleges came into existence, not at Balliol only but at Paris and elsewhere. (See Rashdall, I, 478 *sq.* and *passim.*) Walter de Merton's plans began as early as 1262 (see later, pp. 113 *sq.*): John Balliol's, it seems, began still earlier. William of Durham's bequest dates from 1249, but it was not used immediately to found a College, and his Scholars afterwards obscured their true origin by inventing fables about King Alfred. Balliol represents the oldest House of Scholars in Oxford whose existence can be proved and not merely conjectured. Merton represents the oldest corporation organised on what became the regular English collegiate system. University represents the oldest benefaction out of which a College subsequently grew.

that the Founder completed its establishment in Oxford. Finally, if the existence of a College should be dated from the benefaction which supplied the funds appropriated later to its use, University College may trace back its origins to William of Durham, who died in 1249. He bequeathed to the University three hundred and ten marks, to be invested in rents for the maintenance of ten or more Masters at Oxford. But it is not certain that he intended his Masters to form a separate community. And it was not till some thirty years later that the University established in a concrete form the little society out of which the College grew.

It seems that Oxford students from the first adopted the genial custom of living together, of sharing expenses and arranging for their maintenance in the Halls and Inns and Hostels which they hired. An unusually rich student might take a house for himself. An unusually poor one might take refuge in a solitary garret. But the common life and the common table were an early part of the system of the place. Scholars hard put to it to pay the cost of living saw no shame in accepting help from some rich man. Many a lad of promise owed to prelate or noble the training which gave him his first start in life. And the idea of providing on a permanent basis board and lodging for needy students was, no doubt, the primary motive out of which the College system sprang.[1] Even before 1243 Alan Basset left money to support two Chaplains to pray for his soul, who were also to be students in the Oxford Schools.[2] He probably attached less importance to the education of his Chaplains than to the safety of his soul. But William of Durham's bequest a few years later had a more definite academic purpose and was on a larger scale.

William of Durham was one of the famous Masters who left Paris in the troubles of 1229, and he may at some time after that have found his way to Oxford. He became Rector of Wearmouth and prospered in the world. He is alleged, rightly or wrongly, to have been Archdeacon of Durham [3] and Archbishop-elect of Rouen. Matthew Paris says that he "abounded in great revenues, but was gaping after greater" when he died. But we know nothing of his connection with Oxford or of the

[1] Charters, buildings, even permanent endowments, were not in the earliest days essential for starting a College, though, no doubt, the simplest College would cease if the funds which kept its students failed.

[2] "Or elsewhere" (Twyne, *MS.* XII, 159). The trust, dating from 1243, was vested in the Priory of Bicester. Alan Basset probably died in 1232.

[3] Dr. Rashdall doubts this. We know very little for certain about William of Durham. Matthew Paris is the chief authority. But see W. Smith's *Annals of University College* (3–6), Rashdall (II, 469–70), and *D.N.B.*

reasons which led him to bequeath to the University money for the support of Masters there. The University authorities invested some of the money in houses in Oxford, chiefly in houses used by clerks because they yielded better profits. They bought two houses in Schools Street near St. Mary's, on the ground where Brasenose College stands, one at the north-east corner, which became known as the University's Hall,[1] the other a little to the South of it, called then or soon afterwards Brazen Nose Hall. They bought also William of Drogheda's old home on the North side of the High Street, and two houses on the South side further East. House property had its value in mediæval Oxford, for the last of these investments seems to have paid eleven per cent. The rest of the money the University used with more freedom, "needing it for itself and certain great men of the land." William of Durham's Chest was probably resorted to for loans, loans to students, even loans to politicians. When matters were looked into about 1280, it was found that no part of the money lent to De Montfort's Barons had been restored. At that date, however, the University took the matter up in earnest. An inquisition into William of Durham's bequest was held, and a Committee of Masters appointed by the University drew up a scheme for its management in future. The scheme which they framed may still be studied in the ancient manuscript in the Treasury of the College, and from that scheme the definite establishment of a community of scholars dates.

University College was in a special sense the University's creation. But in that respect it stood alone. Generally speaking, a College after the earliest days implied a company of scholars, living together in a common House,[2] governed by their own rules,

[1] "Aula Universitatis." Wood (*Colleges*, 40) calls it Little University Hall; and that name was given later both to this house and to another which became part of the College buildings in the High Street. The title Great University Hall was given to the College afterwards. The two purchases in Schools Street date from 1253 and 1262, and that of "Drawda Hall" from 1255. The two houses on the South of High Street were bought about 1270, the main site of the College in or after 1332. The foundation deeds and early leases can be seen in the College Treasury, some of them unhappily torn and stained, but some very well preserved. I have to thank Mr. A. B. Poynton, the Bursar, for his kindness in showing them to me. William Smith's eleven volumes of MS. at University and twenty-eight volumes in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries are full of valuable material, and Mr. Carr's history of *University College* deals very clearly with these early days. The College Register begins in 1509, but the Bursars' accounts are almost complete from 1381 to 1597.

[2] *Domus* or *Aula* is the word for the building, *Collegium* for the society which lived in it. A House of Scholars is the earliest description. Adam de Brome in 1324 first received a license to found a *College* (Oriel), and Robert of Eglesfield in 1341 a license for a *Collegiate Hall* (Queen's).

and supported by common endowments with which the University had no concern. The College buildings which gradually arose, at first on no fixed plan or principle, owed something, no doubt, to the monastic idea. But they resembled in many ways also the manor-house of mediæval England,[1] and from the first they developed on lines of their own. The buildings most needed were rooms for the scholars to live in, a Hall or Refectory for meals, a kitchen to prepare their food. The monastic dormitory and the closed monastic quadrangle were not, it seems, a part of the original design. But from the chamber-fellows of the Colleges the "chums" of later days descend, and from a very early date the method was adopted of setting apart corners for study in the chamber which two or three scholars shared. A place to worship in was wanted, and for this purpose a parish church was used, until the Colleges obtained permission to dedicate oratories or to build Chapels for themselves. Chests were set apart to hold the College manuscripts, until more space was required and College Libraries arose. A safe place to store the College records, its plate and its precious possessions might be furnished by building Treasuries, of which Merton's was the first, or failing that, an upper room might serve the purpose. A gate-house, like the gate-house of an Abbey, grew up in its earliest form at Queen's. A tower rising over the gate-way was a part of the great New College plan, and the tower generally supplied a muniment-room as well as a lodging for the Head of the College. William of Wykeham set the example of a complete and uniform quadrangle, with Chapel and Hall placed close together, and with bell-tower, cloister and garden complete. At New College the brew-house and bake-house were outside, adjoining. In several Oxford Colleges the kitchen stood apart. At Cambridge, kitchen, buttery and pantry were often grouped together, following the fashion of a private house.

Cambridge had other architectural features of its own. At Cambridge Common Rooms were established long before Oxford men had ceased to gather round the brasiers in their Halls, and to watch the smoke escaping through the louvres overhead. At Cambridge too a long gallery, borrowed from the mediæval manor, was a favourite part of the design. And Cambridge, the first

For these and other details see, among other volumes, Willis and Clark's *Architectural Hist. of Cambridge* (Vol. I, Introduction, *passim*, and Vol. III, 247 *sq.* for the valuable essay on the component parts of a College), and Mr. Aymer Vallance's *Old Colleges of Oxford* (especially the Introduction). Both are full of interest, though the views expressed are not necessarily final.

[1] Prof. Willis has an interesting comparison between Haddon Hall and Queen's College, Cambridge (III, 270–3).

University to adopt the closed quadrangle,[1] was the first also to adopt the three-sided court, open on one side to the air and sunshine, of which Trinity and New College were one day to give examples to the Oxford world. But it was only by degrees that these larger plans developed and that the statelier features of the Colleges grew up. The earliest buildings at Oxford, save for the noble Chapel at Merton,[2] were for the most part of a simple, unambitious kind. The earliest Fellows at Balliol, Merton, University lived in detached blocks of plain, bare rooms. They were content with clay floors, unplastered walls and unglazed windows. They must often have suffered severely from the cold.[3] It was not till the time of the Tudors that wooden floors and panelled walls and plastered ceilings began to be a regular part of College life. It was not till the days of Elizabeth that fires became plentiful or bedding soft, that observers noted the increase of furniture and plate and hangings, "the multitude of chimneys lately erected," or pillows and bolsters coming into general use. It was not till much later, as men's necessities developed and as the standard of ease and luxury advanced, that the Colleges of Oxford, with their wealth and splendour, and their rare inheritance of tranquillity and charm, became at least as famous for the comfort they embodied as for the ideals which their Founders had enshrined.

The scheme adopted in 1280 for University College was, to begin with, on a very small scale.[4] The intention was to enlarge it as the available funds increased. Four Masters, well lettered and well conducted, fit to profit in Holy Church, and unable to live honourably in the state of Masters without some assistance,

[1] It seems that the plans of Pembroke College and of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge anticipated by a few years William of Wykeham's great design (Willis-Clark, III, 255–6).

[2] And, we should perhaps add, the Hall.

[3] But I am inclined to think that, at any rate in the later Middle Ages, fires in Oxford Colleges were less uncommon than has sometimes been supposed.

[4] William Smith in his *Annals* and Mr. Conybeare in his interesting article in the *Colleges of Oxford* (ed. by Dr. Clark) urge that before 1280 some of William of Durham's money may have been used to support scholars, and that these scholars may have lived in the houses bought by the University. Both conjectures are quite reasonable, only there is no evidence in support of either. The more natural inference from the deed of 1280 seems to be that the establishment of a community of scholars and the appropriation of moneys to its use began with the inquiry of that year. Smith pleads with force that a College is not necessarily a building of brick or stone. "As soon as ever these Scholars amounted to the Number of three, they made as perfect a College as the Roman Tongue . . . could make them." But there is no proof that before 1280 William of Durham's scholars did amount to three, or form any kind of separate society.

were to be chosen by the Chancellor and Masters in Divinity and certain others. They were to live together and study theology, and at least one of them was to be a priest. Each was to receive for maintenance fifty shillings yearly, more than the frugal scholars of Balliol were allowed. One of the four Scholars or Fellows—the terms were interchangeable—was to look after the rents and property of the small community, and to receive, if funds permitted, an additional five shillings a year. The first four were to have a voice in the election of other Fellows in future. But the University retained large powers of supervision, and could remove any Fellow or stop his allowance if necessity arose. Later on, in 1292, and again in 1311, other Statutes were issued, which entered into more detail.[1] Further provision was made for the management of the College property, for an audit of its accounts and a register of its goods, for the payment of debts and the keeping down of expenses: the ordinary expenses of a Fellow were not to exceed twelve pence a week. In making up accounts "all hatred, favour, prayer and price" were to be laid aside. The Senior Fellow was appointed to act as Head and was to serve as Chaplain. He and the Procurator or man of business, now described as the Bursar, was to draw a little additional pay. Every Fellow was to have, beyond his commons, half a mark yearly for room and service.[2] But no Fellow was to keep to himself as much as ten shillings for more than a day. Stress was laid on the study of theology, but the Decretals might be read in the Long Vacation. Stress was also laid on character and poverty and on some connection with the neighbourhood of Durham. Scholars of William of Durham was to be the community's name.

Other provisions in these Statutes are worth noting. Fellows promoted to benefices worth five marks a year were to be replaced. Honest men, sojourners who were not members of the Society—the dim fore-runners of the Commoners of the future—were to be allowed, after a private enquiry into their characters, to come

[1] The deed of 1280, in very good order, is in the College Treasury, endorsed 1290 "potius sub anno 1280." Smith gives a transcript in vol. VII of his MSS. there (7–8). Wood translates part of it (*Colleges*, 41): Conybeare, Carr and Rashdall give good accounts of it. Anstey prints it (*Mun. Acad.* 780 *sq.*) and also the Statutes of 1292 and 1311 (56–61 and 87–91). Smith (*MS.* vol. VII) gives an account of all the Statutes to the end of the fifteenth century. They are not included in the collection of College Statutes published by the Commissioners in 1853. The eighteenth-century Statutes were printed in 1855.

[2] "Pro servis et camera" (1292), "pro pensione domus et salario famulorum et aliis necessariis" (1311). The Head had an extra half-mark yearly, the Bursar an extra ten shillings. Nothing is said in the Statutes of 1292 or 1311 about the yearly fifty shillings, which probably went for commons.

in and board. A Library was established, with careful regulations for books taken out. In the College accounts for 1391–2 there is a significant entry—"paid a certain Friar for bringing back a book to the College 18*d.*"—which looks as if the sense of literary property had sometimes to be stimulated in material ways. Latin was to be spoken often.[1] Mutual respect and civility were enjoined. Fighting and bad language were forbidden; loose songs and tales and fables about love were disapproved. Fines were imposed on Scholars who spoke evil of each other, rising in amount with the degree of publicity given to the offence. But even in these later Statutes the control of the University was strongly emphasised. It was long before the little College secured its independence. It was some years before it obtained a seal of its own. And it was not till 1336 or later that it found a permanent home on the South side of the High Street,[2] where houses had been gradually acquired, and where now, in place of humble timber dwellings, roofed with thatch and repaired with moss, red earth and straw,[3] a stately front and dignified quadrangles support its venerable fame.

A stranger incident in the history of the College is its persistent effort to prove that William of Durham was not its Founder. The records of the mediæval Church are full of forgery, and the muniment rooms of Oxford have their share. But there are few examples of fraud so transparent and triumphant as the attempt of William of Durham's Scholars to set up King Alfred in his place. The legend which some audacious spirit of the fourteenth century probably invented in the interests of a College lawsuit, was taken up by successive generations imperfectly equipped with the historic sense. Ingenious forgeries were concocted to maintain it, among others a plausible little document dated 1220, which mentioned the Great Hall of the University as existing a generation before William of Durham died. The Chancellor's seal was borrowed or stolen to support it. Twyne

[1] "Sæpe" (*Mun. Ac.* 60)—a rather weak stipulation.

[2] Spicer's Hall in St. Mary's parish was bought in 1332, and Lodelowe Hall and others close by a little later. It is uncertain where the Masters chosen in 1280 were housed. There is no evidence that they lived in the corner-house in Schools Street bought by the University in 1253. The rents of that Hall may have been needed for their support, and the fact that they finally settled in the High Street does not suggest that the Hall in Schools Street was regarded as their home. But that arrangement would of course have been natural enough, and failing any other it seems probable.

[3] See the details of College accounts quoted from the old *Computi* by Mr. Riley in the *Fifth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission* (477–8) and by Mr. Carr in his College history (49). The *Computi* of Richard III's day have many interesting details of expenses for building and travelling, for wine and gloves for visitors, for trees for the garden, and the like.

thought that a deed so solemnly vouched for could not lie. But William Smith with searching candour retorted that, "if ever there was a lie in the world, the devil never told a greater."[1] Pictures of Alfred as Founder appeared in the College windows. A statue of the King was set up over the gate. Wood relates that the word "Fundatoris" was actually obliterated in one window from a scroll attached to William of Durham's arms. The old prayer recited in the College Chapel was altered, so as to make King Alfred Founder of the College, instead of only Founder of the University as before, and a seventeenth-century Master, more honest than his colleagues, was moved to cry out, in the middle of the service, his protest at the fraud. A still bolder flight of falsehood discovered that Bede and St. John of Beverley had been Scholars of the College long before King Alfred's day, and new pictures were forthcoming to corroborate this plea. But careless of such contradictions the myth about Alfred lived on. Eighteenth-century lawyers argued with inverted piety that it would never do to throw over a fable so long consecrated by the College prayers. "That a succession of Clergymen for so many years should return thanks for an Idol or mere Nothing, in Ridicule and Banter of God and Religion, must not be suffered in a Court of Justice." And the climax was reached when, in 1727, in the course of a quarrel over the Mastership and the Chancellor's right of visitation, the Judges of the King's Bench solemnly decided that the foundation of the College by King Alfred was recognised by English law.[2]

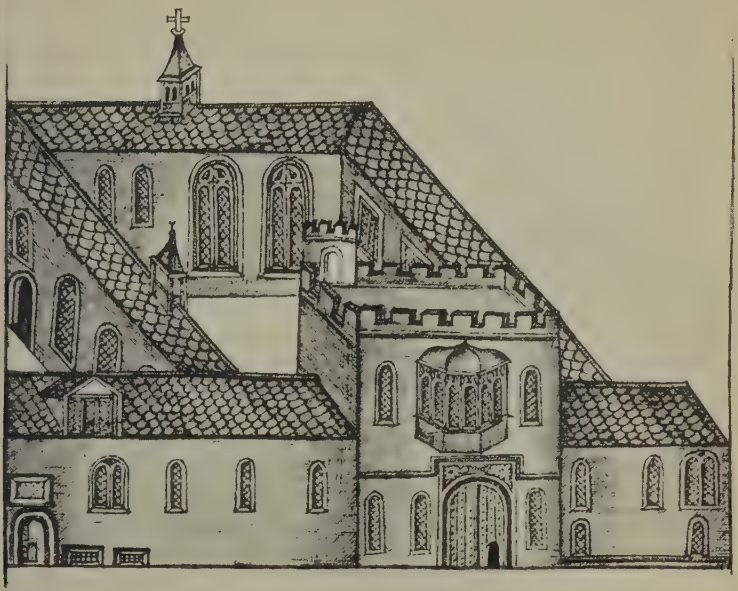
Advantages more solid, traditions better worth recording, followed when the little College had been set upon its feet. More houses in Oxford were purchased, including the "Cok on the Hoop" at the corner of Logic Lane. Gifts of money began to flow in. In 1418 the College income apparently amounted to fifty-six pounds, six shillings and tenpence all told.[3] About the end of the fourteenth century the number of Fellows was in-

[1] Mr. Carr thinks (42, n. and 3) that this deed may have been concocted for a fifteenth-century lawsuit, not for the earlier one. For the Petition of 1379 from the Master and Scholars of "Mokel Universite Halle," which was "first founded by King Alfred for the support of twenty-six perpetual divines," see *Collectanea* (III, 143–4, and the authorities there cited).

[2] The *Times* of June 14, 1872, gives an account of the absurd but amusing "Millenary" dinner, at which Dean Stanley spoke his mind upon the subject, and for which Professor Freeman offered to contribute some of Alfred's celebrated cakes. See also Conybeare (*Colls. of Oxford*, 10–15), Wood (*Colls.* 44 *sq.*, and *City*, I, 552–63), Lyte (243 *sq.*), Rashdall (II, 472), and Smith's *Annals* (*passim*).

[3] Carr (60).

COLLEGIVM VNIVERSITATIS.



En tibi iam prodit speciosa academia, quæ quum
Sit species, generis nomen adaucta tenet.
Vt logice species generatim sæpe vocatur,
Et pars pro toto corpore sæpe venit.
Hunc Dunelmensis Guilielmus præsbyter ædi,
Communi studijs nomen ab vrbe, dedit.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE IN 1566
(Bereblock)

creased.[1] Three new Fellowships were founded by Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham, who as a boy, "being very untoward," was said to have run away to the University from home.[2] Forty years later the Earl of Northumberland founded three others.[3] One great lady left the College a "notable sum of gold and silver." Another great lady and a Cardinal left more. An Oxford citizen or his widow gave in Elizabethan days lands and tenements and pastures, to support two lecturers in philosophy and logic, and to increase the diet of the Fellows. This was the first provision for any teaching staff. In the same reign the superb and notorious Earl of Leicester settled the nomination to two new Scholarships upon his second wife; Oxford men were probably more deeply interested in his dealings with his first. In the seventeenth century bequests, which helped to pay for the new buildings, came from Charles Greenwood, a famous College tutor, and from Sir Simon Bennet a wealthy, childless Baronet, who founded new Fellowships and Scholarships as well. Greenwood had the distinction of winning a warm testimonial from a celebrated man. "I protest to God," wrote Strafford to his nephew, "were I in your place I would think him the greatest and best riches I could or would possess." Tutors like Greenwood spared no pains to look after their pupils, to regulate even their pocket-money, their medicines and their clothes. Towards the end of the century, Dr. Radcliffe, the bluff and uncourtly physician who is reputed to have told William III that he would not have his Majesty's two legs for his three kingdoms, proved for many years another generous friend to the College.[4]

It was not long before the Scholars of William of Durham, or, as they preferred to be styled when disavowing their Founder, the Scholars of Great or Mickle University Hall,[5] won honours and distinctions in the world. The earliest Heads, the Senior Fellow acting, were not for the most part known to fame. But

[1] From 4 to 6 (*Fifth Report Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 478). But in some of the early years they sank to 3, who may have had perhaps half a dozen other students lodging with them.

[2] These took effect in 1404 (Carr, 58).

[3] The Earl's gift of the Rectory of Arncliffe in Craven to University College, "our eldest daughter," was acknowledged by the University in an elaborate letter in 1443 (*Epist. Acad.* 220–1).

[4] Mr. Carr gives the fullest account of these and other bequests. Details, some of which may require corroboration, are also given by Wood (*Colleges*, 42 and 46 *sq.*), Ingram (*Memorials of Oxford*, Vol. I) and Chalmers (*Hist. of Univ. of Oxford*, I, 23–42). Let me add that I am again and again indebted to Mr. Carr's book and to his kind help.

[5] A charter from Queen Elizabeth definitely incorporated "the Master and Fellows of the College of the Great Hall of the University of Oxford" —its legal title still (Carr, 89).

Edmund Lacy, who was Master about 1398, became Bishop of Hereford and Exeter, and was with Henry V in the Agincourt campaign. Wood generously credits the College with four Bishops of Durham, two of Lincoln and one of London in the fifteenth century alone.[1] On the other hand, the College produced supporters of Wycliffe and opponents of Archbishop Arundel, "degenerate sons and abortives," who in 1411 brought down excommunication on their heads. Fifteenth-century Masters indulged in litigation which the little College could ill afford. Revenues were scanty. Religious laxity crept in. Bachelors as well as Masters were admitted. Young Commoners appeared.[2] Disputes occurred over elections to the Headship, and under Statutes made in Edward IV's day the Senior Fellow ceased to succeed as a matter of right. Ralph Hamsterley, elected from outside in 1509, enjoyed no quiet tenure. But he started the College Register and he completed the first tower. His successor, Leonard Hutchinson, survived all political changes until 1546, when John Crayford, once Master of Clare Hall at Cambridge, and a "better gladiator than Vice-Chancellor there," imported rough and bustling manners naturally strange to Oxford men. The Reformation, however, left the College comparatively undisturbed, and the adherents of the old faith long retained their influence in it. Ridley declined a Scholarship in 1524. Cranmer had a friend there later, William Holcot, who carried a book to him "in his naughtiness" in Bocardo. Thomas Caius or Keys, the irrepressible champion of the antiquity of Oxford, was elected Master in 1561, in spite of his rather stormy University career. But, scholar as he was, he proved a far from competent administrator, and his successor, William James, had a hard task to restore the prosperity of the College.

Shortly before the end of the sixteenth century a more celebrated person, George Abbot of Balliol, began to rule in University College and to exercise great influence in the University at large. Clarendon complains of Abbot's "very sour aspect." He had little sympathy with his Puritan views. But Aubrey declared that everyone who knew George Abbot loved him, and at Oxford Abbot was widely respected as one of the leaders of Calvinist opinion. The College prospered under his

[1] But Wood needs corroboration here. The grounds also for connecting Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, with University College are very slender, and the grounds for connecting Shirwood and Baconthorpe with it are more slender still, though Mr. Carr loyally gives the traditions what support he can (52 and 54).

[2] "Boys" are mentioned in the Bursar's roll for 1441–2. Hitherto, it seems, the *Commensales* had been generally Masters.

rule.[1] He had no indulgence for defaulting Bursars. He waged war against drinking, long hair and other vices in the undergraduate world. Abbot was made Archbishop of Canterbury by James I, and John Bancroft, who followed him, passed on in his turn to a Bishopric, and built Cuddesdon Palace for the glory and embarrassment of his successors. The Calvinistic movement was losing ground, and Thomas Walker, a connection of Laud's, became Master in 1632. Walker's reign saw many vicissitudes. Charles I visited the College in his splendour, and ten shillings had to be spent on whitewash for the Hall. A few years later, in his hour of need, he was appealing for the College plate.[2] In the Civil War University men served on the King's side, and worked upon the Oxford earthworks with the rest. The College maintained twenty-eight Royalist troopers for some months. But it was represented also among the Parliamentary forces. Henry Martin, Member of the Long Parliament and Governor of Reading, had a gift of repartee which almost atoned for the fact that he was as "far from a Puritane as light from darknesse." Though numbers fell, the life of the little Society continued, and it seems even to have succeeded in getting in its rents. In 1648 the Royalists suffered under the Parliamentary Commission. Thomas Walker, his namesake Obadiah, and other Fellows were expelled.[3] Joshua Hoyle was appointed Master, and was followed by a Chaplain of Cromwell's. But the Restoration brought Thomas Walker back, and to in-

[1] If Twyne's figures are accurate, the College numbers had risen to 72 by 1612, including 9 Fellows, 36 Commoners and 26 Poor Scholars, servitors and servants (*MS.* XXI, 514).

[2] It seems that in July 1642 the College pawned most of its plate and sent the money to the King. The rest was concealed when the Parliamentary troops arrived, and when discovered was confiscated by Lord Saye. Mr. Carr (107–8) thinks that the pawned plate was afterwards redeemed, and handed over to the Royal Mint in Oxford in January 1643, like that of other Colleges.

[3] "The Master, five Fellows, seven scholars, the Butler, and two others, probably commoners, were expelled between July 8 and October 17, 1648," says Mr. Carr (115). Prof. Montagu Burrows (*Register of Visitors of the University of Oxford*, 555–6) gives the names of 13 members of the College, including Fellows, Scholars and servants, as expelled by the Parliament, and of some half-dozen who submitted. But the expulsions were not always final, and it is not easy to be quite sure of the facts. The answers given by members of the College, dated May 18, 1648, show 5 out of 9 submitting. In a list of July 7 of that year 3 are mentioned as deprived. Burrows gives a rather long list of new Fellows and Scholars appointed under the Commonwealth, and several references to the College debts. (See *Register*, *passim*, and especially 102–3, 135, 145, 163, 173–4, 199, 269, 302, 386–8, and 555–8.) Langbaine's tract of 1651 (*Foundation of the Universitie of Oxford*) puts the College numbers, servants included, at 73.

crease his inadequate income the restored Master found it necessary to take a second wife.[1] The next Master, Richard Clayton, is dismissed by Wood as "good for nothing but eating and drinking": the manners of the Restoration told. But the College at any rate did better, and the work of rebuilding went on. Obadiah Walker, a man of piety and learning, proved a successful begging-letter writer, and deserved his election to the Headship in 1676. He soon showed that he deserved also the suspicions cast upon his orthodoxy, and the accession of James II permitted him to confess his long-cherished sympathy with his new Sovereign's faith. Yet even after misfortune overtook him, Walker seems to have retained his friends. One famous pupil at any rate, whom he had tried to convert,[2] but who proved to have "no relish for absurdities," set up a simple and kindly inscription over his grave:

"O. W.
Per bonam famam et infamiam."

Charlett, whose troubled rule ushered in the eighteenth century, was less successful in his dealings with the Fellows. But the failings and glories of that hospitable century, when Dr. Johnson succumbed to the charm of the Common Room, belong to the history of a later day.[3]

The College records tell of other worthies. Walter Hungerford fought at Agincourt. Robert Hungerford died for the Red Rose. Richard Fleming, once suspected of some sympathy with Wycliffe, lived to found Lincoln College as a stronghold of orthodoxy in 1427. John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, was a pioneer of the Renaissance both in learning and in crime.[4] Among prelates, Tobie Matthew, after playing many parts in Oxford, rose to be Archbishop of York, and Henry Ussher, less famous than James Ussher, who succeeded to the same post later, to be Archbishop of Armagh. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, most versatile of courtiers, spent four years at Oxford, as bachelor and husband, before he was nineteen, and decided that even at that tender age a man might soon have enough of philosophy and logic. Dudley Digges, once the colleague of Eliot, found it

[1] "For livelyhood only," says Wood with needless candour. Three of the ejected Fellows, Obadiah Walker, Thomas Radcliffe and Abraham Woodhead, returned. The last was probably a Romanist already (Carr, 122 and 132).

[2] Dr. John Radcliffe (Carr, 152).

[3] I have explained in the Preface my reasons for bringing the sketches of College history in these early chapters down to the time of the English Revolution.

[4] Mr. H. E. Salter has lately discovered records of Tiptoft at University College. He was previously regarded as a Balliol man.

possible to serve under Somerset and Buckingham and Charles. Cavaliers commanded regiments for the King: Washingtons were found on both sides in the Civil War. Ezreel Tonge, the first Fellow put in by the Parliament, had his full share of the turbulent spirit of the time. Robert Morison, the first Professor of Botany, appointed in December 1669, "translated himself to the Physic Garden; where he read in the middle of it (with a Table before him) on herbs and plants thrice a week for five weeks space." John Russell, a young man of fashion, was sent down by Obadiah Walker, because his conversation damaged other young gentlemen in the College. Abraham Woodhead, who tutored and perhaps perverted Walker, was "the most ingenious and solid of the whole Roman party." Edward Hales, one of Walker's converts, thanked James II for his toleration, and died for him at the battle of the Boyne. John Potter, destined to be Primate, came up as a servitor in 1688. Carte wrote the life of Ormonde, the last great noble of a heroic age.

The College buildings are themselves memorials to many more. In course of time the old thatched houses in or near the High Street were pulled down and replaced by an irregular quadrangle. Spicer's Hall, the first house in St. Mary's Parish, stood near the present Western gate. Rose Hall and White Hall were in Kibald Street behind; their gardens probably ran back to the garden of Spicer's Hall. Lodelowe Hall in High Street, East of Spicer's, was bought in 1336, but was not included in the College till more than half a century later. Further East, Little University Hall and the Cok on the Hoop, purchased at the beginning of the fifteenth century, carried the College property to Logic Lane.[1] The old houses supplied rooms for students,[2] a dining-hall and probably a storing-place for books. The earliest students worshipped in the parish church.[3] But in 1369 the Bishop gave a license for an Oratory or Chapel in the College, and some thirty years later the first Chapel was built. In the years which followed, a new quadrangle gradually grew up. About 1450 a new Hall or dining-room on the East side of it was built. Within the next quarter of a century the main gateway in the High Street, with a solid tower over it,

[1] Then called "Penkerychese lane alias Horsmyllane" (Carr, 59). In Grove Place a relic of Kibald Street survives (Salter, *Names of Oxford Streets*, 19).

[2] Nine *cameræ* are specified, at rents varying from 6*s.* 8*d.* up to 20*s.* a year, in the Bursar's roll of 1312 (Carr, 49).

[3] St. Peter's or St. Mary's, but I have not been able to make certain which. The boundary between the two parishes runs almost through the present Western gate. Wood's map of the ancient Oxford Halls, which Dr. Rashdall reproduces, is not exact.

arose.[1] The Chapel was enlarged and reconstructed. The Library was on an upper floor beside it. The newer buildings contrasted with the old. The ancient glass in the windows showed figures of St. Cuthbert, of William of Durham and of King Alfred—the monarch as usual busily engaged in falsifying the history of the College. The sixteenth century, it seems, saw Little University Hall definitely appropriated as the Master's Lodgings,[2] and under Queen Elizabeth, when comfort was increasing, we hear of the Master's furniture, of wainscoting and hangings, of damask and green and red "saye."[3]

But in the seventeenth century and the years which followed, the College was rebuilt upon a larger plan. In 1634 a new quadrangle, rendered possible by the generosity of Mr. Greenwood and Sir Simon Bennet, was begun. A new West side was followed by a new gateway and frontage to the street.[4] The form of the new tower was, no doubt, influenced by the strong, broad, battlemented tower of earlier days. On the South side and facing the main entrance a new Chapel and Hall rose more slowly, interrupted for some years by "civil distractions," but completed when the Restoration brought Church and King into their own again.[5] The open timber roof of the Hall has since been covered with a plaster ceiling, and a chimney has replaced the louvre which once carried off the smoke. For the Chapel windows fine glass was available, "exquisitely painted with scripture story" by Abraham Van Linge, which Obadiah Walker is said to have secured over twenty years before,[6] and which still

[1] The tower, it seems, was not completed till early in the sixteenth century. The Master presumably lived there till 1531: but the matter is not very clear.

[2] In 1531 (Carr, 79). But Mr. Carr suggests (63) that the Master may possibly have lived there earlier, before the tower was built.

[3] *Hist. MSS. Commission, Fifth Report* (478).

[4] Many details of the expenditure, kept by Thomas Walker, are still in the muniment-room. The West side, with the return on the North, cost £1,405. The North side, with the return on the East, cost £1,651. The South side was more costly. The walls were for the most part 3½ ft. thick. The large quadrangle was designed to be 100 ft. square. The smaller quadrangle, 80 ft. square, was added in the eighteenth century. (See the tenth chapter of Mr. Carr's history.)

[5] The Hall was finished some years before the Chapel, the money for the purpose being raised in 1657.

[6] See the receipt for part payment in May 1642, quoted by Mr. Carr (210 n.). Finished in 1641, all the windows except one are signed and dated. The East window, by Henry Giles of York, dated from 1687 (Drake, *History of English Glass-painting*, 91). Mr. Westlake (*Hist. of Design in Painted Glass*, IV, 67–8) thinks that the windows at University represent the later Van Linge's work in a perfect state. Bernard and Abraham Van Linge have left fine glass also at Wadham, Christ Church, Queen's, Balliol, and possibly at Lincoln College. Most of it probably

University College in 1675
(Loggan)

lends its splendour to the College. Rich carving and panelling were added later, and Dr. Radcliffe provided an East window of fine English work. A high-roofed Library at right-angles to the Chapel, long reserved for graduates only, formed part of the seventeenth-century design. But in the nineteenth-century changes, which also transformed the Chapel and swept away the ornament upon the Southern front, this Library was destined to be superseded by another, and to descend to the level of a "kitchen stair." Bancroft and Thomas Walker presented many of its manuscripts. A twelfth-century life of St. Cuthbert, a Latin Grammar of an earlier date, and a printed copy of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, as old as 1473, are still among the Library treasures, while several Romanist publications recall Obadiah Walker's rule. A Common Room for Fellows seems to have been established soon after the Restoration. The East side of the quadrangle was the last to be finished. It required a special appeal for subscriptions to "gentlemen in the North Parts." Their "aged mother . . . at this present time DCCC years old" appealed with pathetic inaccuracy to former pupils to "Repair her Ruins and Renew with great Augmentation her former glory:" and the Northern gentlemen were suitably impressed. The College arose from all its distractions far more spacious and imposing than before, and its time-worn buildings with their long line of frontage and their massive towers have since formed part of innumerable pictures of

"The stream-like wanderings of that glorious street."

While the University authorities were dealing in no spirit of narrow precision with the trust funds bequeathed to them by William of Durham, John Balliol of Barnard Castle, husband of a Scottish Princess and father of a luckless Scottish King, was setting up a House for his Scholars in Oxford. John Balliol was one of the most powerful and wealthy Barons of the North. Old chroniclers represent him as a grasping, overbearing neighbour. But his wife so loved him that she kept his heart beside her in a precious casket after death, and in the Abbey of the Sweet Heart, where she was buried, she bade her descendants lay it upon her own.[1] Some time before the end of 1260, and

is Abraham's work, but Bernard's window at Wadham is the earliest and on the whole the finest. Mr. C. H. Grinling's paper in the Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society (New Series, IV, 111 *sq.*) gives a valuable account of the Van Linges and of the *Ancient Stained Glass in Oxford*. Giles' window, largely perished, is said to exist still in the College cellars.

[1] The story of the Abbey and some of the traditions about its Foundress are given in Mr. W. Huyshe's little book on *Dervorgilla, Lady of Galloway*.

not improbably in 1255, John Balliol was induced to do penance at the Church door of Durham for his sins. He submitted to a public scourging and "assigned a sum of fixed maintenance[1] for scholars studying at Oxford, to be continued for ever." We know that there were already Scotsmen at Oxford—tales of poaching and rioting are mentioned—and that there had been Scotsmen or North Countrymen, with a young Balliol among them, concerned in 1238 in the Oseney affray.[2] Even in his moment of humiliation John Balliol may have drawn comfort from the irrepressible independence of the race. At any rate in the years that followed his penance, some time between 1255 and 1266, he established his society of Scholars in Oxford, on the example of the early Colleges abroad, and with the thrift which Scotland never undervalues allowed them each for their common table eightpence a week.[3] In June 1266 a King's writ spoke of the Scholars whom Balliol maintained at Oxford, and authorised the Mayor and Bailiffs to pay him twenty pounds for their use.[4] The House of Balliol outside the North Gate, in St. Mary Magdalen's parish, had already found a place in Oxford life. It continued to draw its exiguous revenues while its turbulent Founder lived. And his widow, ever reminded of his presence by the ivory casket "bound with silver bright," proceeded to organise on a more elaborate system the little community which bore his name.

Dervorguilla of Galloway stands beside her husband as Foundress of the famous Scottish House. Her piety was perhaps less due to compulsion or remorse. Her pedigree—she descended from the old Royal line of Scotland—was more illustrious than his. Her features, fine for all their quaint rigidity, are stamped on her seal.[5] A great lady and a great heiress—one of her homes

[1] "Summam certæ sustentationis." The *Chronicon de Lanercost* (ed. Stevenson, 69) gives the story when speaking of the Bishop of Durham's death in 1260, but does not assign it to that year. The incident may have occurred in 1255, the year from which Matthew Paris dates Balliol's reconciliation with the Bishop and the end of many controversies between them (*Chron. Maj.*, V, 528).

[2] Bain (*Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, I, lx).

[3] There were apparently 16 of them. The *Chron. de Mailros* (Fulman's *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum*, I, 241) gives details under 1269, the year of Balliol's death. It adds, curiously enough, that another House of Scholars existed at Oxford, who received twelvepence a week, given by the Bishop of Bath—presumably at the time when the chronicler wrote. Dr. Rashdall (II, 759) thinks this refers to Burnel's Inn, which Bishop Burnel of Bath may have supported.

[4] Bain (I, 476).

[5] The seal is in perfect preservation on her Statutes. Her figure should not be confused with the crowned Virgin or the crowned St. Catharine on the College seals. (See Salter's *Oxford Balliol Deeds*, 277 and 363–4.)

was at Fotheringay, where a still greater Scottish lady was to die—her charities and foundations were widespread. On Balliol's death in 1269 she took over the maintenance of his students. She consulted advisers, both religious and secular, among whom two Franciscan Friars, Hugh de Hertilpoll and Richard de Slikeburne, are prominently named.[1] And in 1282, "desiring with a mother's affection to provide for the well-being [2] of our sons and Scholars dwelling in Oxford," she issued Statutes for them, delicately written on a single sheet of parchment, which can be read in the College Archives to-day. These Statutes, it seems, owed nothing to Walter de Merton's example, but embodied customs which existed already in John Balliol's House, and which probably drew their origin from the earliest Colleges in Paris. They required the Scholars of Balliol to attend services on Sundays and Schools during the week, to celebrate masses for their Founders, to say grace before and after meals. They bound them to obey the Proctors appointed by the Foundress in all matters that were known to concern their order and well-being. But they allowed them to elect their own Principal and to follow customs approved by themselves. The Proctors were to sanction the appointment of the Principal and to invest him with his office. They were made specially responsible for the finances of the needier Scholars, who were not to be called upon for any heavy payment if a deficit occurred in the common accounts [3]; and they were given large powers of discipline for their protection. The richer students were enjoined to live temperately, so that the poorer should not be overburdened with expense. It is not perhaps unreasonable to attribute to Franciscan influence this special consideration for the needs and feelings of the poor. What was left over at meals was to be saved every day for one poor Scholar whom the Proctors appointed. Latin was to be spoken at the common table: those who would not speak it were to be served apart after the others, and if they proved incorrigible expelled. Careful rules were made for disputations. The Scholars, though from the first closely connected with the Grey Friars of Oxford, were not intended to be theologians. They were students of Arts and in principle an undergraduate community.[4] The Proctors

[1] Tradition made Richard de Slikeburne Dervorguilla's confessor (Little, *Grey Friars*, 9, 158 and 216). But Mr. Davis doubts this. The Statutes were addressed to Hugh of Hartlepool and William de Menyl, who were, no doubt, the agents responsible for administering the moneys granted to the Scholars.

[2] The word used is "utilitas."

[3] They were not to be asked to contribute more than one penny in any week.

[4] They included some Bachelors of Arts.

ruled that they must take the Arts course only, and it followed that they must give up their places when they took their Arts degree.[1]

These two Proctors, Rectors or Extraneous Masters—all three names are used—overshadowed the Principal of the College, and the exercise of their authority sometimes caused discontent. One of them till the sixteenth century was always a Franciscan. St. Catharine became the Patron Saint of Balliol, but the spirit of St. Francis hovered over it still. Dervorguilla's letter of 1284 to Richard de Slikeburne, "full of Piety and Public-spiritedness," shows how completely she depended upon such advisers to carry through her schemes.[2] She promised "to ratify and approve in all and through all" whatever Slikeburne might "order, do, change or provide concerning the business of the said scholars." In the same year she bought them a permanent home, and assigned them a permanent endowment. Moneys due to John Balliol's estate were collected. A property in Northumberland was settled on the Principal and Scholars. And before long other gifts and purchases passed into their hands. In 1294 the acquisition of houses in the London parish of St. Lawrence Jewry is said to have introduced a gridiron, that Saint's uncomfortable emblem, into devices on the College walls.[3] A few years later the death of William Burnel, Archdeacon of Wells, brought several tenements in Fish Street and behind it, including the old Jewish Synagogue, into the possession of the College.[4] A block

[1] Their M.A. This was not laid down in the Statutes and was afterwards questioned. But it was reaffirmed in 1325. For Dervorguilla's Statutes and the early history of the College, see the Balliol Archives, the *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford* (printed in 1853, Vol. I), Baroness de Paravicini's *Early History of Balliol College* (61–9), Mr. H. W. Carless Davis' *Balliol College* (Chap. I), Mr. H. E. Salter's *Oxford Balliol Deeds* (277–9), and the *Fourth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission* (442 *sq.*). I do not think that Dervorguilla's Statutes and grants of property were tantamount to a fresh foundation, for there does not seem to have been any break in the life of the Society, or in the payments made for its support, or, so far as we can judge, in most of the customs by which it was governed. Dervorguilla only continued and completed what her husband had begun.

[2] The letter, printed by Mr. Salter (279–80) and by Baroness de Paravicini (71–4), is in the College Archives, which are now well indexed and admirably kept. I have to thank the Senior Bursar for allowing me to see them. Mr. Salter's volume on these Oxford deeds makes one wish that all College documents could be treated in the same way and by the same skilled hand. On the College *Register*, "beginning 1520; imperfect till 1556; afterwards good," the *Admissions-book* (1636–81), the *List of Benefactors*, and the MSS. of Nicholas Crouch, see Clark's *Life of Wood* (IV., 154).

[3] So at least Ingram suggests (*Memorials*, I, Balliol, 6).

[4] William Burnel died in 1304, but it took the College ten years to establish its claim to the property.

of houses let as Schools in Schools Street carried with them the site of the Divinity School of the future. And other early purchases in Oxford included Chimere Hall in Shidyerd Street, near the present house of the President of Corpus, which was afterwards leased to Canterbury College at a rent of two marks a year, and Hert Hall in Merton Street, once the property of Walter de Fotheringay, the first recorded Principal of Balliol.[1]

Time added by degrees to these resources. In the days of Edward III Sir William Felton provided a Rectory and lands at Abboldesley or Abbotsley, which raised the Scholars' allowances for food and books and clothing and prolonged the College benefits after graduation. Clement VI confirmed this arrangement, and Wycliffe was the Master who ultimately took over the Rector's house.[2] Sir Philip Somervyle in the same age gave an endowment in Northumberland, which helped to transform the constitution of the College. Friendly prelates, a Gray [3] or a Neville, contributed to its possessions. John Bell, once Bishop of Worcester, gave a house in Clerkenwell, to found exhibitions for two Worcestershire students. Peter Blundell, a prosperous Elizabethan clothier, founded Scholarships for West Country boys.[4] Leicester's agent Anthony Foster, Bacon's sister Lady Periam, William Hammond an Elizabethan Fellow, Thomas Tesdale, George Abbot and others, supplied funds for Fellowships and Scholarships and buildings. Gifts of money and plate fell in. A gift of a horn, to summon men to dinner, came from William Bell, a liberal-handed Master appointed in 1496. But still in the reign of Elizabeth the College revenues were assessed at only a hundred pounds a year. Thomas Tesdale's great bequest of five thousand pounds in 1610 was diverted, by methods never thoroughly explained,[5] to provide an endowment for Pembroke College, and Archbishop Abbot's generosity could only mitigate the loss. After the Restoration Bishop Warner and John Snell, the one a prelate who had suffered for his loyalty, the other a Glasgow graduate who found fortune in the Law Courts of Charles II's day, left moneys to keep up the Scottish

[1] See Salter (*Oxf. Balliol Deeds, passim*). Other pieces of property were gradually acquired all over Oxford.

[2] In 1361. Felton's bequest and Somervyle's both dated from 1340. Mr. Davis (28) attributes both to the influence of Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham.

[3] Gray is the spelling used in the Register of his uncle who was Bishop of Lincoln. (See *Visitations of Religious Houses*, Lincoln I, xvi, n.)

[4] After some rearrangement Blundell's bequest added one Fellow and one Scholar (two of each after 1676). The Periam bequest added one Fellow and two Scholars, making the total numbers, in 1620, 12 Fellows and 13 Scholars. The Blundell Foundation carried certain privileges with it (Davis, 122–5).

[5] See later (Vol. II, Chap. XVI).

connection and to strengthen the Anglican Church, moneys which have helped to seat Glasgow students on the thrones of Canterbury and York. And other donations, stretching through the centuries, widened the narrow means of the earlier years. An imaginative print reproduced by Skelton [1] represents a group of Balliol benefactors posed under an architectural design—John Balliol in evident discomfort from his armour, Dervorguilla proffering her Statutes at his side, Somervyle and Felton arguing together, Blundell endeavouring to interest Lady Periam, Humphrey of Gloucester advancing with a touch of ducal swagger from the doorway where Wycliffe and George Neville overlook the scene, and in the foreground Bishop Gray and William Bell and others receiving from attendant Cupids plans which the College authorities needed fresh benefactions to complete.

The Statutes and traditions of the College were largely modified in 1340 by Somervyle's gift, which Edward Balliol, King of Scots, confirmed. The sixteen Scholars or Fellows of Balliol were at first a struggling undergraduate Society, of an earlier type than any other Oxford College, whose members left when their Arts course was completed, and whose places were filled up by the College Proctors. Somervyle drafted a new code of Statutes, though he protested that he had no wish to abolish the old. He provided funds for six additional Arts students, to be elected by the other Fellows. And he directed that six of the Fellows, also chosen by election, should continue to hold Fellowships as Divinity students after taking their Arts degree.[2] Graduate members, theological study, and the practice of electing each other came in. All Fellows alike were to have their pay raised to elevenpence weekly, or even to fifteen pence if times were bad, with extra pay for the weeks of the great Feasts. They were to have allowances in sickness also. They were not to be useless or luxurious or vicious, but to avoid scandal, quarrelling and sin. But with these exhortations Somervyle introduced a good deal of confusion into the College rules. Above the Principal he set a Master with superior powers and substantial pay, with a private room and a servant to attend him, and with wide authority in matters of discipline and administration.[3] The form of the Master's election was prescribed. He was to be

[1] *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata* (I, Pl. 45).

[2] Mr. Davis thinks (31) that Somervyle's arrangements were closely affected by the Felton endowment: but the subject is obscure. There was a new Chaplain as well as new Fellows. I should like to add here a special word of thanks to Mr. Davis, to whose history of the College I am constantly indebted.

[3] The Master and two of the senior Fellows associated with him were to compose differences and to correct offences (*Statₛ. of Colls.* I, Balliol, xiv.).

confirmed by Somervyle's representative, by the Chancellor of the University, and by the Prior of the monks of Durham College next door. But the Master's relation to Principal and Fellows, to Dervorguilla's Proctors, to the outside dignitaries who had a voice in his appointment, and to the Bishop of Durham, who, apparently, was to act as a supreme Visitor over them all, must have raised problems difficult to solve.[1]

It is evident that Somervyle's Statutes were not a success. In 1365 they were to some extent superseded by new regulations promulgated by Bishop Sudbury of London, under the sanction of the Pope. These regulations have unhappily disappeared. But it seems that they made the Bishop of London Visitor of the College, strengthening perhaps the ecclesiastical influence already introduced, and that they recognised also to a large extent the authority of the old Proctors or Rectors. A later document suggests that this authority was sometimes abused.[2] The office of Principal came to an end. The Master was in course of time permitted to hold a benefice of any value. Chaplains and outsiders, as well as Fellows, were made eligible for appointment as Master.[3] Some traditions of self-government, even if limited in scope, remained. In case any Statute proved too rigorous or too lax in the judgment of the Rectors, it was to "be in the bosome" of the Bishop of London to make matters right. Finally, in 1507, after a petition sent by the College to Rome, which complained that the Rectors' powers had been exceeded, and which induced Alexander Borgia to intervene in the cause of virtue, new Statutes were drawn up at the Pope's instigation by Bishop Fox of Winchester,[4] the Founder of Corpus Christi College, which governed the House of Balliol for three centuries and a half.

The Statutes of 1507, though not uninfluenced by old associations, made many changes and proved to be a comprehensive plan. The early College of Arts students developed into a training-place for theologians and divines. It received the

[1] See the original Statutes in the Balliol Archives, the *Stats. of Colls.* (I, Balliol, viii–xix), and Salter (*Oxf. Ball. Deeds*, 286 *sq.*). Baroness de Paravicini (*Early Hist. of Balliol*, 183 *sq.*) prints an English version. Mr. Davis (35) finds in one phrase some dim beginnings of a tutorial system: but the passage he refers to (*Stats. I*, Balliol, xi) is not very clear. He also puts the weekly allowances at 12*d.*, but 11*d.* is the figure in the Statutes.

[2] De Paravicini (*Early Hist.* 233 *sq.*), and Salter (309–10).

[3] See *Balliofergus* (63–6), Dr. R. L. Poole's interesting article on Balliol (*The Colleges of Oxford*, 29), *Statutes* (I, Balliol, xx–xxi), and Salter (301 *sq.*). In the fifteenth century the Bishop of London altered the Statutes more than once.

[4] Pope Julius associated the Bishop of Carlisle with the Bishop of Winchester in 1504. But the Statutes were the work of Fox.

unique privilege of choosing its own Visitor: it had been tried by too many Visitors in days gone by. The number of Fellows was reduced to ten, and in them the government of the House was vested. Careful rules for their election were laid down. These Fellows were all to be Bachelors, Masters or Doctors. The power of the Rectors or Proctors disappeared. The Master, a priest of mature years, learned in theology, became little more than the Head of an aristocracy of Fellows. The Bursars took charge of the College estates. The two Deans became primarily responsible for the Library and the Chapel, for the discipline and studies of the place. For both Master and Fellows regular residence was insisted on. Two of the Fellowships were to be filled by Priests, and beyond that every Fellow was to take Priest's Orders within four years of his Master's degree. The weekly commons were raised to sixteen, and in certain cases to twenty, pence. Masters received a stipend of twenty shillings and eightpence, Bachelors received eighteen shillings and twopence a year. Grants in money were assigned for all who took degrees. Excessive expenses were to be avoided. The Fellows were still poor; a cure of souls or forty shillings of private income disqualified for election; and any Fellow whose income rose above a hundred shillings was expected to resign. Besides the Fellows a subordinate class of ten "Scholastics" was formed out of the younger elements of the College, for whom, under the title of Balliol Scholars, the blue ribbon of English Scholarship was one day to be reserved. Each Scholastic was nominated by one of the Fellows, who may have been generally responsible for his conduct and his education. They were to be sufficiently skilled in plain song and grammar, to study logic, to wear surplices in Chapel, to wait on the Fellows at table and live on the food which was left, to bear themselves honestly towards their superiors till a chance came of stepping into their shoes.[1] But they were given no share in the government of the place. Besides these Scholastics the College might take in boarders not on the foundation, Commoners who paid for the advantages they received.[2]

All members of the College were bound to attend services on Sundays and Feast-days, under penalty of a fine. Scholastics who failed to do so might even be whipped. Regular disputations

[1] These *Scholastici sive servitores*, with the clerical habit and tonsure, had to be nominated before they were eighteen. They had some preference in the Fellowship elections. They held their places till they were twenty-four (*Statutes*, Balliol, 9).

[2] The wording of the *Statutes* (Balliol, 19–20) suggests that Commoners were admitted, and in the fifteenth century Balliol probably derived both money and importance from this source.

in logic, philosophy and theology were to be held. A portion from Scripture or from one of the Doctors of the Church was to be read in public during dinner. Latin except on rare occasions was to be spoken, where now it cannot be whispered except at the risk of being "sconced." Quarrels, noise, immoderate laughter, unfitting sports and occupations were forbidden. Mingling with actors was to be eschewed. Public taverns were to be avoided—"poison once imbibed" might ruin the body. On the other hand provision was made for an "honest, provident, sagacious" cook. The College gates were to be closed at nine in summer and at eight in winter; the Master kept the keys; and anyone spending the night out of College, or making his way in again by illicit means, was liable to fine or whipping. The Master also was responsible for allotting rooms and gardens: small allotment gardens apparently went with the rooms. In days of plague or pestilence, which were not infrequent, the College might withdraw into the country, not too far away. And as "all the grace and loveliness of a visible body is begotten of the beauty of its members," so morals, character and industry were required of all alike. The Master was the head, possessing the five senses, the power to see, to hear, to smell, to taste, to touch. The senior Fellow was the neck. The two Deans were the two shoulders. The Bursars were the arms and hands. The rest of the Fellows were no better than the stomach, and the Scholastics merely shin-bones. Fox, when dealing with an old foundation, made no attempt to introduce the ideas of the Renaissance. But, reviewing his work and rejoicing in his metaphors, he foresaw a noble harmony resulting from his plans.[1]

John Balliol's Scholars, if tradition may be trusted, took up their quarters on the spot where now their Master lives,[2] in a house in Horsemonger Street beyond the North Wall. The house belonged to the University and was known afterwards as Old Balliol Hall. In 1284 Dervorguilla bought for them the site of a new Hall, three tenements with plots of land a little further East, where now the Western half of the front quadrangle stands. A few years later a garden to the North was added, and early in the fourteenth century the acquisition of four more tenements carried the College boundaries Eastwards as far as

[1] For Fox's Statutes see *Stats. of Colls.* (Balliol, 1–22), De Paravicini (244 *sq.*), and Davis (66–75).

[2] There is no evidence for this beyond tradition. But we know that "Old Baylolhall" occupied part of this site in 1300 and was then inhabited by students. St. Margaret Hall, to the East of it, occupied the rest. The former was styled Sparrow Hall later. One of Dervorguilla's purchases, Mareys or Mary's Hall, apparently became the nucleus of the new Hall for Balliol's students.

Durham College. In 1342 St. Margaret Hall was secured between the old House of Balliol and the new, and fresh purchases gradually extended the College property Westward to St. Giles'. An ancient holding of St. Frideswide's was secured, where later Hammond's Lodging was to rise,[1] a house or two at the corner of Broad Street, and grounds and tenements stretching North towards St. John's. But it was not till long afterwards that Balliol completed its frontage to St. Giles' by buying up two famous inns, first the Catharine Wheel under the shadow of St. Mary Magdalen's, a well-known tavern of the seventeenth century, to which Oxfordshire farmers brought forage for Rupert's Cavaliers, and secondly the Cardinal's Hat, a still older hostelry beyond it, over whose grounds the careless generations still play bowls.[2]

The dwelling called Old Balliol Hall was leased from the University in 1379, and taken over in exchange for the site of the Divinity School in 1427. The Chapel was built much sooner. Before the end of the thirteenth century the Bishop of Lincoln allowed the Scholars of Balliol to have an Oratory of their own, instead of attending service in St. Mary Magdalen's Church, and early in the next century new Chapel buildings were begun.[3] A document of 1328 tells us that the Abbot of Reading gave gifts of money and a window for this fabric of St. Catharine's, worth in all thirty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence, besides timber and building materials carriage free. This Chapel was used for some two hundred years. In the days of Henry VIII, however, it made way for a new one, with a muniment-room or Treasury attached. Contracts for the mason's work begun in 1521 are still preserved. At the West end of this new Chapel a great window opened into the Library, adorned by a picture of St. Catharine, sword and wheel in hand. At the other end a noble painted window given by Laurence Stubbs, a brother of the Master and himself a President of Magdalen, represented, we are told, "in lively Colours and exquisite Postures the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension of Christ." The nineteenth century destroyed this "comely and decent chapple,"

[1] The site of Hammond's Lodging has been disputed, but Mr. Salter has worked out the whole problem of the site of the College buildings with great thoroughness (*Oxf. Balliol Deeds*, Section I and Note I).

[2] It was not quite completed even then. The Inns were not bought till the eighteenth century, though leased much earlier.

[3] About 1327. Mr. Salter gives good reasons (19 and 360–1) for rejecting the tradition which identifies the old Chapel with the Master's dining-room. It seems that the site of the dining-room was not acquired till after the Chapel was built: and the wording of document 608 in *Oxford Balliol Deeds* seems scarcely applicable to an upstairs room. The first Chapel may have stood on the site where later Chapels followed.

to replace it by one of the worst incongruities of Victorian taste. But the colours and postures of the fine old glass were rescued, and their mellow beauty dignifies the modern windows yet.[1]

The reign of Henry VI saw the College buildings growing and the old quadrangle taking shape. Wood dates the Hall on the West side from the days of that unhappy King.[2] At the upper end of it was set a "Lion rampant with a Bordure charged with Fleurs de Lis." At right-angles to the Hall, on the North side, a noble Library arose. Masters like Thomas Chace and Robert Abdy, helped by benefactors like Bishop Clifford and Bishop Gray, made the Library buildings worthy of the treasures collected for them. Gray was one of the first to appreciate the opportunities of the Renaissance, and some hundred and fifty of his splendid legacy of manuscripts remain.[3] The windows were filled with paintings and escutcheons. Mottoes and arms, of Montagu and Neville, Stafford and Beauchamp, Clifford and Percy, recalled not only the story of the College, but the storied names of English history. And when the fanatics made war on superstition and "obscured with black paint" the pictures of the Saints, the less dangerous emblems of heraldry for a season at any rate survived.[4] Another Master, William Bell, at the end of the fifteenth century, is credited with building the beautiful low tower and gate-way, which with its oriel window lasted into recent times. For some generations a forecourt set with elms separated this tower from the street beyond. A hundred years later Hammond's bequest rendered possible an extension of the front in Candich, to begin the South side of a new quadrangle. Under James I the pensioners of Lady Periam are said to have found quarters in a building in the garden, of which only the traditional site remains, and the College leased a tenement

[1] Abraham Van Linge also contributed two fine windows in 1637. And older glass—e.g. the kneeling figure of Sir W. Compton, the founder of a great house—remains. (See Mr. Grinling's paper, *Oxf. Architect. Soc.* IV, 111 *sq.*)

[2] Ingram (*Memorials*, I, Balliol 11–12) would carry back the plans to the days of Richard II. Chace, who was Master from 1412 to 1428, built the Western half of the Library. Mr. Davis (45) summarises the process thus: "The builders began at the east side of the quadrangle. Then the Old Hall was erected; then the lower or western half of the Old Library; then the Master's House; and then the eastern part of the Old Library. Finally, at the end of the century, the block of buildings which faced Broad Street was entirely re-cast."

[3] But some Balliol MSS., including an Ockham presented by Gray, have found their way to other libraries. (See *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, IV, 2.)

[4] The black paint, attributed by some to the malice of the Puritans, was not improbably intended to protect the pictures against the iconoclasts of the Reformation.

called Cæsar's Lodging in St. Giles',[1] to house the Tesdale Scholars whom Pembroke immediately annexed. Here another tower and gate-way were one day to rise, and other buildings on the courts about them. But in the seventeenth century financial troubles allowed the College to sink into disrepair, and Shaftesbury's followers had no difficulty in renting rooms there when they descended on Oxford in 1681.[2] Little save the Master's dining-room with its noble oriel window, the old Hall and the old Library with the Common Room beneath it, now recalls the ancient beauty of the College. Its modern rulers have stoically chosen to find its best monuments in the achievements of its sons.

As time went on, however, the House of Balliol made its way. Its Scholars won credit. Its Masters, if not often specially distinguished, contributed their limited learning to the Church.[3] Great, shadowy names have been associated with it, Duns Scotus, who is claimed by Merton with as little justice, Humphrey of Gloucester, who shines in Oxford history with a glory reflected from the world of letters,[4] and others whose connection with the College stands on firmer ground. Wood gives a list of eighteen prelates whose education is attributed to it, including a Cardinal, a Patriarch of Alexandria and five Archbishops. The list is headed by Richard Fitz-Ralph, "Armachanus," Archbishop of Armagh, the great fourteenth-century Schoolman and divine, who proved so stern a critic of the Mendicant Orders, and in some ways so remarkable a fore-runner of Wycliffe. Wycliffe himself was Master of Balliol some time between 1356 and 1361.[5] Thomas Chace, a leading figure in the University in Lancastrian days, Robert Abdy, who succeeded in 1477, and William Bell, who was Master twenty years later, all contributed vigorously to the rebuilding of the College, while Richard Stubbs is identified

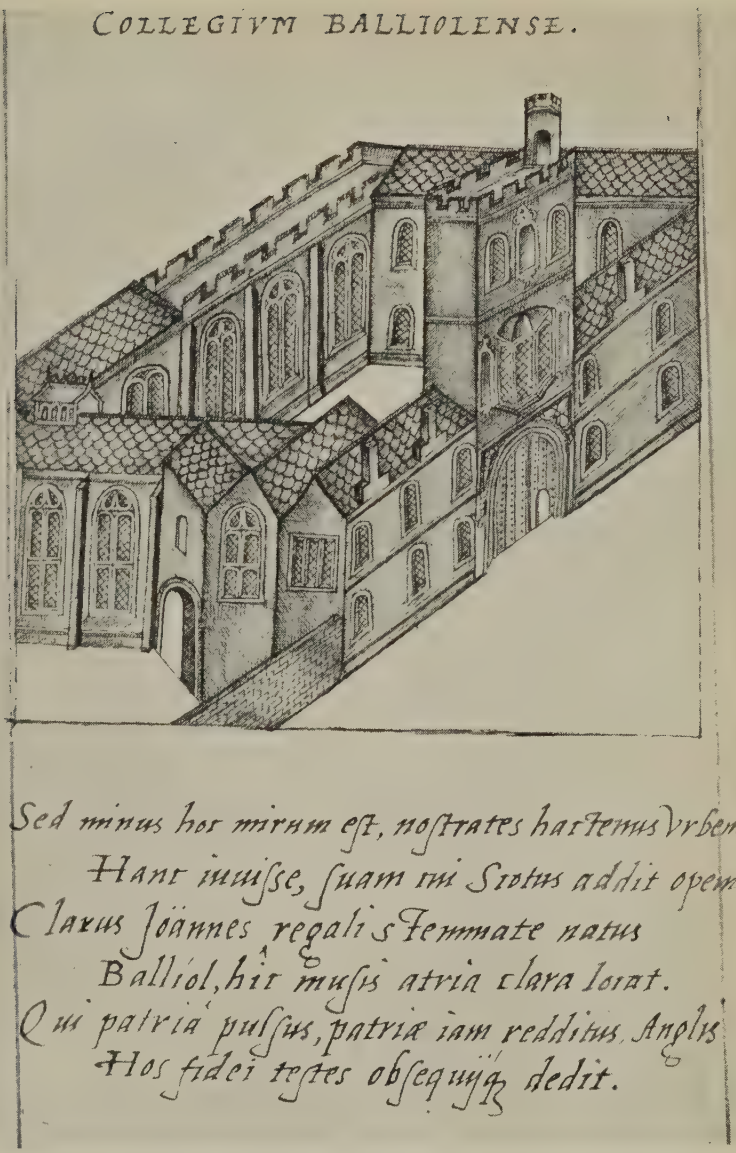
[1] But Loggan shows no Periam building, and Cæsar's Lodging was probably only a part of the buildings of the old Cardinal's Hat, which had now ceased to be an inn, and had been leased by Christ Church to Elizabeth Alwin in 1609. This lease Balliol may have bought from Elizabeth Alwin with the £300 which Archbishop Abbot is said to have provided after 1610. The College did not buy the property till 1773. Pompey, a building which "stood over against" Cæsar, a little further East, was also probably a part of the buildings of the Cardinal's Hat (Salter, *Oxf. Ball. Deeds*, 73–4 and 362).

[2] Loggan gives the College buildings as they were about this time.

[3] For the limitations of Masters like Stapylton (1429) and Thwaytes (1450)—I give Mr. Davis' dates—see *Balliol College* (49–50).

[4] Bale (*Script. Illust. maj. Brit.* 1557, 583) and Leland (*Comment. de Script. Brit.* 442) are chiefly responsible for this tradition. But Mr. K. H. Vickers (*Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester*, 9) and Mr. J. H. Wylie (*Hist. of England under Henry IV*, iv, 135) seem inclined to accept it.

[5] See later (p. 222).



Balliol College in 1566
(Bereblock)

with the Chapel begun about 1521. The fifteenth century was a great age at Balliol, if the traditions of the Commoners associated with it may be trusted. Lord Berners, the translator of Froissart, and Cuthbert Tunstall, a notable Bishop of Tudor days, were probably members of the College. And of William Gray's connection with it there can be no doubt. That famous Bishop of Ely was most famous as a humanist; he enriched the old foundation with his scholarship and taste. George Neville was a more splendid prelate, Archbishop of York and brother to the King-maker. His arms, it is said, were once to be seen in the great window of the Master's dining-room, where Bishop Gray's were carved below. A spoilt child of fortune, "of blood virtue and cunning," Neville was made Chancellor of the University when barely twenty-one, and Chancellor of England not long afterwards. "Moult facondieux," he could quote Jeremiah or Lucan to give point to sermons or letters, or to excuse a political shift. His conduct called for such excuses more than once. A Master of Balliol has dwelt lovingly on one Gargantuan feast which Neville gave, when two or three thousand guests sat down to dine on sixteen hundred hogsheads of liquor and thirty thousand birds and beasts.[1] There was little left of John Balliol's frugality or of the old Franciscan tradition in that magnificent clergyman's repast.

College historians have counted as a Balliol man John Tiptoft, the brilliant and sinister Earl of Worcester, whom George Neville, his brother-in-law, failed to save from the scaffold, and who, like Gray, spoiled the libraries of Italy for books. But to Tiptoft it seems that University College has a better claim. Another prelate and politician, more fortunate in days of revolution, was John Morton, Bishop of Ely, whose strawberries King Richard loved, and whose shrewd counsels helped to seat King Henry on the throne. Morton came up from Dorsetshire and spent some years at Oxford, and played his part in University affairs.[2] But this "dearest son" of the University was never very quick to reciprocate the University's affection, and he left to his old College nothing but the honour of his name. Balliol students like John Free and John Gunthorpe, who shared in the enthusiasm caused by the Renaissance, have a high place also among the scholars who sought fortune in Italy in those entrancing years.

The College made faint efforts at the Reformation to resist the King's demands. But the Master, Whyte, a nominee of

[1] *Balliofergus* (104–8). It seems probable that this particular banquet was given on Neville's installation as Archbishop of York. (See *D.N.B.* and Hearne's *Collections*, II, 342–3.) But he, no doubt, gave great dinners at Oxford too.

[2] See *Mun. Acad.* (552).

Wolsey's, had to make way for George Cootes, a nominee of Cromwell's. And it was only under Queen Mary that the strong Catholicism of its members showed. Master Brooks, whom Bishop Jewel called, perhaps with controversial license, "a beast of most impure life and yet more impure conscience," received a Bishopric under the Bloody Queen. He had not been able to prevent the burning of some of Gray's manuscripts by reckless Reformers. But he took part—it may be unwillingly—in condemning Protestant Bishops to be burned outside the College walls.[1] Sharp changes followed under Elizabeth. The new order was gradually established. The entries of Commoners largely increased. The numbers of the College in 1572 have been put at sixty-five, more than double the numbers twenty years before. Forty years later, it is stated, the Commoners rose to seventy, and the College total to a hundred and twenty-seven.[2] The Commoners found tutors and guardians in the College, and their payments materially improved the resources of the foundation. Francis Babington, the first Elizabethan Master, came from All Souls, migrated to Lincoln, and reverted to Romanism in a few years' time. As Leicester's Chaplain he risked his patron's favour, so the story ran, by an inadvertent reference to the Earl's "pitifully murdered" wife. Another Master, John Piers, a staunch Anglican, passed to an Archbishopric. Edmund Lilly was Chaplain to Elizabeth, but his "rivers of Eloquence" offended a Sovereign who liked her sermons short. Robert Parsons, once a Scholar and a Fellow, was not the only Jesuit bred in the College. His determined efforts to circulate Romanist pamphlets in Oxford showed the courage and tenacity which he devoted to his cause. Lawrence Kemys in the same age was not the only famous seaman. He abandoned his studies to seek death and immortality with Ralegh in the West. Chief Justice Popham, who tried Ralegh and condemned him, was not the only remarkable figure—a gross if not a sinister figure—among the judges whom Balliol even then produced.

The reign of Elizabeth saw Balliol converted from a Catholic

[1] The changes in the Masters were peculiar. Cootes, who secured his election by a trick, became a Marian Bishop. His successor Wryght, also suggested by Cromwell, found it impossible to remain under Somerset, and was replaced by Brooks, who prospered both under Edward VI and under Mary. Wryght resumed the Mastership in 1555, only to retire under Elizabeth, and Babington, who displaced him, reverted to Romanism in the end.

[2] Twyne (*MS.* XXI, 515) estimates 70 Commoners, 22 Poor Scholars, 10 Servants, besides the Master, 11 Fellows and 13 Scholars, in 1612. Some incomplete lists of M.As. and Fellows at Balliol in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are given in *Bodley MS. Wood F.* 28 (ff. 53 *sq.*).

College into a Puritan stronghold. George Abbot, afterwards Archbishop, was a Fellow and Tutor from 1583 to 1597. His brother Robert, Master and Professor of Theology, was credited with being "a deeper divine." Both brothers were leaders in the Calvinist movement, and Thomas Holland, who had passed from Balliol to rule over Exeter, helped to make the same views dominant in the University of that day. Times changed. Arminianism increased in favour. Thomas Lawrence, who became Master in 1637, acknowledged the influence of Laud. John Evelyn came up as a boy of sixteen to be tutored by George Bradshaw, an ill-omened name for Cavaliers; and if Evelyn delighted chiefly in music and dancing at Oxford, Bradshaw may not have been principally to blame. Evelyn was one of the wealthy Fellow-Commoners whom the College welcomed, and who differed so widely in standing from the battelers or the struggling servitors below. He noted the Greek students at Balliol—the College was cosmopolitan even in those early days—and the strange taste of drinking coffee which they introduced. But he did not stay to see the Court at Oxford, the ladies playing the theorbo in the gardens, or the Fellows fleeced of their plate and their earnings and "debauched by bearing arms." The Royalists of Balliol stood by the King and suffered his exactions. Their small store of plate went to the Mint. They paid their quota for the Royal needs, maintained the Royal soldiers, and sent their members to work on the fortifications. But rents from the North ceased to flow in.[1] Battels ceased to be paid. Strangers invaded the College. Students fell away, and the Master fell into depression. The Parliamentary Visitors found the Fellows unable to resist but unwilling to submit. Of the answers given to the Commissioners in May 1648 by members of the College, only three out of sixteen showed any disposition to acknowledge the Parliament.[2] Lawrence displayed some hesitation: perhaps he wished to make terms for his Fellows. In July 1648, it seems, he agreed to preach only "practicall Divinity" as the conquerors understood it, and was allowed to retire to a country living. Cheynell succeeded, but passed on

[1] The Northumberland tenants ingeniously pleaded the clause in their leases providing for the remission of rent "si Scoti omnia vastaverint" (Davis, 130).

[2] Burrows (*Register of Visitors*, 101–2. The orders in regard to Lawrence and Bradshaw are given on pp. 167 and 188). Burrows' Tables (478–9) give the names of 12 members as expelled and of 17 Fellows and Scholars as appointed with the Visitors' sanction. Mr. Davis (137) estimates the number of new appointments, from 1648 to 1650, at 21 Fellows and Scholars in all. It is difficult to be certain in regard to figures of expulsions. Langbaine (*Foundation of Universitie*) puts the total numbers of the College as high as 138 about 1651.

quickly to St. John's, and George Bradshaw, for long Lawrence's rival, stepped into his place.

Bradshaw's reign was brief, but Henry Savage, the College historian,[1] who became Master in 1651, proved so adaptable that he kept his post for over twenty years. His wife, a lady of family, was the first to live in the Master's house. The new Master and the new Fellows seem to have added little to the character of the College. Strong convictions apparently went out of fashion. Nicholas Crouch, who held a Fellowship from 1634 to 1690, kept a diary destitute of interest even in the stirring days through which he passed.[2] Another Fellow published opinions upon cock-fighting. A third earned the reputation of an atheist by admiring Hobbes. John Kyrle, the "Man of Ross" whom Pope made famous, came up as a Fellow-Commoner in 1654. Hannibal Baskerville, the eccentric antiquary, noted that old customs like the Act Supper were still kept up in Balliol Hall. At the Restoration James Thicknes, Evelyn's friend, expelled by the Parliament's Visitors, was restored by a writ from the King. The College finances were in hopeless confusion[3]; to remedy them it was proposed to put Scholarships down. Too many Balliol men spent their time in "a dingy, horrid, scandalous ale-house" close by. Savage's successor, Thomas Goode, struggled in vain against the manners of the Restoration, and did his best to collect money for the College. Politics ran high and churchmanship ran narrow, though Shaftesbury's Whigs found a brief home at Balliol in the stormy days of the Exclusion Bill. Numbers declined sharply. Fellows were constantly away on leave. Corrupt resignations were not unknown. The buildings, though something was done to the Chapel, were described as "falling to pieces through age." The College even sank so low that a President of Trinity could throw stones against its windows in the hope of completing the ruin of the place.[4]

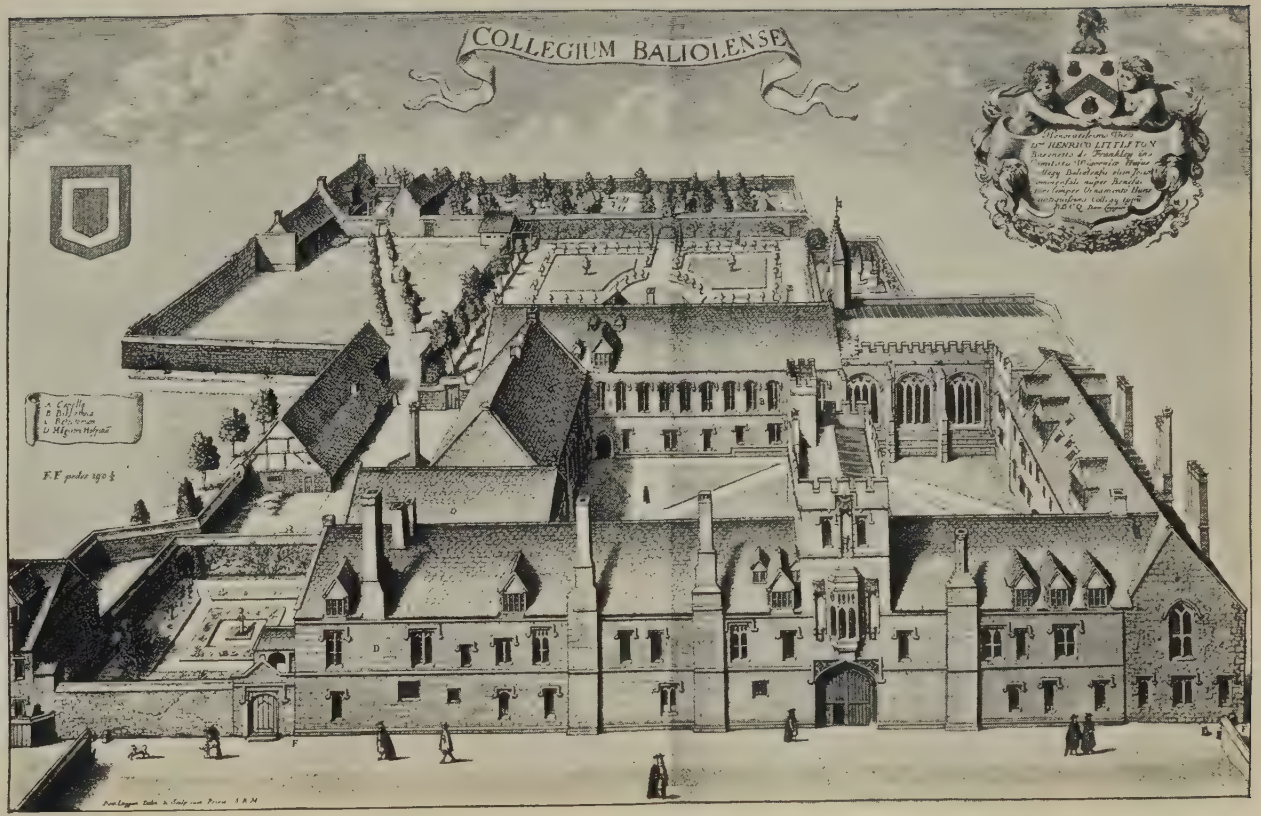
While John Balliol's Scholars were living on their weekly eightpence in a humble House beyond the North wall, Walter

[1] Savage was the author of *Balliofergus*, which in spite of its weaknesses was the first attempt to base a College history on authentic records. The second part of the title is apparently a reference to the ancestry of Dervorguilla.

[2] Davis (139–40).

[3] The London property of the College suffered in the great fire. In 1667 the College, among other debts, owed its butcher £50. It was reduced to melting some of its new plate. Goode and Mander (who became Master in 1687) made great efforts to restore the College. The worst debts were cleared off, and benefactions came in, including the Warner and Snell Exhibitions and some useful livings later. (See Davis, 160–6.)

[4] The tale is told of Dr. Bathurst in his dotage.



Balliol College in 1675
(Loggan)

de Merton conceived and carried to completion his memorable plan for the endowment of a College. Walter de Merton was the first great English prelate who, lacking by Church law heirs of his body, resolved to leave the world of scholars an inheritance instead. Early traditions suggest that as a boy he had come up from Basingstoke, where his parents died and where he founded a hospital as a memorial to them, to live as a student at Mauger Hall in the Cornmarket, and to be recommended to Grosseteste by Adam Marsh. But we know little of him till we find him a busy official in the Royal service, holding a surprising number of benefices in all parts of the Kingdom. From 1261 to 1263 he was Chancellor of England, and a staunch adherent of the King in the quarrels of the day. In 1264, as a too prominent King's man, he had his property plundered by a London mob. On Henry's death he acted once again as Chancellor, but he passed on to the Bishopric of Rochester in 1274. He died in 1277, from a fall of his horse in fording the Medway. But he had lived long enough by that time to complete his great design.

Walter de Merton's plans began as early as 1262. In that year he obtained a charter from the Earl of Gloucester, empowering him to assign his manors at Farleigh and Malden to the Priory of Merton "for the perpetual support of clerks spending their time in schools."[1] A little later he varied his scheme, and

[1] Ad perpetuam sustentationem clericorum in scolis degentium." The phrase "in studio degentium" is used a few lines later. The charter is given in Kilner (*Pythagoras's School*, 51) and translated by Percival (*Foundation Stats. of Merton Coll.* 1). The words "in scolis degentes" may, no doubt, be rendered "residing at the schools," that is the University. Besides the documents in the Merton Archives, Kilner's notes on them and Bishop Hobhouse's *Life of Walter de Merton* are authorities on the foundation. Halliwell's *Foundation Documents* are worth consulting. The Statutes of 1264, 1270 and 1274 and later ordinances are printed in the *Stats. of Oxf. Colleges*. Percival gives some useful translations and details. Ingram (*Mems.* I) has something, Ayliffe (*Ancient and Present State of Oxford*, I, 272–7) not much, to add. Mr. Brodrick's *Memorials of Merton Coll.* and his article in *The Colleges of Oxford* are well known. Dr. B. W. Henderson's later history has a valuable Appendix on the original authorities and many interesting details. Mr. H. J. White's little monograph should be mentioned, and the *Sixth Report of Hist. MSS. Commission* (545). There is a great deal of unprinted material in the Archives, which the Bursar kindly allowed me to consult, Bursars' Rolls and other records deserving much fuller examination: Mr. W. H. Stevenson's Calendar is an indispensable guide. The first two of Kilner's volumes of MS. contain a good account of Walter de Merton, of the early Statutes and ordinances, and of the *Liber Ruber*, a catalogue or abstract of College deeds, dated 1288. A transcript of this was made in 1728. The College *Register*, in 5 vols., has been partly indexed: the two earliest run from 1483 to 1567 and from 1567 onwards, and are full of interest. A great part of this unique Register, down to the year 1521 (f. 255[a]), has been prepared for publication by

made over these lands for the support and studies of eight of his own kinsmen under the charge of a Warden and Chaplains. In 1264 he went beyond this and established by a regular charter the House of the Scholars of Merton at Malden in Surrey, for the perpetual support of twenty Scholars at Oxford or elsewhere, and of two or three Chaplains residing in the House.[1] The Warden of the House at Malden was charged with its administration, and he and his brethren resided there. The property was to be used for the benefit of the Scholars, who were entitled to inquire into its management every year. The Scholars were intended to live at the University, with a common dwelling and a common dress. But it is not easy to say when this provision came into force.[2] The years of the Civil War and of the migration to Northampton could not have been a favourable moment for establishing scholars at Oxford.[3] It seems that these events interrupted the Founder's plans. And the later charters suggest

Mr. Salter, who generously put his proofs at my disposal. Only recently a vellum sheet containing the Sub-Warden's accounts for the year 1299 was found by chance among papers packed away in an attic.

[1] The words of the deed in the Merton Archives are "ad perpetuam sustentationem viginti scholarium in scholis degentium Oxonie vel alibi ubi studium vigere contigerit, et ad sustentationem duorum vel trium ministrorum altaris Christi in dicta Domo residentium." The version in Kilner (61) is slightly different.

[2] Bishop Hobhouse conjectures (12–13) that these Scholars were from the first "chiefly housed in Oxford." But this is a conjecture only, and I cannot find in the documents or in the language of the Statutes any evidence that a separate House or community of Merton Scholars came into existence in Oxford before the Merton Street buildings arose. This is not of course impossible, but on the whole I think it more likely that the Oxford part of the scheme waited till the buildings were ready. Merton recast his project more than once, and the "troubles" of the time delayed its completion. At one time, it seems, he bought land at Cambridge (Twyne, III, 592). But from 1266 onwards he bought land at Oxford, and money flowed in to enlarge his plans. In 1274, in his final Statutes, he recites the story of the foundation of the "House of the Scholars of Merton," founded and settled on his own property before the recent troubles in England arose: "it was situated at Malden, in the county of Surrey, and was destined for the constant support of scholars residing in schools." (I quote Mr. Brodrick's translation, *Mems.* 317–18). . . . "But now that peace is restored in England, and our old troubles are allayed, I approve with firm purpose of mind, establish, and confirm the former grant; and I limit, grant, and assign the local habitation and home of the school to be at Oxford, where there is a prosperous University of students, on my own proper freehold which abuts upon St. John's Church." It is difficult to infer from this that Merton had been maintaining a separate House for his scholars at Oxford for ten years past. The Latin version should be consulted too.

[3] In the notes to Hutten's *Antiquities* (Plummer's *Elizabethan Oxford*, O.H.S., 107) it is suggested that Merton's House was established at Malden in 1264 because Oxford was "like to come to ruin."

that he took the opportunity to recast them, and to complete them on a larger scale.

But even if their execution was delayed, the plans went on. In 1266 and the years that followed Walter de Merton set to work to acquire property on the site which bears his name. A Royal license of 1266 to enclose land up to the Town Wall recited his intention of building a House for poor scholars in Oxford.[1] A plot of land West of St. John's Church and three or four houses were purchased, near St. Frideswide's borders and just inside the wall.[2] The valuable advowsons of St. John's and of St. Peter's in the East were secured. The latter carried with it the Chapel of St. Cross and the manor of Holywell, destined to prove a fruitful source of litigation later. In 1267 a Royal license empowered the Warden and Scholars of Merton to bring water along by conduits from the Cherwell " for the cleansing of their court,"[3] which shows at least that the building plans were going forward. In 1270 the Founder issued another code of Statutes,[4] to confirm in time of peace a scheme drawn up in days of disturbance. They were on the same lines as those of 1264, but with much fuller provisions for the studies and discipline of the Scholars. Their numbers and their property were increased. Their conduct and business were more closely regulated. Their table, dress and burial were provided for. Their morals were guarded by a clause which placed the service of the House for ever in the hands of males.[5] Finally, in 1274, he revised and completed the whole design. He established the Warden at the head of his Scholars in their new and permanent home in Oxford, and he issued the code which became the model for the first of Cambridge Colleges and the example for many a great foundation of a later day.

Walter de Merton not only founded a community. He gave shape and purpose to a new ideal. His Scholars were no mere pensioners but a corporate fraternity, with a common life,

[1] The license is in the College Archives. See also Kilner (66).

[2] Anthony and Thomas Bek, afterwards well-known Bishops, were occupying a part of these premises, once the property of Jacob the Jew, and they remained for a time as tenants of the College.

[3] Halliwell (*Foundation Docts.* 9–10) and Hobhouse (31–2). The license, which is in the Archives, uses for the first time the phrase " scholaribus Oxonie in studio commorantibus."

[4] *Stats. of Colls.* (I, Merton, 10–20). They are a good deal more than a repetition of those of 1264. See also Hobhouse (34–5). The supposed Statutes of 1267 or 1268 in the Archives are probably later than 1274 (Hobhouse, 32).

[5] The Statutes of 1270 show a state of transition. There are, I think, clearly Scholars living in Oxford now, and two Sub-Wardens are required, one for the business of the House and the other for the students. The opportunity to develop the educational side of the foundation has come.

common property, a common Head. And they were, no doubt, intended by their training and their education to add to the strength and influence of the Church. But they were to take no vows and to enter no cloister. It was the secular priesthood which Walter de Merton intended to reinforce. Their object was study, and that might help to gain them livings in the future.[1] Simplicity and order were enjoined upon them, but austere poverty was not required. The duties of the altar were to be performed for them by Chaplains. Handicrafts and manual labour, it is perhaps to be regretted, were no part of their work. Under the Statutes of 1274 the majority of Merton Scholars were to study the Liberal Arts and Philosophies before they were allowed to pass on to Theology, the aim and crown of all learning. But some "men of humility" might study Canon Law. One member of the College was to be a grammarian or teacher of Latin, to whom even advanced students might "have recourse without a blush." Every Scholar was to receive fifty shillings a year.[2] If his health failed, he was entitled to relief in sickness, and might ultimately find a refuge in the Founder's hospital at Basingstoke. He must be chaste, peaceable, humble, poor, of good conduct and capacity for study. He must share with the others a common table, and as far as possible a common form of dress. He must talk Latin in chambers, and abstain from noise, and be subject to expulsion if guilty of serious misdeeds. The election of new Scholars was to be in the hands of the Warden and the thirteen seniors. A year's trial or probation was allowed. Founder's kin enjoyed a preference; so did candidates from Winchester and from other dioceses in which the College had estates.

The Warden of the College was a person of importance. He must be a man of discretion in spiritual and temporal affairs. He was to be appointed by the Visitor from a list of three selected by the seven senior Scholars, but he need not before his election be a member of the House. He had a general superintendence over all its officers and inmates. He had also general responsibility for the College property, round which he made a progress every year. He had a liberal allowance for his table, horses, clothes and servants. He had a deputy, a Vice-Warden or Sub-Warden, to assist him. But he was only one member of a self-governing Society, and his conduct and management were subject to revision and complaint. Three Chaplains at least were appointed for the services of the Church, and three times a year there was to be a Scrutiny or inquiry into the Society's

[1] For some apparently Merton designed College livings, a new idea (Rashdall, II, 487).

[2] "Ita siquidem ut, singulis hebdomadis, certam inde portionem ad suam communiam percipiant" (*Statutes*, cap. 3).

general well-being. Stewards or bailiffs, to be rewarded for good service with the rank of Brethren,[1] were to manage the College estates. Three competent Scholars were to act as Bursars, and there was to be a careful audit of accounts. The Scholars, whose numbers depended on the funds available, were divided into groups of ten or twenty, with a discreet senior over each, to encourage the younger ones in their studies and behaviour. The Dean was naturally at the head of ten.[2] And in every chamber where the Scholars lived one of the seniors was put in charge. The Visitor[3] had a supreme jurisdiction, and the Warden might, if "past endurance," be impeached before him, and removed "without the wrangling of a trial at law."[4] New Statutes could be made by the Warden and eight or ten of the seniors, and migration from Oxford was not to affect the regulations of the College. There were directions for the burial of the Fellows and for the education of young boys, Founder's kin, left without support. All Scholars were to live in peace and charity, and those who prospered in the world were not to be unmindful of the interests of the House.[5]

These celebrated Statutes were for many generations the basis of the College life. But they were often added to or modified by the Visitor's Injunctions, especially by Archbishop Kilwardby in 1276, by Archbishop Patcham in 1284, and by Archbishop Chichele in 1425. Kilwardby dealt with a number of details which the Founder had left unsettled.[6] He appointed by name some of the first officers. He regulated their duties, allowances and payments. He ordered the Society's books and muniments to be kept under three locks and the seal under five. He bound the Masters of Arts to lecture for three years from their Inception, but not to apply for the Chancellor's license without the knowledge

[1] And with a "perpetuitas in ipsa Domo" (cap. 22), presumably fixity of tenure. These "Fratres" or "œconomi" were a part of the Malden foundation, and did not migrate apparently to Oxford with the Warden.

[2] The "Decanus" grew into the College Dean. The "Vicenarius" with his group of 20 disappeared.

[3] The Archbishop of Canterbury replaced the Bishop of Winchester in 1276. Kilwardby accepted the office for his successors.

[4] "Absque judiciali strepitu" (Cap. 32): Mr. Brodrick gives a free translation.

[5] The Statutes of 1274 are given in the *Stats. of Colls.* (I, Merton, 21–37), and translated by Percival (14–38), who seems to misdate them, and Brodrick (App. B.). The young boys or "parvuli" (Cap. 40)—whom Mr. Henderson (18) distinguishes from the "secondary poor scholars" mentioned in a Memorandum at the end of the Statutes of 1270—came from Malden, and were lodged before long in Nun Hall.

[6] For Kilwardby's Injunctions see Hobhouse (39–40); for Patcham's and Chichele's see *Statutes* (Merton, 40–8) and Percival (54–70). For Scrutinies in 1338 and 1339, see Rogers (*Hist. of Prices*, II, 670–4) and Brodrick (App. C.).

of their fellows. He arranged for the scholars outside the House,[1] who drew portions of eightpence, sixpence and fourpence a week, to live in lodgings together, classified according to the allowances they received. Archbishop Patcham or Peckham a few years later went into even more detail. Trouble had arisen between Warden and Scholars. There were "rotten limbs" to cut off and "garrulous tongues" to control. Students had been allowed to study medicine, on the plea that medicine was a branch of philosophy or physics. That innovation the Archbishop promptly forbade. The study of the Canon Law was becoming a danger; men were "lingering in its enticements;" that too was regulated more strictly for the future. Grammar was neglected, the tutor in grammar not appointed. Services were not attended, Latin was not spoken, as the rules required. The reading at meals was not kept up. Worse abuses apparently were threatening. Vacant Fellowships were left unfilled; the funds available were used to exceed the stipulated allowances and the claims of poor students overlooked. Accounts were kept from the Warden's knowledge, "because the light was hateful to evil-doers." Questionable wages were paid to the brewer and the cook. College servants disobeyed the Warden. Scholars, contrary to regulations, went into the town alone. It was a formidable indictment to be piled up in ten years. The Society seems to have needed a sharp reminder of its obligations, and that reminder, there is little doubt, it got.

As time passed other ordinances were needed, to check irregularities, to regulate diet, to maintain the Warden's authority, to increase the number of Fellows as the College revenues went up. Abuses occurred. The Fellows made too much profit. They evaded the study of theology. They talked English at table and wore "dishonest boots." Worse still, they married and developed into laymen. Chichele in 1425 declared that the glory of the College, once a "blazing torch," had been cast into the shade. He insisted that the number of Fellows should be maintained at forty-four.[2] The Visitor was empowered to make appointments

[1] "Scolares extra domum agentes." It is not certain who these scholars were. They were clearly not Fellows on the regular Foundation. The Statutes of 1274 do not mention them. But it seems reasonable to identify them with the secondary scholars mentioned at the end of the Statutes of 1270 who received 6*d*. a week.

[2] A vain ambition. The average number was only about half this. The Register shows 18 in 1490, 19 in 1492, 24 in 1499, 23 in 1505, 17 apparently in 1510, 19 in 1520. Dr. Henderson estimates that the number rose to 27 in 1599 and to 35 about 1636, and sank to 23 again in 1639 (*Merton Coll.* 65–6, 109). Twyne (XXI, 513–4) gives 23 Fellows in 1592 and 22 in 1612. He credits Merton in 1612 with 93 members—he adds up the details wrongly—including 15 Commoners, 12 Postmasters, 29 Poor Scholars and 12 servants. Langbaine in 1651 makes the total 80.

if the College failed to elect, and Chapters held at Holywell considered how many the College could afford.[1] Additional Chaplains were provided, and stricter regulations for accounts. The Fellows were tempted to regard the possessions of the College as perquisites for division among themselves. The Archbishop's interference was needed; but when the Chapter of Canterbury tried to exercise authority during a vacancy in the See, the Fellows made a stand. An eminent lawyer advised that the Prior from Canterbury should only be admitted "in the similitude of a good felow to essay your ale." [2] Other Archbishops, Cranmer and Laud among them, intervened with regulations later. Laud was as usual energetic and high-minded, but arbitrary in his methods and making more enemies than friends. Minute directions were forthcoming for services, disputations, lectures, for the financial interests of the College, for the daily life and conduct of the Fellows.[3] Discipline and expenses had often to be dealt with. Stringent measures were needed to enforce study, to put down peculation, to stop abuses in buttery and kitchen, to defend the College ale from thirsty applicants and the College Library from borrowers of books. The taking of Orders may have been too frequently avoided. The duty of keeping up the College music was not sufficiently observed. As time passed and wealth and its temptations gathered round them, the Fellows were not always conspicuously successful in maintaining their Founder's simple and austere ideals.

Nevertheless the House of Walter de Merton took from the first a leading place at Oxford, and in the fourteenth century its pre-eminence was marked. Kings and Bishops bore witness to its influence in the Church. Some of the Fellows developed into lawyers—the Canon Law often led to ecclesiastical preferment. But the great majority passed on to livings, when they had finished their studies and lectures and taken their degrees. Wood gives an imposing list of prelates educated in the College, including six Archbishops of Canterbury before 1350, with names as famous as Winchelsey and Bradwardine among them. Wood's list cannot be implicitly accepted. The Winchelsey who was a Fellow of Merton was probably not the Archbishop. But Thomas Bradwardine, the "Doctor Profundus," who accompanied Edward III to Creçy, whom Chaucer names with St. Augustine, and whose great treatise *De Causa Dei* was edited by Sir Henry Savile, is a figure of whom any College might be

[1] These occasional Chapters, to review the administration of the College property and manors, were distinct from the Scrutinies, and peculiar to Merton. (See Salter's *Introduction* to Register, xxxiii-iv.)

[2] Brodrick (*Memorials*, 29).

[3] See the second volume of the *College Register*.

proud. Islip, who succeeded Bradwardine, and Stratford who filled the See before him, were both remarkable men. Later on, in Lancastrian days, the two Kemps were distinguished sons of the College. John Kemp, Archbishop, Chancellor and Cardinal, was the faithful Minister of an unhappy King. Thomas, his nephew, to whom not only the College but the Divinity School and the Library above it owed so much, ruled the great See of London many years. Later still, two famous Protestant Bishops were added to its roll: Hooper's right to a place is uncertain, but of Jewel's there can be no doubt. More legendary names have found their way into its records—Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, William of Ockham: but no one has established their claim to figure there.[1] Nor can the great John Wycliffe be confidently included among Merton worthies, though one bearer of his name was certainly a Fellow of the College in his time.[2] Walter Burley has perhaps a better title. He was a philosopher of wide reputation, reported to have been once a pupil of Duns Scotus, and to have written a hundred and thirty treatises on Aristotle alone.

Mathematics and astronomy in particular flourished at Merton in the fourteenth century,[3] and in spite of Archbishop Patcham medical science too. John Gaddesden and John Ashenden belonged to a long line of men of science who brought credit to the College for two hundred years. John Chambre, Warden in 1525, was physician to Henry VIII and his father, and was associated with Linacre in the foundation of the College of Physicians. Linacre's money founded two medical Lecturerships at Merton. Wolsey appointed a Fellow to lecture on medicine there. Another medical Fellow, who became President of the College of Physicians, watched over the health of the Virgin Queen. William Harvey, the greatest doctor of them all, though no product of Oxford, was for a brief time Warden of the College in the Civil Wars. He owed his appointment to the intervention of King Charles; so Cromwell retorted by nominating Dr. Goddard, his own physician, to the Wardenship in turn. After the Restoration Warden Clayton, an inadequate Professor of Physic and Anatomy, kept the medical tradition up.

Other Wardens besides these enjoyed celebrity, at Oxford or

[1] Dr. Henderson has an interesting Appendix (C) on the Merton Catalogues of Fellows, and on some disputed names. In his text he is perhaps inclined to be generous to some doubtful claims.

[2] This difficult question of identification is discussed later (pp. 222–3). Dr. Henderson has a note on the subject (291–2).

[3] Bradwardine heads a list of mathematicians who included Rede, Simon Bredon, Maudith and others. Oxford science had a great reputation in the fourteenth century. (See Mr. Gunther's volumes on *Early Science in Oxford*.)

in the world outside. One, in the thirteenth century, gave the dwelling afterwards known as Postmasters' Hall. Another, in the fourteenth century, died of the plague. Three Wardens in the fifteenth century contributed handsomely to the College buildings—Thomas Rodeborne, a noted mathematician, Henry Sever, the first Provost of Eton, who enjoyed a large number of benefices elsewhere, and Richard Fitzjames, a distinguished ruler of early Tudor days. John Bloxham helped Edward III in his diplomacy. Robert Gilbert was with Henry V in France. Richard Rawlins, a careless and hospitable gentleman, accompanied a later Sovereign, Henry VIII, upon his French adventures. But he neglected the College interests. He was a constant absentee. He crowned his offences by selling the land on which the new College of Corpus Christi was to rise. Worse than that; "he hardened his heart against the College Statutes and pertinaciously defended his misdeeds." In 1521 the Archbishop of Canterbury decreed that Rawlins must be cut off from the College "like a rotten member."[1] John Chambre survived the Reformation and Cranmer's interference with the College customs. Thomas Rainolds may have owed his appointment to Cranmer, but he found it possible to act as Vice-Chancellor to Pole. He failed to save the Library from plunder by extreme Reformers. He accepted a Bishopric from Queen Mary, and perhaps deserved to lose both Bishopric and Wardenship in 1559. Under Rainolds, while the College declined,[2] two Fellows, Richard Smith and William Tresham, made their mark as defenders of the old religion. Smith preached with grim humour before the martyrdom of Latimer and Ridley on the text "though I give my body to be burned and have not charity it profiteth me nothing." By charity the preacher apparently meant readiness to recant opinions, for he more than once recanted his own.

A modern Warden, the historian of the College and till lately a familiar figure in its courts, has brought together many details of the lives of the early Fellows. We see them, generation after generation, students and churchmen, mathematicians and philosophers, learning, teaching, practising divinity and medicine, reading the stars, leaving bequests of books and plate and money to the College which they loved, mixing sometimes later in the larger world of politics, but concerned more deeply while in Oxford with the smaller world of Oxford life. They had difficulties with their Wardens. They had difficulties over the College Scrutinies, strange irregularities of conduct, language, dress.

[1] *College Register* (I, 502–7. I quote by Mr. Salter's kind permission the pages of his edition, which as I write is passing through the press).

[2] In 1552 there were 32 members, according to *Register G.G.* (Boase, *Register*, I, xxiii).

They had difficulties with the townsmen, not only the time-honoured feud between cleric and layman, but their own particular quarrels about the College rights in Holywell and the control of the town ditch.[1] They had difficulties over religion. Wycliffe had a strong following at Merton, and all Archbishop Arundel's authority was needed to suppress it. But other Merton men, Ralph Strode, the philosopher and friend of Chaucer,[2] and William Berton, who took a leading part in condemning the Reformer, were on the other side. In the battles of the Nations Merton warriors were not backward. One, an ex-Proctor, is alleged to have killed a man with a shaft from his bow—a feat which did not prevent his enjoying Church preferment or being "clericus familiaris Papæ" afterwards. Merton men generally fought in the ranks of the South,[3] and John Wylliott, a College benefactor, was carried "tumultuously" into the Chancellorship by his Southern adherents in 1349. Gifts flowed in. Two memorable gifts date from the last quarter of the fourteenth century. The beautiful Library was built by Bishop Rede of Chichester, a generous friend of Oxford and an astronomer who had predicted the Black Death. And Wylliott's well-known donation established a new class of Merton Scholars. The "Portionistæ," poor boys with a stinted portion, were at first poor scholars or servitors, housed where they could find room. They waited in Hall at meal-times, and shared the broken food. They sang in the Chapel choir. But after 1519 they were housed together opposite the College in the building called Post-masters' Hall.[4] They had their own Principal, their own lectures,

[1] See *Collectanea* (III, 147–8) and Ogle (*Royal Letters*, 83–4).

[2] Some would make Ralph Strode the tutor of Chaucer's boy Lewis at Oxford. But the relation between the R. Strode of Tanner, the N. Strode of Chaucer's treatise on the astrolabe, and the W. Strode of the Oriel codex is not clear. (Compare *The Ancient Kalendar of the University of Oxford*, O.H.S. 13, and the article on Ralph Strode in *D.N.B.*)

[3] Dr. Henderson thinks (46) there were exceptions to this rule.

[4] The term *Portionistæ* may have been corrupted into *Post-ministri*, *Post-magistri* and so *Postmasters*. But the familiar name is quite as likely to be an ancient College joke. Early in the sixteenth century their numbers were limited to equal those of the Masters (*Coll. Reg.* I, ed. Salter, 249 and 356). They were then apparently nominated by the senior Fellows for five years—each Master-Fellow nominating one. In 1575 their number was fixed at twelve, and soon after that they were moved over into the College. Later gifts increased their number and allowances. They became pre-eminently the Scholars of Merton, perhaps absorbing or replacing any earlier class of poor Scholars: though Twyne speaks of 29 Poor Scholars apart from the 12 "Portionistæ" in 1612 (XXI, 514). For Wylliott's assignment of "Battes In" and tenements adjoining it, see *Collectanea* (III, 147), and for Wylliott's foundation and its early history see Mr. Salter's edition of the College Register (*Introduction*, xii–xv, and Appendix II).

Nec procul hinc distat, quæ sexta est ordine Merton,
Seu Mertonensis dicta perampla Domus.
Gualterus Merton Præsul (quo Præsule Roffa
Florvit) huic Domui fautor & author erat.
Quæ quamvis multos foveat pia mater alumnos,
Ædes sacra tamen pluribus apta foret.

MERTON COLLEGE IN 1566
(Bereblock)

their own allowances, which subsequent benefactions substantially increased. And they developed into a fortunate community which even Eton boys were glad to reinforce.

The early Tudor period, when Fitzjames was Warden, is illustrated by delightful entries in the College Register, often in Fitzjames' hand. There are notes of Chapters and elections, notes about the studies, the promotions and the deaths of the Fellows. There are notes of leases and of law-suits. There are notes about the College property, its money, its vestments, its jewels and books, accounts of the progresses which the Wardens and the Bursars made. There are notes also on the buildings and the servants, on College events and College festivals, Inceptions, benefactions, outbreaks of the plague. Now and again we get a glimpse of public matters, an insurrection or a battle: Henry VII was not too securely seated on his throne. We hear of Perkin Warbeck, of the death of Prince Arthur, of the funeral of Queen Elizabeth, at which Warden Fitzjames preached. The Lady Margaret founds a lecture. The Princess Margaret marries the Scottish King. A tournament is held at Westminster. Executions occur on Tower Hill. Later on, in 1518, Queen Catharine, like Juno and Minerva, visits Merton, declining, as the Warden notes, all invitations to go elsewhere.[1] But most of the entries relate purely to College affairs. Fitzjames figures largely. He was a power in the College and much beloved. Even the acceptance of three Bishoprics in succession, involving frequent absences, did not break his spell. When he resigned in 1507, the Fellows were "as orphans bereft of their parents: the very house seemed up-rooted and well-nigh overturned." Warden Rawlins, on the other hand, was guilty of shortcomings which could not be overlooked. Faults have to be punished—not as a rule too heavily. Morality has to be enforced. One Fellow, convicted of very scandalous offences, is sentenced to expulsion, but allowed five months' grace "for the honour of the College." Others are rebuked or fined. In one case even a sentence of a penny produces "fury and passion" instead of an acknowledgment of guilt.[2]

There are inevitably some chronicles of quarrels, of misdemeanours, of "opprobrious words." We hear that the Masters abhor to sit with the Bachelors, that the Bachelors, worse still, abhor each other.[3] But there are records too of many pleasant meetings, of many feasts and fires in Hall. Every year, on the vigil of St. Edmund, the 19th November, there is the election of

[1] See *College Register* (I, ed. Salter, 122 and 208, 214, 262, 273, 208, 261, 185, 187 and 477).
[2] *Ib.* (162–4 and 365).
[3] *Ib.* (181, 195).

a *Rex Fabarum*, a King of Christmas or Misrule.[1] Fellows pass on to livings: in August 1496 we read of one Master "promoted" to a beautiful benefice and another to a beautiful wife.[2] Members of the College go on pilgrimage to Compostella: one is shipwrecked on the way. One retires to a Monastery. Others fling themselves too rashly into the world's conflicts: the Register records their doings in the serious fight between North and South in August 1506.[3] We have interesting notes on the Warden's furniture, on the painting of the Library ceiling, on woodwork in the Chapel and elsewhere. We have notes of high prices. Dear corn necessitates economy. In 1490 Portionists and servitors are condemned for a time to black bread. In 1500 the Portionists are to have only the bread left over from the Fellows' table.[4] Their numbers are limited, and the Commoners are cut down to two. Yet in 1496 the net income of the College is put down at three hundred and forty pounds.[5] Merton Commoners were for a long while closely restricted. In 1507 their number was fixed at four, and at the same time battelers were abolished. They were clearly not regarded as a source of profit. A hundred years later we hear of twelve "knights or gentlemen's sons," but there is little disposition to welcome Commoners of a poorer class.[6] The Register abounds in these homely and illuminating details. For all their troubles and irregularities the Fellows went on their way rejoicing, sharing as the spirit moved them in the changes of the times. Under the Tudors[7] they persisted as Catholics in singing the old hymns on Holy days round the Hall fire. But they feasted Elizabeth's courtiers in the same Hall without demur. The College sympathies were not at first with the Reformers. Jewel, by that time a Fellow of Corpus, fled for his opinions, and formed the

[1] The election of the King of Beans is noted constantly in the old Register. But one would be glad to have earlier notices. Wood thought the Merton election of 1557 was the last in Oxford (*Ann.* II, 136–7). But we have elections at St. John's in 1577 and 1607, and at Magdalen in 1588. (See Dr. F. S. Boas' *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, 3 *sq.*, and Salter's *Introduction* to Merton Register, xviii, *sq.*)

[2] *Coll. Reg.* (I, ed. Salter, 201.)

[3] *Ib.* (317–9).

[4] *Ib.* (141 and 249).

[5] *Ib.* (204).

[6] The early Commoners, limited to 2 in Dec. 1500 (*Ib.* 249), and to 4 in Dec. 1507 (*Ib.* 356), seem to be generally spoken of in the Register in connection with the Portionists, and apparently rendered some kind of service; e.g. "quorum unus toto tempore refectionum portas diligenter custodire tenetur" (*Ib.* 480). See also Salter's *Introduction* (xv. *sq.*). In 1612 Twyne puts the "Communarii" at 15 all told.

[7] It may be noted that an Act of Queen Mary confirmed, as some doubt about it had arisen, the incorporation of the College. (See Shadwell, *Enactments in Parliament*, I, 156–60).

lowest possible estimate of the opponents whom he left behind. The old learning, the old traditions of teaching, held their place as long as possible at Merton. When Bodley came there to lecture upon Greek, Elizabeth had been seated for some years upon the throne.

Under that great Queen, however, the Reformed Faith triumphed at Merton as elsewhere. Parker's nominee, John Man, met at first with strong resistance, and there may have been rejoicings in the College when he was sent by his Sovereign to represent her at Madrid. The King of Spain, Elizabeth said, with a humour hardly tolerable in a subject, had sent her a Goose-man [1]: so she sent him a Man-goose in return. Man was turned out of Madrid for speaking "unreverently" of the Pope, and he died soon after his return to Oxford. But his successor, Thomas Bickley, was as uncompromising in his views as he. Sir Henry Savile, recommended as Warden by Lord Burghley in 1586, found Merton a Protestant College, and ruled it with distinction for nearly six and thirty years. Savile bore a great reputation and he made the most of his influence at Court. He secured the Provostship of Eton also—in complete disregard of the Eton Statutes—and he governed both Colleges with a strong hand. He was regarded as a miracle of learning. He was in fact an accomplished scholar and an accomplished host. He had the advantage of being "an extraordinary handsome and beautifull man." But he "could not abide witts," [2] and he did not like being interrupted in his studies. "I would I were a book too," cried his wife once in desperation, "and then you would a little more respect me." To which an impudent bystander retorted, "Madam, you must then be an Almanack, that he might change every year." [3] Besides the noble buildings which Savile left at Merton, the Savilian Professorships of Geometry and Astronomy perpetuate his name.

Savile's reign was a time of great prosperity. The early Elizabethan troubles were over. The anxieties of the Civil War were far ahead. But the fate of Henry Cuffe, a Greek Professor who took to politics and shared in the tragedy of the Earl of Essex, reminded Merton men that Oxford scholars were happiest

[1] Don Guzman de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador. Queen Elizabeth among other vagaries secured from Merton College a lease for 5,000 years of the Manor of Malden, which she assigned to Lord Arundel. But the College seems to have recovered its property after a struggle and a law-suit in 1623. (See the *College Register*, II, 270, 283 and 295, and other books in the Bursar's keeping.)

[2] Aubrey (*Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, II, 214).

[3] Henderson (99). I am of course repeatedly indebted to Dr. Henderson and Mr. Brodrick for information and details, and I wish to acknowledge my debt fully.

at home. The son of Elizabeth's headstrong favourite came up to Merton after his father's death. Under Savile probably John Earle was elected to a Fellowship, one of the wittiest and most lovable of churchmen.[1] Earle's pictures of the old College butler domineering over freshmen, and of the young gentleman of fashion who came up to wear a gown, who was ready enough to play tennis and to learn the ways of taverns, but who could not endure "to be mistaken for a Scholler," must have been drawn from the Oxford of his day.[2] Under Savile John Chamber, a friend of the Warden, established two more Postmasterships for Eton boys.[3] Under Savile Bodley founded his great Library, left money to help poor scholars of Merton, and was buried with a sumptuous funeral in the Chapel. And under Savile, among other eminent recruits, the "ever-memorable" John Hales was elected to a Fellowship in the College.

Savile's successor, Sir Nathaniel Brent, also played a large part in the Oxford of his day. Brent married a niece of Archbishop Abbot, and later "took the Covenant and ran altogether with the rebellious rout." In Brent's time Laud's Visitation for three years revealed the failings and tried the temper of the Fellows. Brent and Laud became bitter antagonists. The Archbishop thought the Warden "very foul." The Warden thought the Archbishop no better than a Papist, and said so with some freedom at his trial. The Civil War broke out. The King and Queen made their Court at Oxford. The Queen's chamber over the archway is shown at Merton still. Drill displaced the ancient disputations. Scholars served for the King—not always the most scholarly: "tota Academia morbo castrensi afflicta," comments a Merton scribe. The College plate, weighing less perhaps than might have been expected, went to the Royal Mint. But Brent remained steadily in the camp of the Parliament. He was turned out of the Wardenship by the King's command, and Harvey appointed, not without some protest, in his place.[4] When the siege was over Brent returned in triumph at the head

[1] The facts are not quite clear. Dr. Henderson (97) dates Earle's election as Fellow of Merton 1621: Mr. Brodrick (281–2) dates it 1619: Wood (*Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, III, 716) dates it 1620, and Earle's B.A. degree 1619 (*Fasti*, ed. Bliss, pt. I, 386). None of these dates can be reconciled with the assertion in *D.N.B.* that he was the John Earles who matriculated at Christ Church in June 1619. (See Clark, *Register*, II, ii, 375.)

[2] See Earle's *Micro-cosmographie* (Arber reprint, 37–8 and 44–5).

[3] Chamber was an Elizabethan Fellow. So was Thomas Jessop, who left money to double the allowances of these scholars.

[4] Peter Turner of Merton, a strong Royalist, headed the protest. (See the second volume of the College *Register*, 357–9.) A page or two earlier in this volume (355) is a blunt, pathetic entry under January 164⅓, "Sede Metropolitana Cantuariensi vacante."

of the Parliamentary Commission. Three Merton Fellows sat upon it with him, Edward Reynolds, Corbet and Cheynell, and the College became for a time the headquarters of the Parliamentary party in Oxford. Merton in fact took the lead in establishing the new system. More than two-thirds of its members submitted,[1] and it suffered comparatively little from the great political change.

But the Revolution moved too fast for Brent. The Independents triumphed, and in 1651 Goddard, Cromwell's physician, was made Warden in his place. Goddard represented the University in the Little Parliament. His rule was a period of strenuous recovery. Grave studies were accompanied by fresh traditions of discipline and prayer. When the Presbyterians recovered power, Edward Reynolds, twice nominated Dean of Christ Church by the Parliament, became Warden for a short time in 1660. But the Restoration soon brought other standards. Sir Thomas Clayton, forced on the College in spite of strong protest in 1661, ruled it indifferently for over thirty years. It was a time of lax conduct and lax administration. One shrewd but shrewish critic, who knew Clayton at close quarters, condemned him as impudent, lascivious, irreligious, "the very lol-poop of the University, the common subject of every lampoon."[2] And among the old celibate traditions Lady Clayton's pretensions were "a scandall and an abomination." Anthony Wood had reason enough to mark his contemporaries' failings, as he pored over his notes and researches in his lonely study at Postmasters' Hall.

The original site of the College included roughly a rectangle between the Town Wall on the South and St. John Baptist Street[3] on the North. There was one plot West of the Church. There were three plots with houses on them East of it. And further East Nun Hall was rented from the Nuns of Littlemore, and the "poor boys" at an early date lodged in it. As time went on this property was enlarged. Before the thirteenth century was over, the College had possessions on the North side of St. John Street. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it not only increased its holdings there. It acquired lands and tenements

[1] See the replies made to the Visitors in May 1648, and Prof. Burrows' estimate that 15 were expelled and 39 sooner or later submitted (*Register of Visitors*, 80–3 and 520 *sq.*). But it is difficult to be certain of the figures. William Berkeley, afterwards Governor of Virginia, was among the sufferers. So were able Professors like Peter Turner and John Greaves. Another conspicuous Royalist from Merton, Sir Richard Browne, John Evelyn's father-in-law, represented Charles I and Charles II in Paris from 1641 to 1660.

[2] See Wood (*Life*, I, 394). Wood has other vivid references to Clayton.

[3] Now Merton Street.

to the West of the Chapel, where now Corpus Christi stands. And it acquired or leased various old Halls, or the sites of them, running East to the turning of the City Wall. Of these St. Alban Hall was the most important. It adjoined Nun Hall, which it presently annexed. The garden of St. Alban Hall became the Warden's garden in 1444.[1] Of the College buildings tradition declares that the Hall was first built in the Founder's lifetime. At any rate the big door with the famous iron-work on it dates from very early years, and the steps of the Hall are mentioned in 1304. Henry VIII's day made improvements in it. A high porch was added under Queen Elizabeth. Squalid ruins[2] are spoken of before the end of the Civil War. The seventeenth century left it still a plain, unlovely building, with two louvres above and three windows on each side. But changes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have remodelled the Hall of Merton since.

Old as the Hall is, however, the beautiful Choir of the Chapel, which rose on the site of the earlier Church of St. John, has a more certain claim to rank as the most venerable monument which any of the Oxford Colleges can show.[3] There is nothing of the same date in University or City to compare with its grand East window and its early Decorated work.[4] The transepts with their Perpendicular windows—two of especial beauty looking North and West—were for the most part added later. They may have been begun in the thirteenth century, but they were dedicated in 1424. The nave, once planned, it seems, was never built.[5] The massive and imposing Bell Tower, with its peal of bells, was

[1] Of the early history of St. Alban Hall we know little. The College rented it for years from the Littlemore Nuns and bought it in 1549. Some of its buildings are attributed to Warden Fitzjames. The street front was rebuilt at the end of the sixteenth century. I have followed Dr. Henderson's account of the College site, which he has very carefully studied, though it does not on all points agree with Mr. Brodrick's or with Dr. Clark's. See Dr. Henderson's plans and notes (11–12 and 57–62). His chapters on the College buildings in Part II of his History are full of interesting detail. Loggan's map shows the College about 1675.

[2] "Situ et ruinis squalida" (Henderson, 243).

[3] But some relics of St. Frideswide's would of course be older, and there may be older fragments embedded in the Magdalen walls.

[4] Dr. Henderson (196–201) gives reasons for dating it mainly about 1294–97, and with this good architectural opinion agrees. (See the *Archæological Journal*, II, 137–44; and on the claims of the Hall to be earlier see *Proceedings of Oxford Architect. Soc.*, N.S., vols. I and II.) Dr. Henderson's chapter on the Chapel should be studied, and Mr. Grinling's paper, already cited, on the glass.

[5] Dr. Henderson is inclined to admit (205–6) that the abandonment of the nave at Merton was due to the example of New College.

MERTON COLLEGE IN 1675
(Loggan)

completed about 1451.[1] A great Rood Loft was constructed[2] and Choir stalls presented in the days of Henry VII. Some of the stained glass in the West window dates from the same century, but there is older glass in the windows of the Choir. The splendour of the East window dominates it all. A new organ was bought for thirty pounds in 1633, and marble paving appeared soon after. Wood gives in detail a description of the monuments set in his day against the walls of the Chapel, including one to John Earle, and one to Thomas Bodley, with the emblems of his Library about him, and one to Henry Savile, with Angels presiding and Fame trumpeting above. Some of those on the floor of the Ante-Chapel were broken by a fall of the roof in 1655—what else could be expected under a Usurper? Thievish workmen stole the brasses. But some beautiful specimens of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries remain.[3] In 1657 the bells were recast. Wood criticised their tone, though he had heard them ringing gladly as he returned from one of his May rambles in the country-side. After the Restoration they were recast once more. Repairs and alterations, new paving and new wainscoting, beautified the fine simplicity of the Chapel. And later still the Stuart changes also disappeared.

Close beside the Chapel were the Sacristy, used in turn perhaps as chapel, vestry, brew-house,[4] and the Treasury, "a very old and particular piece of stone-work" with a massive, high-pitched roof. Tradition, recalling the purchases of Walter de Merton, has ingeniously tried to identify the Treasury with the counting-house of Jacob the Jew. East of the Chapel and fronting on the street were the tenements which grew into the front quadrangle. The Hall lay on the South side of the square. The gateway with the tower over it at the North-west corner was built by Warden Rodeborne in 1418,[5] when men's hearts were still full of pride for Agincourt. But William of Wykeham's example at New College had perhaps more to do with its plan. Loggan shows it two and a half centuries later, with a central window flanked by statues of Henry III and Walter de Merton, and with a curious

[1] But Mr. Brodrick points out (14) that a large outlay on the "campanile" is mentioned in the Bursars' rolls for 1330–1, and the lower arches of the tower are very early work.

[2] In 1486. (See the Indenture printed from the Bursars' books, *Archæological Journal*, II, 181–2.) It was replaced by an oak screen in 1671 (Henderson, 211).

[3] See Vallance (*Old Colls. of Oxford*, App. I).

[4] The Sacristy dates from 1311: it was not used as a brew-house till 1827. The Treasury is some years older. The Sacristy may have been used for services and meetings. In the seventeenth century a case of suicide seems to have been buried there.

[5] Henry V's license to build and embattle it is in the College archives.

old piece of carved stone-work above, said to be a relic of the early church which preceded the Chapel.[1] The rest of the North front was rebuilt just after the Armada, and about 1631 a new building was added West of the entrance gate. At the East and South-east end of this quadrangle was the Warden's House, with the archway adjoining, mainly the work of Sever and Fitzjames. South of the Chapel lay the Little or Old Quadrangle, the oldest of all Oxford College Courts. On its South and West sides were the windows of the Library, built in 1377–78, but not the first Library which the College possessed.[2] The North and East sides are probably still older, and may date from the beginning of the fourteenth century, not much after the Chapel Choir. As early as the year 1300 we hear about new chambers.[3] "Mob Quad," or, as Wood once calls it, "the bachelors' quadrangle" had, like the other quadrangle, its attic "cock-lofts" and its famous rooms.[4]

The chief glory of this small quadrangle, overshadowed but not eclipsed by the grandeur of the tower, was the Library built by Bishop Rede. Within a few years of the foundation of the College Archbishop Patcham had ordered the works of Papias, Huguitio and Brito to be chained to an honest table for students to consult.[5] But Merton men demanded more stimulating fare; and catalogues of the fourteenth century, still in part preserved, give interesting lists of works on theology, philosophy and mathematics. Books could from the first be borrowed freely. They were taken out in considerable numbers at periodic "elections" or distributions of books.[6] They were kept for the most

[1] This piece of sculpture is now lower down, just over the entrance (Henderson, 251).

[2] Bishop Hobhouse (quoted by Mr. Brodrick, 16) has noted a reference to the Library in Jan. 1355, which clearly refers to a room. (See also Henderson, 227.)

[3] Mr. Brodrick (15) refers to Bursars' rolls of 1306; but Dr. Henderson (198) gives details of the earlier date, 1300.

[4] E.g. the "Oxoniam Quare" room, named from a distich inserted in the windows some 400 years ago (Wood's *Life*, II, 249, n.):

"Oxoniam quare venisti præmeditare
Nocte dieque cave tempus consumere prave."

Dr. Henderson has found no reference to the name Mob Quadrangle earlier than 1797 (255). But in the eighteenth century it was in use.

[5] See his Injunctions (cap. 3, *Statutes of Colls.*, Merton, 41).

[6] 136 were so distributed in 1372, 185 in 1410, and 238 in 1451. The two earliest Merton Library catalogues were made about 1320–40 and 1360. The first contained some 80 books, including several translations from Aristotle, under Mathematics Euclid, Ptolemy's *Almagest* and Plato's *Timæus*, and under Grammar Priscian and Boethius. The second contained 250 books, all more or less theological, 43 volumes with glosses on parts of the Bible, 16 copies of the *Sentences*, 42 volumes of Augustine, Aquinas, Scotus, etc., and authors like Boethius, Josephus and Bede.

part in chests till a Library was ready to receive them: and even the earliest Library may have shown the beginnings of those lateral partitions with desks attached, of which Merton is said to have given the first example to the world.[1] Since Bishop Rede's day the long, low rooms with the lancet windows have seen important alterations. A graceful barrel-roof was added in 1502–3. In the seventeenth century the South room was remodelled. The old book-cases were replaced: only one half-case of the original fittings survives. Great dormer windows were formed in the roof. Panelling, plaster-work and carving were inserted,[2] lit by the mellow colours of the window at the end. An endowment for the Librarian was provided in 1672. The old chains for books were not finally removed till a hundred and twenty years later. They did not prevent an angry Librarian in the eighteenth century from throwing volumes out of the window. Undergraduates were not admitted till the nineteenth century was well advanced. Many a gift since Bishop Rede's has enriched the store which the Reformation plundered. Thirty-eight volumes which belonged to the Bishop,[3] beautiful manuscripts of the works of Ockham, an astrolabe which Chaucer might have studied when writing on the subject for his boy, and Caxton's first edition of the Canterbury Tales,[4] still remain among the treasures of a Library, which yields to some in splendour, to none in ancient fame, in quiet beauty, in its dim charm of stateliness and peace.

Fitzjames and Savile are prominent among the builders of the College, but Savile has left the happiest memorials. Besides

The only classical MS. added in the fifteenth century seems to be a *Seneca* given by Warden Fitzjames. Of the MSS. mentioned in these early catalogues, which are earlier than Bishop Rede's great contribution, only 24 remain. The habit of using fragments of old MSS. for bindings—even a tenth-century fragment of Jerome was so used—may account for some of the losses. I owe these details to a lecture on Merton Library by Mr. P. S. Allen, which I hope may be published soon.

[1] See Mr. Brodrick's comment (16) on the "palatia librariæ" of 1355. Mr. Gibson thinks that a double row of lecterns, back to back at right-angles to the wall, may have preceded the stall-bookcases with desks.

[2] The great dates in the history of the Library, says Dr. Henderson, in his chapter on the subject (235), were 1377–8, 1502–3, 1623–4 and 1641. In the second volume of the *College Register* (f. 343) there is an interesting reference to purchases of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Arabic and Persian books with money given by Mr. Allen in 1640.

[3] This is the figure given me by Mr. P. S. Allen as probable—three more than Coxe allows. Rede gave ninety-nine manuscripts, but the rest have gone; one of them (Digby, 216) has found its way to the Bodleian.

[4] On Caxton's earliest editions of the Canterbury Tales see Gordon Duff (*Early Printed Books*, 129 *sq.*, and *The Printers, Stationers of London, etc. in the Fifteenth Century*, 7). Lewis Chaucer's astrolabe and the Merton astrolabe are alleged to be of about the same date. (See later, p. 190.)

the new street fronts to the main quadrangle and to St. Alban Hall, Savile was responsible for a new quadrangle to the South. Contemporary with the beautiful buildings of Wadham,[1] and mingling, as those did, classic forms and decorations with the Oxford Gothic style, the graceful range of Savile's buildings looks out across the meadows to the Thames. Here the senior Fellows were lodged, in the " very good and pleasant apartments " which Wood praises. Here after the Restoration a spacious chamber was converted into the earliest Oxford Common Room. To the East were the gardens, less formal perhaps than Loggan represents them, with fine sycamores already planted and with Lady Clayton's summer-house conspicuous upon the wall. To the West lay the grove, still undefaced with buildings. No Vandals in the seventeenth century proposed to destroy the Little Quadrangle or to sweep a portion of Bishop Rede's Library away.[2] The great Warden's energy was unceasing. He set up a new monument to Walter de Merton in Rochester Cathedral. He induced the College to give timber for Bodley's Library and books for its shelves. The College may well pay tribute, as it does, to the " lasting memory of his benefits and virtues," for to Savile's taste and generous discretion no small part of the dignity which stamps it, of the beauty which enfolds it still, is due.

Other Houses for students were founded in thirteenth-century Oxford, which have no place in the list of Colleges to-day. The great Monastic Orders soon realised the importance of sending their young brethren to the University to be trained. The Abbey which Edmund of Cornwall founded at Rewley in 1280 or 1281 was intended as a place of study for Cistercian monks.[3] The Benedictines of the Southern Province, who had Houses at Abingdon and Eynsham a few miles away, were not slow to adopt the same idea. In 1283 John Giffard, a Gloucestershire magnate,

[1] The Wadham buildings date from 1610 to 1613. Savile's building was practically finished in 1610, " circa festũ Michaelis " says the Register of the College. Battlements were added in 1622. (See also Henderson 259–60.) On the style of these buildings and of the Schools Quadrangle see Sir T. G. Jackson's delightful study of *Wadham College* (especially 1–3 and 125–7). Savile's influence on contemporary architecture in Oxford may have been greater than we know, and Thomas Holt, the master-carpenter who served him, was conspicuous among the Oxford builders of his day.

[2] Both these proposals were agreed to by the College in 1861 ! Mr. Butterfield seems to have been prepared for either. (See the resolutions quoted by Dr. Henderson, 262.)

[3] But it did not succeed as a *studium*, owing to the opposition of the Cistercian Abbots. (See Little, *Eng. Hist. Review*, Jan. 1893, pp. 83–4.) Cistercian students had no definite headquarters in Oxford till St. Bernard's College was built.

who had abducted a widow of rank and importance without his Sovereign's leave, founded, for the health of his soul and his lady's, a cell for thirteen Benedictine monks drawn from the great House of St. Peter's at Gloucester. The cell amid the water-meadows North-west of the town soon developed into a Benedictine College. Chapters of the Order held in 1290 and 1291 sanctioned a more extensive plan. At Gloucester College—the name still lingers in a neighbourhood whose glory has decayed[1]—students from other Benedictine Houses gathered, representing the famous Abbeys of the Order, Malmesbury and St. Albans, Westminster and Winchcombe,[2] Canterbury, Glastonbury and many more. Malmesbury claimed special rights over the College, based on a later grant of the property, obtained, not to say extorted, by the Abbot from John Giffard in his declining years. Of sixty-five Benedictine Priories and Abbeys, thirty-eight, it seems, can be definitely connected with the College, and we know that fifteen of them at one time or another had houses or lodgings within its walls.[3] On the part played in College affairs by some of the great Abbeys, especially by St. Albans, we have a good deal of information. Of the share taken by others we know little. Some of the students from various Abbeys seem to have betaken themselves for a time to Canterbury College. Some were clearly

[1] But there seems to be no evidence for the tradition that Gilbert de Clare, the great thirteenth-century Earl of Gloucester, had a house here.

[2] A house in Oxford belonging to Winchcombe is mentioned in a Bull of Pope Alexander III, confirming that Monastery's possessions in 1175 (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. 1846, II, 303). But there is nothing in the Bull to indicate that this house was a place of study, as Stevens (*Additions to Dugdale's Monast.* I, 337–41) suggests. Stevens gives an account of Gloucester College, but the most valuable account is to be found in the early chapters of the History of *Worcester College* by Mr. Daniel and Mr. Barker, to which I am much indebted.

[3] "Cameræ." The first official proposal by the Benedictines of the Canterbury Province for the establishment of a College at Oxford was apparently made in 1275. Subsequent Chapters developed the idea. But it was not till 1337 that the Constitution of Benedict XII, amended later, organised the system, and required all Benedictine Houses, including those in the Province of York, to send one in twenty of their members to a *studium generale*. The number of Benedictines at Gloucester College at any time is difficult to estimate. The authors of *Worcester College* (Chap. II) think it may have averaged 100. But I doubt if the average was nearly so high. The only list we have, one of 32 in 1537, can hardly be taken as representative. More Benedictine students, no doubt, went to Oxford than to Cambridge. But Durham had its own College. Canterbury broke away. Westminster generally sent 2 students to Gloucester College; some Houses sent one, some none at all. In 1432 Bishop Gray released Eynsham from the obligation for five years (*Visitation of Lincoln*, ed. A. H. Thompson, I, 56). In 1440, we are told, one Abbey has sent none for six years, another none for seven, another none for twelve (*Worc. Coll.* 61). See also Bishop Pearce of Worcester's *Monks of Westminster*.

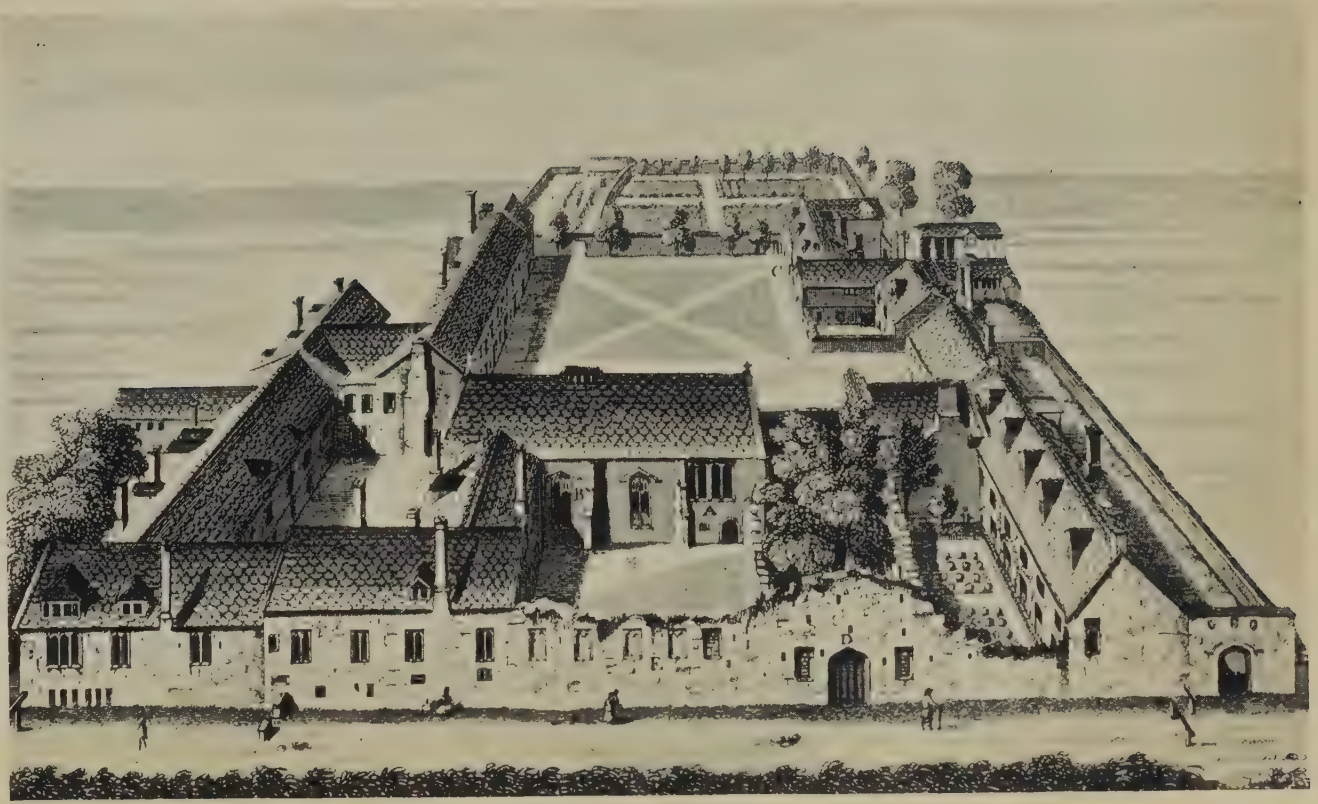
turbulent and difficult to rule. But it is clear that for several generations a limited number of monastic scholars flowed to this Benedictine settlement at Oxford, and that they lived there under one superior, but subject always to the authority of their own Houses. If the young monks were glad to go to Oxford, their superiors were not always so ready to send them, and in spite of the wealth of the Abbeys there were not infrequently difficulties in regard to funds.

But the larger spirits took a wider view. When the first Benedictine of Gloucester College received his degree as a Doctor of Divinity, monks and prelates of the Order flocked to Oxford to celebrate the occasion, and a deputation arrived from St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, with a cavalcade of a hundred horses to do honour to a colleague who had done honour to them all. The Benedictines were not unwilling to spend money on such occasions, and in other ways also they encouraged their students. They gave them an instructor in theology. They taught them to preach both in Latin and in English. But they forbade them to mix freely with the seculars outside. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries more than one Abbot of St. Albans showed himself a good friend to the House at Oxford. Thomas de la Mare, whose rule in his great Convent covered nearly half a century,[1] sent up more than the required number of his monks to be "educated in all kinds of knowledge." He gave money freely for their lodging and support. He prevented Archbishop Courtenay from visiting the College. His successor built the first stone house for his students, next door to that of the Norwich monks. The next Abbot made the house of the St. Albans men the finest in the College. And John of Whethamstede, a famous fifteenth-century prelate,[2] was Prior of the College before he passed on to govern the Abbey. He enriched and completed the buildings which his predecessors had begun. He built the Library and the garden wall.[3] A Chapel and a Refectory were already built or building. Abbot John noted that in one respect at any rate the Chapel resembled Solomon's Temple, in having taken forty years to build. He also gave three silver salt-cellars to his students, and increased the payments which they drew. Another fifteenth-century Prior of the College, Edmund Kirton, was an active member of the University, and helped to secure for it a grant from Benedictine funds. Abbot Millyng, who

[1] From 1349 to 1396.

[2] For Whethamstede see the two volumes of John Amundesham's Annals and the two volumes of the Abbot's Registers, all edited with introductions by Mr. H. T. Riley in the *Chron. Monast. S. Alban.* (Rolls Series): also *D.N.B.*

[3] To say nothing of a "capellula" which was probably distinct from the principal Chapel (*Worc. Coll.* 47).



GLOUCESTER COLLEGE
from Skelton's *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*

sheltered Elizabeth Woodville in an hour of peril, was a student of Gloucester College. One resident at least figured among the earliest Reformers. Feckenham, the last Abbot of Westminster, was among the College's last recruits. But Feckenham belonged to an age which was already passing. The Reformation, which destroyed the Benedictine Abbeys, inevitably swept away the Benedictine Colleges. Yet the old quarters of the monks of Westminster and Abingdon and part of the lodging of the Gloucester monks remain.

Meanwhile the Benedictines of the Northern Province had also established a colony in Oxford. The ground chosen was a site of some ten acres outside the North wall, where now the lime-set lawns of Trinity are spread. Here in 1286 " arable londs . . . in Bewmounte " and " voide groundes beside Peralowse Hall in Horsemonger-strete " were secured from the Abbess of Godstow. The Convent of St. Frideswide and other owners contributed plots of ground.[1] And here the Priors of the great Abbey at Durham set about building their students a permanent home.[2] Edward III became the patron of the little College, in gratitude for a victory which again seated a Balliol on the Scottish throne.[3] Students came. A theological lecturer was talked of, though the plan apparently fell through. Richard de Bury, the book-loving Bishop of Durham, intended but failed to bequeath to it the greatest library of the age. Bishop Hatfield, however, magnificent as Bishop, Minister and builder, dying in 1381, succeeded in leaving it a handsome benefaction, and with these funds the little settlement was endowed and organised afresh. Eight student monks, with a Warden among them, and eight secular students in grammar and philosophy were to form the community in future. The secular students were placed on an inferior footing to the monks, but there is no evidence that they rebelled against this. The monks were the Fellows, the seculars were Scholars or " boys." The Fellows, visitors from Durham residing for the time in Oxford, received liberal allowances for commons, clothes and other expenses. They had plate and vestments and even

[1] The title-deeds are still at Durham, and among their seals is the seal of St. Mary Magdalen Parish, bearing the star and crescent of Richard I, who was born there. Perilous Hall was on the site of Kettell Hall. I owe these details and others to the first chapter of Dr. Blakiston's History of *Trinity College* and to the same writer's article on *Some Durham College Rolls* (*Collectanea*, III).

[2] Hugh de Derlington, about 1287, is said to have sent students to Oxford. Richard de Houton, about 1290, apparently began to build. But he must have been much occupied with the vicissitudes of his own career.

[3] Edward Balliol did not long remain there. The battle was Halidon Hill, in 1333.

fires in their rooms. Indeed the comfort that they lived in tempted them sometimes to forget to whom it all was due.

Early in the fifteenth century new buildings were erected. The College was approached then, and for centuries later, by a long road, close to the borders of Balliol, running Northwards from the gate. A gate erected in 1397, at a cost of four pounds, lasted till 1733. The oldest chambers lay to the West of the entrance. To the East of it a new Chapel was begun in 1406, to replace the Oratory licensed some three-quarters of a century before. The Refectory lay further North, on the West side of the small quadrangle or "Quadrantt." The buttery and kitchen and other chambers were beyond. The Warden's chamber was on the North side of the court, the Library and other chambers on the East.[1] The little Black Monks in the Library windows kneeling to the Saints—Becket's full-length figure shows his murderer's dagger still sticking in his head—are not needed to testify that Trinity possesses the old Benedictine inheritance to-day. Durham College produced some well-known Wardens. It received from time to time distinguished guests. It let its spare rooms freely to strangers,[2] and took in lodgers from other Benedictine Abbeys in the North. Like other Colleges it had financial troubles, deficits not always made good by fresh bequests. In the fifteenth century its numbers fell off and its revenues declined. In the reign of Henry VIII the net income was put at one hundred and twenty-two pounds odd. The Warden had a salary of twelve pounds. The seven Fellows took eight pounds apiece. And the rest went in general expenses, in pay for the Scholars, in alms for the Friars and the poor.[3]

The See of Durham played a great part in the history of three of the earliest Colleges at Oxford, and Durham College came near to inheriting from Richard de Bury the richest literary bequest of the time. That picturesque prelate made it a rule never to refuse to buy a book; and perhaps in consequence of this amiable failing his library had to go to pay his debts. He loved his collection better than gold. He wrote of it with eloquent and

[1] The "fayre Library, well desked and well flowred," cost £42 in 1417. The authority for these early buildings and their interesting details is *The Situation and View of Durham College*, drawn up apparently after the Dissolution, and now preserved at the Record Office (*Rentals and Surveys*. Roll 548). Dr. Blakiston has used this Roll in his *Trinity College* (19–28). But it seems to have come to the Record Office not from the Augmentation Office but from the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer (Chapter House, Westminster) together with other documents relating to the foundation of Christ Church.

[2] E.g. to Gilbert Kymer, the well-known Chancellor of the University.

[3] But these figures compare favourably with the financial arrangements of poor Colleges like University and Balliol in their early days.

lively fancy. His bedroom, they said, was strewn with precious volumes—"masters who teach without birch or ferule or harsh words."[1] And the passion was genuine, though Petrarch, who once cross-questioned him at Avignon, suspected that he knew more of the outside than of the inside of his books. The Bishop had one fault. He dreaded the influence of the "biped beast" named woman, who was jealous implacably of clerks and students, and was apt to turn upon them and drive them out of doors. But if her influence could be avoided, like the asp or the basilisk, he saw Oxford taking the place of Paris, that "Paradise of the world." The little College at Oxford missed the chance of this great legacy, but it collected its own library, and for many generations it held on its way. Like other settlements of monkish students, it was doomed to vanish when the Reformation came. Anne Boleyn proved too strong for her opponents. The biped beast and her influence over the heart of a King prevailed. But these settlements, while they lasted, helped materially to bring the monasteries into touch with Oxford life. Their discipline perhaps did something for the cause of order. And, different as they were from other Colleges, their corporate traditions, no doubt, tended to strengthen the Collegiate system and ideal.[2]

[1] See Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon* (ed. Thomas, 13, 31 and *passim*), W. de Chambre's *Hist. Dunelm. Cont.* (Surtees Society, 127–30), Dean Kitchin's *Seven Sages of Durham*, Lyte (157–8), and Mullinger (I, 200 *sq.*).

[2] For these two Benedictine Colleges, besides the writings of Mr. Daniel, Mr. Barker and Dr. Blakiston already quoted, the Roll in the Record Office (*Rentals and Surveys*, 548), and references in Lyte and Rashdall, see Dugdale (*Monasticon*, IV, 403–9 and 676–80), Stevens (*Additions to Dugdale*, I, 337–44), Reyner (*Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, II, 54 and App. Pt. III), *Annales Monast.* (ed. Luard, IV, 488), *Hist. Monast. S. Petri Gloucestriæ* (ed. Hart, I, 32 and 34), *Hist. Dunelm Scriptores Tres* (Surtees Soc. 72–3, 138, and other references in index), Twyne (*MS.* XXI, 238), Wood (*City*, II, 248–74—not always clear), *Bodl. MS. Wood F.* 28 (ff. 188, 190–1) and *Rawl. MS. C.* 865 (f. 28), Wilkins (*Concilia*, II, 594–9, 613–22 and 732–5), pamphlets by J. Stevenson (*Account of Durham College*, 1840) and Goldie (*Bygone Oxford*, 29), and Dr. Poole's article on Thomas of Hatfield (*D.N.B.*).

CHAPTER V

THE MEDIÆVAL UNIVERSITY AT WORK

WITH the close of the Barons' War and the foundation of the earliest Colleges, a new period of prosperity for the University began. Oxford had taken her place beside Paris among the most famous seats of Western learning. She claimed indeed with superb assumption that Paris was an imitator if not a daughter of her own.[1] Students flowed to her from every quarter. The tireless scholars of the Middle Ages were not content to study at a single University. They travelled far afield in search of teachers—" wont to roam around the world . . . till much learning made them mad." [2] They relied upon the comradeship of learners. They were franked by the common language of educated men. The Schoolmen of Oxford in the early fourteenth century became the leaders of European thought. Dante himself, it has been asserted, listened to her lecturers and wandered in her streets.[3] Her numbers were considerable. Youths of all ranks and conditions swelled them—from fine young gentlemen under the King's patronage to needy boys as portionless as any begging Friar. The Halls and Inns increased. A crowd of clients sought the University's protection and found a livelihood within its precincts. Booksellers,[4] illuminators,

[1] Edward II was persuaded to claim that Englishmen had originated the University of Paris, and in 1296 the Bishop of Lincoln put forward a hardly less audacious plea. (See *Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton*, mem. 141*b*, and Twyne, II, 23.)

[2] So said a monk of Froidmont in the twelfth century: He added that in Paris they sought liberal arts, " in Orleans authors, at Salerno gallipots, at Toledo demons, and in no place decent manners " (J. A. Symonds, *Wine, Women and Song*, 17).

[3] This tradition has some support. (See Lyte, 89–91 and the references quoted there.) Giovanni da Serravale, Bishop of Fermo, who knew Robert Hallam (once Chancellor of Oxford) at the Council of Constance, wrote a Latin commentary on the *Divina Commedia* apparently in 1416, and in the preamble he twice states that Dante studied at Oxford. Mr. Gladstone defended this view in the *Nineteenth Century* for June 1892. But Dr. Paget Toynbee, who has allowed me to consult him, does not accept it.

[4] Dean Rashdall (I, 415) points out the distinction between the " Librarius " at Paris, who sold books for private individuals, and the " Stationarius," who employed writers to produce them, and then either sold or lent them out on hire.

parchment-makers, binders, writers and copyists, surgeons, barbers and apothecaries, mingled with other followers, not of one sex only, whose position was less assured. But not even the inclusion of servants and dependents can render credible the estimates which some mediæval writers give—the sixty thousand students of the past whom Wycliffe spoke of, the thirty thousand whom a celebrated Archbishop, almost his contemporary, had known at Oxford in his youth,[1] the fifteen thousand whom William of Rishanger reckoned in the days of Henry III, or even the six thousand whom "Armachanus" was prepared to be content with in 1357. Wycliffe was on solider ground when he admitted that in his time the scholars of Oxford numbered less than three thousand. After the Great Pestilence, counting students only, he might safely have put them at less than two. In the great riot of 1298, which few of the scholars or their dependents would have missed, three thousand clerks took part according to one version, and fifteen hundred according to another.[2] The Crown's demand for fifteen hundred psalters in granting a confirmation of Charters in 1315 suggests that fifteen hundred was approximately the official estimate of Oxford scholars.[3] And later on, in 1438, the University declared in a petition to Convocation that of all its reputed multitudes in old days hardly a thousand then remained.[4]

Through all the turbulence of mediæval Oxford the old ideals of simplicity and austerity survived. Philosophers indeed clung

[1] Gascoigne's statement to the same effect (*Loci e Libro Veritatum*, ed. Rogers, 202) was probably based on that of Archbishop Fitz-Ralph of Armagh. For Wycliffe's statements see *De Ecclesia* (ed. Loserth, Wyclif Soc., 374), and for William of Rishanger's his *Chronicon* (ed. Halliwell, Camden Soc., 22). The best discussion of the subject is in Chap. XIII of Dr. Rashdall's second volume: but even his estimates may possibly be too high. In the thirteenth century, when the numbers at Oxford may have been highest, only a small proportion of beneficed clergy seem to have been University men. The *Rotuli* of Bishop Hugh Wells (Cant. and York Soc. I, xiii) show that in the Archdeaconry of Oxford out of 156 presentations made in 16 years only 13 were described as "Magistri." In the fifteenth century, when one considers the population after the Black Death, the small area of Oxford, the small numbers who took M.A. degrees, the small numbers in the Colleges and Halls, especially before Magdalen was founded—it is possible that 450 would more than cover the students in Halls and 150 the monks and Friars—one understands the depression of which the University complained. On the other hand Sir James Ramsay's estimate (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Oct. 1903) seems to me too low.

[2] See *Med. Arch.* (I, 45 *sq.*).

[3] Rashdall (II, 402), and *Med. Arch.* (I, 96).

[4] *Epistolæ Academicæ* (156). Mr. Salter suggests (*Med. Arch.* II, 275–6) that, omitting choir-boys and servants, the numbers may not have been much over 600—some 300 undergraduates, 100 Bachelors, 70 Regents and 150 Non-Regents—if we are to judge by the small numbers taking degrees. (But see *Reg. Ann. Coll. Merton.* xxii.)

to the belief that a place of study ought not to be too healthy, that the *mens sana* depended little on the *corpore sano*, that weakness of body often led to strength of mind.[1] Of poverty the students as a whole had neither love nor fear. The University had at first no endowments, and as years passed only a few small grants came to its aid. It had for long no buildings of its own. Its Masters taught in hired schools, hired from the Monasteries or other landlords. Under Edward II they petitioned the Crown for land near Smith Gate to build Schools on, as Masters and scholars were increasing so fast.[2] Its members dwelt for the most part in hired lodgings. Its meetings and ceremonies took place in borrowed churches. The Faculty of Arts, sometimes called the Black Congregation, had their own separate meetings at St. Mildred's, on the site of the future Lincoln College. But the chief business of the University was done in St. Mary's, where Congregations of all the Faculties assembled.[3] There its degrees were granted. There, as time went on, its slender revenues, its treasures and its manuscripts were stored.[4] That venerable church has passed through many changes. Its memorials of Saxon and Norman days have vanished. It was not till near the end of the thirteenth century that its great tower rose above the High Street, and its beauties as we know them began.[5] It was not till 1320 that Bishop Cobham of Worcester founded the Old House of Congregation, a two-storeyed building on the North-east side, and thus gave the University a habitation of its own: and even now probably few undergraduates who pass that time-worn corner remember that the first dwelling-place of the University is there. It was not till some years later that the

[1] See Mullinger (*Cambridge*, I, 338).

[2] See *Collectanea* (III, 10). The Canon Law School was University property before 1279: but it was let with the Hall attached to it. Some ten houses in Oxford were given to the University in the thirteenth century, but they were let on lease (*Med. Arch.* I, 275).

[3] That is the Congregation of Regents (*Congregatio minor*), which sat in the Congregation House after it was built, and the Great Congregation of Regents and Non-Regents (*Congregatio magna* or *plena*) which met in St. Mary's choir. To this larger body in the sixteenth century the term *Convocatio* came to be applied.

[4] Some of the earlier Chests were kept at St. Frideswide's. But a decree of 1454 ordered their removal to St. Mary's (*Register of Convocation Aa*, 83).

[5] On St. Mary's see Sir T. G. Jackson's volume on *The Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford*. The church was rebuilt as we know it in the fifteenth century, but the thirteenth-century tower remains, with the spire which was added soon after. It is possible that the church was also rebuilt when the tower was added. But it is perhaps more probable that it was rebuilt a hundred years earlier, in Richard I's day: St. Hugh was a great builder. Even Sir T. Jackson, however, cannot speak positively, and evidence is wanting.

books which the Bishop had intended for the upper room in his new structure were carried off from Oriel, after a pretty quarrel, to found the earliest Library which the University could claim: and Oriel thought the claim a bad one still.[1] It was not till the following century that " a long pile of stone building " in Schools Street was provided by the Abbot of Oseney[2] as a permanent home for the Arts Schools, or that the noble Divinity School beyond it set a new tradition of splendour for the academic world. But the poverty of the University was one source of its strength. A corporate body without possessions to encumber it could laugh at fine and forfeiture. A community without habitations to relinquish was always free to migrate if its needs required.

To the individual student not compelled, like the Franciscans, to eschew the temptations of riches, the advantages of poverty may have seemed less clear. It is evident that expenses at Oxford varied widely. The poorest students of all might seek a begging-license from the Chancellor, and eke out a living with charity which carried no discredit.[3] Begging, though the Friars made it the fashion, had its disadvantages as a means of education, but many a penniless lad in the Middle Ages owed his learning to generous patrons or friends. Some, in the Colleges, ranked as servitors or battelers,[4] performing certain menial duties and waiting on their betters before sitting down to dinner. Some were excused the customary charges, and graduated *in forma pauperis* without having to pay fees. But the great majority of students lived with some degree of comfort. John Balliol's Scholars indeed had to make shift on eightpence weekly. But the Merton Scholars with fifty shillings a year were at first thought to have ample. At Exeter the early Scholars had only tenpence a week. At Oriel the weekly allowance for commons was raised in 1329 from a shilling to fifteen pence. New College in times of scarcity allowed as much as one and sixpence. Queen's in the days of Edward III fixed a liberal maximum of

[1] The books were secured by the University about 1337. The Bishop, like other injudicious testators, disposed of more property than he possessed, and his books became the subject of a dispute, in which Adam de Brome, Rector of St. Mary's and Founder of Oriel College, played a generous part. (See *Collectanea*, I, 62 *sq.* and Dr. Poole's article on Cobham in *D.N.B.*)

[2] In 1439. Hokenorton surely was Abbot of Oseney, not of Eynsham, as Dr. Rashdall once suggests (II, 462).

[3] The right is recognised in Richard II's Statute of 1388. (See Shadwell's *Enactments in Parliament*, I, 2–3.)

[4] The term survives in the too familiar College battels, which denoted food supplied by, or debts due to, a College. The derivation is uncertain (Murray, *New Eng. Dict.*). But see notes later (pp. 147 and 252).

two shillings. Two or three shillings a week could be made to cover all a student's expenses: three shillings or three and sixpence could be made to do it well. Four or five shillings weekly seems to have sufficed even for young men who kept a tutor and a servant and who depended on the bounty of a King. In 1288 the Bishop of Hereford sent two lads to Oxford, whose expenses for forty weeks came to close on fourteen pounds. About the same time Edward I sent there two young gentlemen from Gascony, and allowed them thirty-five marks a year, something under twelve pounds each.[1] The son of a prosperous London citizen in Edward III's day spent two shillings weekly on his board, twenty-six shillings and eightpence a year on tuition, forty shillings on clothes and twenty shillings on sundries, making nine pounds, ten shillings and eightpence for his yearly charges, the equivalent perhaps of a hundred and eighty pounds to-day.[2] The rents of rooms varied a good deal. In the records of the Chancellor's Court in the fifteenth century we find a scholar's room in Athelstan Hall charged at seven and sixpence a year, and a room in Lincoln College, belonging to a well-to-do Master, rated at thirteen shillings and fourpence.[3] The pay of servants was generally small, but perquisites probably increased them. In the early days of Exeter College the Manciple received five shillings a term, the cook two shillings, the washerwoman one and threepence, and the barber a shilling. An early Tutor at New College received five shillings a year for each pupil. Fees were low and teaching cheap. The standards of living as a whole were frugal. But functions like Determination and Inception might involve heavy expenses. The costs for the average student were substantial, and a full course at Oxford lasted many a year.[4]

The Chancellor's and Proctors' Books, treasured among the Archives of the University, yield innumerable glimpses of the conditions of mediæval life. The first little collection of Statutes we possess seems to date from about the year 1275, and the Statutes in it are almost all concerned with the maintenance of order. But the majority of them reappear, with others of a similar nature, in the official records of the University, of which the most august and venerable is *Registrum A*, the Chancellor's Book. The earliest portion of this celebrated Register is in a

[1] Arnold and Bertram de la Fyte. (See the Wardrobe Accounts quoted by Sir H. C. M. Lyte, 93.)

[2] See Riley (*Memorials of London*, 379). Walter Paston's expenses in the fifteenth century seem to be less, but the evidence is meagre (*Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, III, 225–6).

[3] *Mun. Acad.* (555–6 and 655).

[4] The length and costliness of the education needed for the higher degrees were a special justification for College endowments.

hand which can hardly be dated much later than 1325.[1] It is based on materials which were probably in existence before 1312. It seems likely that the need for codifying the University's Statutes was suggested by the great quarrel with the Friars. Each Chancellor received this book on his accession, and made in it such entries as he pleased. Additions and interpolations followed later. Attempts to revive faded passages with oak galls have obliterated portions of the text. Even Chancellors were sometimes careless, and necessary records were too often omitted. In the fifteenth century the Proctors also had Books of their own. As time passed, the Chancellor's Book was re-arranged and re-bound, with little regard to regularity or method. In its present form it begins with a document of 1459, and takes us through an ecclesiastical calendar, a note of masses and a list of heresies, before reaching the belated preface. Transcripts of ordinances, charters and proceedings jostle each other in its pages, without reference to subject or to date. But with all its imperfections, the book's interest is supreme. It has remained for centuries a code of almost immemorial customs, and for three hundred years it was the most authoritative record of the laws and liberties which the University possessed.[2]

For the mediæval student conditions, no doubt, altered, but altered less than might have been expected, between the days of Roger Bacon and the days of Erasmus. The boy who came up to Oxford from a country home, escorted sometimes by a carrier or "fetcher," to enter on his long course of University training, seems to have enjoyed in the early days at any rate a remarkable degree of freedom. Young, very young, as he often was, he chose the Master whose lectures he would attend, and was warned by the quidnuncs not to make his choice too quickly. He chose the Hall or Inn where he would lodge, or joined with other students who were hiring a Hall for themselves, and he afterwards took his share in electing the Principal, and even in

[1] I am here following Mr. Gibson, whose work on the Statutes is of the first importance. As I write, Mr. Gibson's book is not yet published, but he has given me access to his proofs and notes. (See also Appendix at the end of this volume.)

[2] Nearly all the earlier Statutes in the Chancellor's Book were printed by Mr. Anstey in *Munimenta Academica*, but the arrangement left much to be desired. Mr. Gibson, by examining the different handwritings, and by comparing the entries with the order in *Registrum D* (*MS. Bodl.* 337)—which is largely a transcript of the Chancellor's Book, made probably about 1375, and the importance of which he was the first to point out—has been able to rearrange the contents, and especially the earliest Statutes, with a clearness not attained before. These two Registers, with the Junior Proctor's Book (*Registrum C*, dating from 1407) and the Senior Proctor's Book (*Registrum B*, dating from 1477), are the four chief authorities for the ancient Statutes of the University.

managing the business of the house. He shared also, no doubt, in the practical jokes which generally accompanied the initiation of a student, and which, little as we hear of them at Oxford, ancient custom almost everywhere excused. In the Roman Empire Justinian had intervened to stop them. In mediæval Paris Statutes were needed to restrain them, to protect from extortion the "Bejauni" or "becs-jaunes," the unfledged birds, at whom they were aimed. In seventeenth-century England Anthony Ashley Cooper headed a revolt against them,[1] and they are not likely to have been free from objection three centuries before.

When installed in his room—which he often shared with a companion—the average student had comforts of his own, and, though floors were still bare except for rushes and windows often innocent of glass, these comforts increased as time went on. Chaucer's scholar kept books and instruments of music. He had Aristotle at his bed-head, and many a song in "his merry throat." The fifteenth-century inventories which remain of the goods of Masters and students give lists of clothes, of furniture and of other possessions not to be despised. There are manuscripts of the Schoolmen and the Fathers, Pope Gregory's *Homilies* and Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*. Boethius is there, and Priscian and Rabanus, books of Digests and Decretals, psalters and missals. Plato's *Timæus* is mentioned, and Martial and Seneca and Ovid. Among household things bedding figures largely, not only mattresses and bolsters, sheets and blankets, but coverlets of green and yellow powdered with roses, or white and black with birds and flowers. Beds and heavy furniture were, no doubt, often hired. Truckle-beds were used by junior students. Boys slept sometimes two together. Cisterns and troughs for washing were provided, but some of the washing in Colleges might be done in the Hall.[2] Coffers and chests are mentioned, and chairs and forms and stools and tables. Candlesticks and snuffers are mentioned also, but candles were always dear and scanty. Bellows and tongs showed that fires in private rooms were not unknown. One list of belongings includes an old harp and a broken lute. Another speaks of a Hornpipe.

[1] The practice of "tucking," skinning the chin with the thumb-nail, lingered at Exeter in the seventeenth century, and the custom of compelling freshmen to recite under penalty of tucking was long kept up at Merton (Wood, *Life*, I, 133–4). In some French Universities these practices ran to "nefarious and incredible enormities." And in Germany the ceremonies associated with the "Bejaunus" were made the pretext for bullying and extortion (Rashdall, II, 628 *sq.*, and *A Medieval Garner*, 670–3).

[2] See Boase (*Register of Exeter College*, xli). The furniture of the Warden's Lodgings at Merton is given in detail in the Register of that College in 1507 (I, ff. 170-1).

Others refer to swords and knives, to iron-shod staves and bows and arrows, in readiness, no doubt, for any fray. A Master at Merton in 1512 has one glass window and one which is half glass. And one or two wills strike a note almost of luxury with their bequests of silver spoons and silver-mounted goods.[1]

Clothes play from the beginning a large part in the tale of Oxford men's effects. Togas, tunics, tabards, hoods figure beside doublets, tippets and mantles. Bright colours are popular: there is at first no insistence upon black.[2] Parti-coloured garments were looked upon as secular. The clerk's dress was generally uniform in colour and marked by some peculiarities of length and make. Colleges had their own liveries. It was only reasonable, one of the older Statutes of the University argued, that those whom God had adorned beyond the laity within, should outwardly differ from the laity in fashion.[3] A decent clerical dress and the tonsure were expected. But, subject to that, Oxford men in early days probably dressed much as they liked. Absalom in the Miller's Tale, with his golden hair, his scarlet hose, his surplice white as the blossom on the hawthorn, and with Paul's windows stamped on his shoes, may serve as a type of the humbly-born dandy in the world of mediæval clerks. The *toga*, which became the modern gown, seems to have been a robe or tunic, longer than the tabard, worn by almost anyone, and as cheerful in colour as its owner wished. Under this gown a closer tunic might be worn, and over it the academic *cappa*. The tabard was a loose upper garment, worn out of doors by the poorer classes generally,[4] and widely adopted for

[1] A Fellow of Queen's in the fifteenth century could keep horses, sheep and cows, and lend his father seven pounds (*Mun. Acad.* 593).

[2] Among the goods of Master Jacob Hedyan we find a "togam blodii coloris furratam" and a "togam viridis coloris furratam" (*Registrum Aaa*, fol. 41[b]). But sober colours, and in the sixteenth century a sombre black, prevailed.

[3] *Mun. Acad.* (212).

[4] See Murray's *New Eng. Dict.* Dr. Rashdall has a valuable section on academical dress (II, 636 *sq.*), with notes full of information, and Prof. E. C. Clark has three papers on the subject in the *Archæological Journal* for 1893 (73 *sq.*, 137 *sq.*, and 183 *sq.*). But the subject is full of difficulty, and the meaning of the terms used varies a good deal at different times and places, in College Statutes and elsewhere. Even Mr. Brightman's clear summary in the Preface to Mr. Gunther's *Brasses in Magdalen College* may on some points be questioned by other authorities; for instance, he allows the tabard short sleeves. And Prof. Clark has statements which I find it difficult to follow. I have confined myself to general statements in the text. But many points of detail, the use, for instance, of tippets, and the reason why in England only tippets have vanished while hoods (*caputia*) remain, the varieties of *liripipia*—evidently tails or ends or streamers—and the exact meaning of terms like *epitogia*, may be worth exploring further. See also the All Souls *Statutes* (cap. 17), and other College Statutes.

informal academic purposes, affected sometimes by Bachelors but not confined to them. Edward I gave the young De la Fytes tabards from his wardrobe every year. Hoods at first were worn by all clerks—their fur or wool was worth having in winter. Silk hoods came in later for the Masters' summer wear. Bachelors generally and Doctors of Divinity wore hoods of lamb's wool or of rabbit's fur. Minever hoods were for Masters and persons of importance[1]: the Oxford Proctors wear them still. And a little triangular bunch of stuff at the back of those officers' shoulders still recalls the purse in which the mediæval Proctors carried the common funds.

Oxford Masters wore, as the badge of their degree, the square cap or biretta, with a tuft instead of a tassel on the top.[2] But certain Oxford Faculties preferred the *pileum*, a round cap which, according to high authority, was bestowed by God Himself on the Doctors of the Mosaic Law. The Master's distinctive academic garment came to be the *cappa*, a sleeveless cloak or cope bordered or lined with fur, which was worn over the toga or the tabard. Originally it was the full-dress outer garment of a clerk, but it took many academic forms. In John of Salisbury's day the metaphysical question whether a man who bought a *tota cappa* bought the hood also, was eagerly debated in the Schools. As time went on scarlet and purple, in the case at any rate of the superior Faculties, replaced more sober hues. There are indications that a *cappa* with sleeves, *manicata*, was regarded as the Bachelor's special dress. One famous Oxford student, afterwards a Bishop and a Saint, is said to have been so poor that he shared a *cappa* with two friends, and the three used it in turn for attending lectures. There is a picture of the Chancellor wearing a scarlet *cappa* in a fourteenth-century miniature in the Oxford Chancellor's Book. And at Cambridge the Vice-Chancellor wears it on degree days still. The *pallium*, like the *chimæra*, was a variation of the *cappa*, on which an old song ingeniously refines:

"Vidi quosdam divites
Fame satis clare
Formas in multiplices
Vestes variare,
Contra frigus hiemis
Pallium cappare
Veris ad introitum
Cappam palliare."[3]

[1] Mr. Anstey quotes without date a Statute forbidding Masters in Theology to wear minever any longer "in suis capis clausis seu palliis" (*Mun. Acad.* 393).

[2] The square cap without the tuft was worn towards the end of the seventeenth century by B.A's. and foundation Scholars (Rashdall, II, 641, n.)

[3] *Carmina Burana* (ed. Schmeller, 75). Mr. Brightman suggests that a *cappa clausa* had a slit in front for the arms, a *pallium* two side slits.

Plain robes and tabards cost threepence, and a plain *cappa* fourpence—so the University tailors testified on oath. For a furred *cappa* or a furred robe with a *pallium* sixpence was the proper price.[1] But the rules of dress were not always carefully observed. A plaintive Statute of the fifteenth century rebukes the insolent audacity of many scholars who "do not scruple to wear their hoods in the fashion of Masters," and regulates the fashion closely for the future.[2] Later on, as the *toga* gained ground, the *cappa* of the Masters disappeared. But there is an infinite variety in the fashions followed by different orders of students in different Universities at different times, and the cut and colour of clothes in modern Oxford help us comparatively little to re-shape the garments of the past.

Students living in Colleges and Halls generally took their meals together, and had to talk Latin while they ate them, if they talked at all. In the common dining-room in cold weather there was, no doubt, the best chance of finding a fire. Oxford fare had a bad name in the early sixteenth century—Sir Thomas More contrasted it unfavourably with the diet of Lincoln's Inn. Cambridge fare had at times a still poorer reputation: one Head of a Cambridge College bewailed in a sermon the meagre "porage" on which his students fed.[3] And, unless Erasmus exaggerated grossly, some Paris students fared worst of all. But most Oxford clerks in the Middle Ages probably had at least two good meals a day, and as much meat and beer at those meals as they needed. In the days of Wycliffe meat and bread, butter and beer, were cheap enough. A farthing bought a pound of meat. A halfpenny bought a pound of cheese or butter. A penny bought six pounds of wheat.[4] Dinner was generally at ten in the morning, with three or four hours of lectures or study before it. Supper was about five in the afternoon. Commons were the ordinary meals taken together at these hours, but extra food could be procured and eaten elsewhere. The old Hall Statutes tried to put down this practice,[5] but something beyond the two

[1] *Mun. Acad.* (382).

[2] *Ib.* (360–1). This Statute of 1489 forbade undergraduates with certain exceptions to wear any hood in public "nisi liripipium consutum habeat et non contextum."

[3] But this was probably an exceptional state of things. (See Mullinger, I, 370–1, and Rashdall, II, 664.)

[4] Rogers (*History of Prices*, I, 57). This was after the Black Death. There is a misprint on this point in Rashdall (II, 663).

[5] See the old Statute forbidding visits to the kitchen "causa prandendi jantandi, cenandi aut batellandi," dating from the latter years of the fifteenth century, and quoted from the MS. in the Bodleian (*Rawl. Stats.* 34) by Dr. Rashdall (II, 653, n., and 773). Dr. Rashdall thinks that "'battellare' originally meant to pay for something *extra*." See also his note (II, 657).

chief meals was clearly not unknown. Breakfast of a simple nature for "young and hungry stomachs"—a morning draught perhaps with a crust or a scrap to sweeten it—crept into fashion, as years went on. Later still, "nuncheon," the ancestor of luncheon, which appeared at Cambridge, probably appeared at Oxford too. And there was drinking again—there may have been some food with it—before the clerks of Oxford rested from their toil or idleness at night.

Work before dinner and work again till supper was in theory at any rate the daily round. The mediæval student seems rarely to have grasped the modern doctrine that in a place of education the most important study should be play. There was an interval probably for exercise and disputation after dinner. But custom left little time beyond the evenings for amusement; and the sixteenth-century Cambridge Head, who saw life in such gloomy colours, declared that the time after supper was largely spent in problems and in running up and down to get warm. In mediæval Oxford men apparently found it easier to get warm after supper in roaming the streets until the curfew tolled, and the problems which they sought there, in spite of the rules made to regulate their roaming, were often of a noisy and a lusty kind. The worst rascals are frankly accused of sleeping by day and doing evil by night.[1] Sport was certainly not unknown. Hawking and cock-fighting were common enough. Dogs and ferrets and "unclean beasts" were as popular with country boys in the fourteenth century as in the twentieth. But it was not thought fitting that serious students should play among the birds of the air, or that poor men living largely on alms should give the bread of the sons of men for dogs to eat.[2] Poaching in the woods and streams round Oxford was perhaps more popular still. The roads near the University were sometimes infested by outcast scholars on the look-out for prey, who added the joys of the highwayman to the delights of sport. Innocent games were probably less common. The chief amusement of the age was fighting, and clerks were not supposed to be fighting men. Exercises to develop the body were no part of the mediæval system of developing the mind. Gambling may have needed sharp discouragement. Rowdyism and practical joking required it even more. Musical instruments, no doubt, called for regulation: there is a touch of humour in the Statutes of some German Universities which permitted them, "provided

[1] *Mun. Acad.* (320).

[2] See *Statutes of Colleges* (I, Queen's, 18). Dr. Mullinger quotes (I, 373) the Statutes of Peterhouse and St. John's, Cambridge. Dean Rashdall's section on Amusements (II, 669 *sq.*) is full of information on the sports and games allowed in the Universities of Europe.

they were musical" at seasonable hours. And William of Wykeham may have had good reason for forbidding dancing in Hall or Chapel as well as leaping and singing and inordinate noise. The Devil, in the mediæval churchman's view, was "the inventor and governor and disposer of dances."[1] Yet Chaucer's parish-clerk could trip and dance in twenty ways

> "After the schole of Oxenforde tho,
> And with his leggis castin to and fro."

It is less easy to understand the insolence and profanity which the mediæval educationist discovered in games of ball, or the spirit which denounced chess as "noxious and unhonest," in days when the great bell of St. Mary's summoned undergraduates to battle, and the narrow lanes round Carfax sometimes ran with blood.

Hand in hand with tumult and disorder, with stern and vain attempts at discipline, and with an ardour in pursuit of knowledge capable of noble and austere ideals, went many forms of piety befitting clerks. Religion and its ceremonies entered closely into life. Daily Mass was not at first compulsory, but it gradually became the rule.[2] Singing the Antiphon of the Virgin was associated with the evening drinking, as prayers among children are associated with bedtime. Feasting and praying often went together. The Feasts of the Nations, at Paris at any rate, began with a Mass if they ended with a carouse. Saints' Days made constant holidays. St. Scholastica's Day was a great festival—made memorable in the middle of the fourteenth century by one of the worst Oxford riots ever known. So were the Feast of St. Nicholas and the vigils of St. Peter and St. John. Processions and sermons interrupted lectures and broke the monotony of term. In winter on the nights of Saints' Days songs might be sung and stories told and poems or chronicles recited round the braziers in the College Halls. On Twelfth Night even mummers found admission. The prejudice against strolling players had hardly yet begun.

Of early miracle-plays acted in the Colleges we hear little in Oxford history. It is not till the close of the Middle Ages that we find scriptural plays given at Magdalen, and payments in the College accounts to the Master of the choristers for the tunic of the actor who played the part of Christ, for hair for the women,[3] for refreshments for the boys. It is not till the same

[1] *A Medieval Garner* (304).

[2] The Statutes of New College were the first College Statutes at Oxford to require daily attendance at Mass.

[3] "Pro crinibus mulieribus." See the extracts from the Magdalen Register between 1486 and 1538, quoted by Dr. F. S. Boas (*University Drama in the Tudor Age*, 3).

period that we find the election of a *Rex Fabarum* mentioned in the Register of Merton College.[1] But the ancient ceremonies of the Boy Bishop were sanctioned, it seems, even by dignitaries of the Church, and the spectacle of children "strangelye decked and appareled to counterfaite priestes, bysshops and women," and of boys who "singe masse and preache in the pulpitt, with suche other unfittinge and inconvenyent usages,"[2] lingered till the Reformation swept it away. We have traces of the Boy Bishop at All Souls and Magdalen, and even earlier at New College. We find Christmas Kings later at Christ Church and New College, at Magdalen and St. John's. Before the Reformation is over we have an English play, *Thersytes*, acted surely at Oxford, with allusions to the Proctors and their men at Broken Hays. We have a Latin sacred play produced at Brasenose, and the Christ Church authorities limiting their expenditure on drama to four plays a year, "a Comedy in Lattin and a Comedy in Greek and a Tragedie in Lattin and a Tragedy in Greek."[3] The era of classical or semi-classical plays at the University has begun.

Christmas of course was the chief time for these festivities. The King of Misrule had power in his brief days of sovereignty to impose punishments upon the juniors and to set the servants in the stocks. Christmas carols mingled freely with the mediæval love-songs, the tales of Constantine, of Nebuchadnezzar, of Pyramus and Thesbes and the rest. John Hyde's book, a delightful miscellany in the Library of Balliol College, contains among its saws and ballads, its hints for dosing horses, helping curates, making beer and soap and ink, a collection of songs and stories which must often have been heard round Oxford fires.[4] Lovers' lamentations—

"O my hart is woo, Mary she sayd so"—

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[1] But that may be only because some earlier College records were not so fully kept. See on the whole subject Boas (*University Drama*, Chap I, and *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, vol. VI, chap. XII), Dr. Henson's Note in *Collectanea* (I, 39–49—where, however, the Latin letters quoted can hardly refer to a real incident in Grosseteste's life), Mr. E. K. Chambers' *Mediæval Stage* (vol. I, Bk. ii), and *Reg. Ann. Coll. Merton.* (xviii *sq.*).

[2] See Henry VIII's proclamation, which forbade them in 1541 (Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 860).

[3] In 1554. On the English play *Thersytes*, acted possibly at Magdalen on the birth of Edward VI, and Grimald's Latin play, *Christus Redivivus*, given at Brasenose, and printed in 1543, see Boas (*Univ. Drama*, Chaps. I and II).

[4] An account of this well-known MS., only part of which has as yet been printed, is given in Coxe's *Catalogue of MSS. in Oxford Colleges* (Pt. I, 110 *sq.*).

and verses declaring that the singer's "hart will brek in thre," are followed by Christmas anthems of rejoicing:

> "Make we mery in hall and bowre
> Thys tyme was born owre Savyowre."

The words of "The Nutbrown Mayde" are preserved beside a mediæval lullaby:

> "Lulley, Jhesu, Lulley, Lulley,
> Myn own dere moder sang Lulley."

Oxford boys may well have been thinking of their mothers if they stayed up over Christmastide. Their ideas of amusement were perhaps more limited, their vacations at first less lengthy and elaborate, than ours. But holidays on ecclesiastical pretexts were popular and frequent, especially popular, it seems, with teachers. Non-legible days, when the Masters did not lecture, were always increasing in number. The Calendar shows in one month alone, November, eleven days besides Sundays which counted as holidays so far as the University teachers were concerned. And, though vacations at Christmas and Easter were comparatively brief, it seems clear that the Long Vacation established at an early date as good a claim to the title as it enjoys to-day.[1]

How far in mediæval Oxford religion entered into character it would be a harder task to say. Into the ordinary curriculum of the Arts student it entered very little. Canonists and theologians followed studies of their own. Even for priests the University supplied comparatively little religious education. For the ordinary man it supplied still less. Every scholar at Oxford was regarded as a clerk and claimed the privileges of that far-extended Order, privileges which sometimes made benefit of clergy merely a synonym for evading the penalties

[1] A date about July 5 or 6 was recognised as the date for the *Cessatio* and October 10 as the date for the *Resumpcio magistrorum regencium*. "Statutum est quod citra proximum diem legibilem ante festum S. Thomae cessare non liceat ullo modo." (See *Mun. Acad.* 447, where the last paragraph, in the earliest hand of Register A, must be before 1350. *Mun. Acad.* cxlv is a little misleading. But see also Wordsworth, *Ancient Kalendar of Univ. of Oxford*, 92–3 and 98–9). Oxford also took some days' holiday at Whitsuntide. The Pope's attempt in 1261 to limit the summer vacation at Paris to one month broke down in practice at an early date (Rashdall, I, 477). There seems no need for Mr. Macray's suggestion (*Register of Magdalen College*, II, iii–iv) that the Long Vacation grew out of fifteenth-century migrations to avoid the Plague, although the unhealthiness of Oxford, due to that and other causes, may in early days have helped to establish the custom. A good many members of the University probably remained in Oxford for at least part of the time.

of the law. But in the case of students the tonsure was generally conferred by the barber and not by the Bishop.[1] Some clerks took Holy Orders, some took Minor Orders, some took no Orders at all. The Church was not made for priests alone. It was the avenue to all peaceable professions, the way of advancement for the poor and humble, the natural inheritance of educated men. Ministers of State and men of business, civil servants, lawyers and physicians, secretaries, diplomatists, architects, accountants, were all drawn from the great community of clerks. Neither the University nor the Colleges laid stress at first on Holy Orders as a condition of office. It was chiefly the wish to endow theologians or to provide for the service of the Church which led to Fellowships being reserved for the clergy. Celibacy was a part of a clerk's obligations, just as much as the tonsure or the clerical dress. Clerks who married forfeited their claim to a degree. Masters who married lost their right to teach and their right to share in College Fellowships and other clerical endowments. But there were, no doubt, exceptions and inconsistencies in the enforcement of the rule. Clerical responsibilities could be lightly worn. And it seems clear that in mediæval Oxford married scholars were not unknown.[2]

Clerical obligations certainly did not extinguish the secular spirit in Oxford life. Ecclesiastical moralists have drawn black pictures of student vice in the Middle Ages, and the student quarters of thirteenth-century Paris may have revealed ugly scenes of license.[3] Each of the Nations there was credited with its own peculiar failings. But the hard-drinking English were compared not unfavourably with the empty, boastful Normans, the brutish fools from Burgundy, and the raging Germans, obscene in their cups. At Oxford the Proctors had to keep a list of homicides and grave offenders banished from the city. Inquisitions into the morals of students were made yearly by the Chancellor's authority, to put down the scandals of "bucklery" and taverning and the grosser forms of vice. The insistence on ineffectual spiritual punishments, and the reliance on oaths to enforce regulations—at one German University students even had to swear not to knife the examiners who "ploughed"

[1] But with men admitted to Ordination some more formal ceremony was, no doubt, required. (See Rashdall, II, 644, *sq.*)

[2] E.g. in 1234 the King ordered the release of certain scholars' concubines from prison (*Cal. C.R.*, 1231–4, 570), and in 1459 an indenture between Town and University speaks of a clerk or scholar "havyng a wyf" (*Mun. Acad.* 347).

[3] According to Jacques de Vitry's well-known indictment, "honorificum reputabant si quis publice teneret unam vel pluras concubinas," for worse vices prevailed. "In una autem et eadem domo schole erant superius, prostibula inferius" (Jacobi de Vitriaco, *Libri Duo, Hist. Occident.* 278).

them—made life and evil-doing easy for the rascal whom no scruples in regard to perjury restrained. It was only by slow degrees that fines and guarantees of a practical nature took the place of vows which had no sanction beyond the terrors of the Church. It is interesting to find in the fifteenth century two Principals of Halls after a sharp quarrel swearing on the Holy Gospels vows of peace and affection for the future, and one offender who had struck the other humbly asking pardon on his knees. But it was probably of more practical importance that both delinquents were asked to give substantial security, for the workings of the clerical conscience often failed to justify the leniency shown to guilty clerks.[1]

The commonest source of trouble was drink. Half the householders of Oxford brewed and sold beer.[2] Drinking was part of every academic triumph. It accompanied each step in a University man's career. It was the universal form of hospitality, jollity, amusement, the chief occupation, failing others, of a roystering age. It was a natural corollary of this system that the Chancellor had to see to it that the Oxford taverners kept up the quality of their beer. But that did not prevent their making it with water from streams into which the sewers emptied, or stop complaints that liquor in Oxford was unfit to drink and inordinately dear. It was a no less natural result of these habits that there was constant brawling in the streets, practical jokes more humorous to perpetrators than to victims, baiting of watchmen and worrying of citizens, mischievous frolic and clamour and song. Student songs which have come down to us deal so largely with the tale of follies, that they give perhaps an over-coloured picture of frivolity which was often innocent enough. It would be churlish to grudge to the clerks of the Middle Ages the light-heartedness which, mingled with serious endeavour, makes modern Oxford the most entrancing city in the world. But the note which the old songs strike is not seldom one of careless contempt for the sanctities of life.

A rich collection of these songs has descended to us, dating from the thirteenth century and from even earlier days.[3] Many

[1] *Mun. Acad.* (552–4). But candid churchmen in the thirteenth century complained that even fines were ineffectual, and admitted that clerical offenders were often punished in money, if at all, for crimes for which they "should justly be committed to a life-long prison" (*A Medieval Garner*, 586).

[2] See Salter (*Med. Arch.* II, 183). But if this is true of the fourteenth century, it might be different later when professional breweries increased.

[3] See *Carmina Burana*, the well-known Bavarian collection, T. Wright's *Latin Poems attributed to Walter Mapes*, Du Méril's *Poésies Inédites* and *Poésies Populaires Latines du Moyen Age*, and J. A. Symonds' translations, with an admirable introduction, in *Wine, Women and Song*.

of them, it is true, are serious in tone, devotional and moral. They deal with grave or sacred themes. The vanity of life, the instability of fortune, the rewards of faith, are ever on the singers' lips.

"Memor esto juvenis,
Tui Creatoris,
Crux Christi te moneat
Omnibus in horis."

There are laments of poverty and hymns of praise, songs of the Crusaders and songs of the classics, and songs recalling the nativity of Christ. Saladin and Helen, Pilate and Herod, Dido and Venus, are strangely mingled with Prophets, Patriarchs and Fathers. The sins of priests come in for chastisement. Rome and her greatness, her failings, her exactions, fill no small space in the singers' minds.

"Roma caput mundi est
Sed nihil capit mundum."

But the larger number of them, and probably the most popular, are songs not of devotion but of idleness, of love and gaiety and drink. They are full of the call of the spring and the sunshine, of the woods and fields, of the birds and flowers. They are alive with the delight of being young. The claims of youth to joy are urged incessantly, in contrast with the futility and uselessness of age.

"Congaudentes ludite,
Choros simul ducite!
Juvenes sunt lepidi,
Senes sunt decrepiti."

The world of churchmen vanishes, and a world of lovers, a frankly pagan spirit, takes its place.

"Quicquid agant alii,
Juvenes amemus."

Here and there we get a reminder that the singers are scholars too. But their studies are only things to be forgotten, their *ars dialectica* a source of woe. Venus and Bacchus are the Gods whom they worship. They have no misgivings of modesty or shame. A parody of the Mass expresses the blasphemous prayer that the Power which has set discord between clerks and rustics will grant the clerks to live by the rustics' labours and to rejoice in their wives. They haunt the tavern rather than the church, for drinking naturally ministers to love.

"Bacchus forte superans
Pectora virorum
In amorem concitet
Animos eorum.

Bacchus sæpe visitans
Mulierum genus
Facit eas subditas
Tibi, O tu Venus!"

The confession of Golias, the typical representative of the low-living, wine-bibbing clerk, has been translated by a brilliant writer.[1] But among pictures of drinking, dicing and debauchery fairer scenes are set. There are maidens wandering in wild lawns and woody places, blackbirds singing in thickets, blossoming orchards, ripening corn-fields, shepherdesses plucking fruit and flowers. Young girls debate the claims of their lovers, whether the clerk or the soldier be the properer man. A son, sick unto death, entreats his father's leave to take the cowl, and the father bids him remember the coarse fare, the cold water, the dreary round of the monastic life. A poet protests that his lyre, his art, is dearer to him than wine or kisses or even life itself. The perils of water are a favourite topic: the peril was real in mediæval towns. The gains and griefs of gaming are another. But youth and its inheritance of strength and of enjoyment is the surpassing theme.

"Gaudeamus igitur,
Juvenes dum sumus."

Life is brief, death certain. Honour the University which breeds us, the Founders who support us, the commonwealth which guards us, the women whom we love.

"Perish sorrow, perish care!
Perish envious blamers!
Devils who the soul ensnare,
Dullards, kill-joys everywhere,
Scoffers and defamers."

The world of the song-writers is a world of cheerful license, hardly held in awe by the authority of the Church. Discipline, no doubt, improved as the organisation of the Halls and Colleges grew stronger, and as University legislation became more judicious and complete. But in the records of mediæval Oxford there is abundant evidence of the rough violence of life. If they do not show such picturesque vicissitudes as Paris—a Provost forced to kiss the corpse of a scholar he has hanged, or a great Abbot organising a murderous affray—they show instance after instance of assault and murder, often punished, an Oxford historian reminds us, by nothing worse than migration to Cambridge. Bishops exhorted the clerks of their dioceses to attend the Schools prepared for study and not armed for a fight. Oaths

[1] See this and other English versions given in *Wine, Women and Song*. But some may prefer Mr. Symonds' introduction.

not to carry arms and not to conspire to make disturbances were administered only to be broken. The students even rose in rebellion against Statutes passed by the Masters for the preservation of the peace, and carried into office a Chancellor and Proctors whom they expected to support their views.[1] There were fights with the King's foresters, fights with the officers of justice, fights with the monks of Abingdon, fights between clerks and laymen, fights among the clerks themselves. And the offenders were not only rowdy boys, but Masters, Friars, beneficed clergymen, Heads of Halls, principalities and powers. Old Statutes are at pains to point out that the ancient and cunning Enemy of mankind is always stirring up strife among students. He seems to have had an unhappy influence over Vicars of St. Giles', and once tempted the Warden of Canterbury College to sanction a street-raid by his scholars on other people's beer.[2]

Jousts and tournaments in the neighbourhood of Oxford offered agreeable opportunities for disorder. They were prohibited by Edward I and Edward II. "Much lewd people," says Fuller, "waited on these assemblies, light housewives as well as light horsemen." Swords and trumpets, rattling of arms and "roaring of riotous revellers all the night" disturbed the peaceful scholars at their studies. "Where Mars keeps his term, there the Muses may even make their vacation."[3] Parliament was called in to enforce morality at Oxford. Students were forbidden to spend their nights in taverns. In the troubles of Edward II's day Oxford played only an unwilling part. A handsome, young impostor declared himself the son of Edward I, and established himself in the Palace at Beaumont with a dog and a cat to maintain his claim. The headless corpse of Piers Gaveston was brought to the Black Friars' Convent in the marshes. Isabella took possession of the town, when her unhappy husband fled before her. Orleton, the turbulent Bishop of Hereford, laid before the University the cause of the Queen,[4] and the younger Edward, a boy of thirteen, was present at that memorable sermon

[1] Sir H. C. M. Lyte (131–2) gives the date as 1327, but it is a little uncertain. Twyne (*MS.* XXII, 366) suggests 1347, but quotes an old Lichfield chronicle as giving the date 1330. It must surely be this chronicler whom Wood refers to (*Ann.* I, 442), without acknowledgment to Twyne, as an author "whose name to me is yet unknown." But it seems that 1347 cannot be a right date: 1338 or 1349 might be. 1349 was apparently the year of John Wylliott's stormy election as Chancellor. See also *Chrons. of Edw. I and II* (ed. Stubbs, I, 332) and Rashdall (II, 756).

[2] E.g. *Mun. Acad.* (119, 668, 506, etc.).

[3] Fuller's *History of Cambridge* (ed. Prickett and Wright, 25–6). On the disturbances of Edward II's reign see Lyte (133–4) and the authorities there cited.

[4] For the career of Adam of Orleton see his *Register* (Cant. and York Soc.), with Mr. Bannister's Introduction.

in 1326. It was a time of weak administration. The old enmities between the Nations blazed out afresh. In 1334 a violent battle between North and South filled the Castle jail to overflowing with arrested clerks. Fierce quarrels broke out between the scholars and their servants. The authorities proved powerless. The King interfered. Many of the clerks, Northerners especially, abandoned Oxford and transferred their studies to Stamford, where already, it seems, before the end of 1333, a contingent of Oxford students had arrived. That memorable secession, which Merlin had foretold in academic Latin, is a landmark in the troubles of the age.[1] It was the most determined attempt ever made by dissatisfied Oxford students to set up a new University elsewhere. It failed, as the earlier migrations to Salisbury and Northampton had failed before it. But it clearly alarmed the authorities, and it left its traces stamped on Oxford customs for five hundred years. For several months the seceding scholars persisted in their enterprise, in spite of Royal warnings and urgent exhortations to return. As late as July 1335 there were thirty-eight Oxford men, mostly Northerners, at Stamford, with Masters and students and a "manciple atte Brasenose" among them, who had carried into exile the names and customs of their old home. For many generations there survived in Stamford the Brasenose Hall which these students had established, and the famous knocker, brought apparently from Oxford, which after an absence of five and a half centuries has found its way back to Brasenose College.[2] And down to the year 1827 an oath not to give or attend lectures at Stamford as a University or place of general study was part of the statutory ritual at Oxford for all candidates taking a degree.[3]

[1] A Petition of 1334, apparently from the Stamford seceders, dwells on the innumerable robberies and ills which Town and University authorities were equally powerless to control (*Collectanea*, III, 133). See also Salter (*Med. Arch.* I, 126–7), and Lyte (134–5).

[2] This Hall, older possibly than the migration which gave it its name, survived apparently till 1688, and its gateway was set up again after its demolition. In 1890 Brasenose College bought the property and brought the Brazen Nose back to Oxford. (See Monograph II, by Mr. F. Madan, in the Brasenose Quatercentenary volumes.)

[3] "Tu jurabis quod non leges nec audies Stamfordiæ tanquam in Universitate studio aut collegio generali" (*Mun. Acad.* 375). On the secession to Stamford, which may have begun in 1333, see *Brasenose Quatercentenary Monographs* (I, 15–20), *Victoria County Hist. of Lincolnshire* (II, 468–74), and *Collectanea* (I, 3 *sq.*) with Dr. Rashdall's criticism (II, 397, n.). It is an interesting and difficult question when the Stamford Schools began, how far they developed and how long they lasted. There were certainly old Schools in the town, and Masters may have lectured there after 1335. But the so-called University had a brief life. See also Knighton (in Twysden, 2565), Rymer (*Fœdera*, ed. 1739, II, ii, 117–18 and 124), and Lyte (134–6) with other authorities there cited. I

But more formidable even than the quarrels of the Nations were the great conflicts between Town and Gown. As the thirteenth century drew to a close, the powers of the University steadily increased. Sharp disputes arose with the townsmen. There were complaints against Robert Welles, the King's Bailiff in Beaumont. He stubbornly denied the University's rights in the fields about St. Giles', where the students roamed and played. There were complaints on the other side against the Chancellor, who had perhaps exceeded his prerogative and abused his powers. King and Parliament intervened to stop them. Edward I proved on the whole a good friend to the scholars. In 1288 the University secured a triumph in the removal of Robert Welles from office, and the Masters vowed to suspend all lectures if he were restored. But the quarrels went on,[1] and in 1298 a famous fray occurred.

On Friday the 21st February a fight began at Carfax between certain scholars and one of the Bailiffs of the town. It is far from clear that the scholars were not the aggressors. The offenders were arrested and rescued by their friends. Next day, Saturday the 22nd, the clerks met at St. Mary's and assaulted all the townsmen they could find, beating one of them before the high altar of the church, and adding point to their action by praying ostentatiously for the souls of three others who would soon be dead. The Bailiffs, applying for justice to the Chancellor, were curtly told to punish their own men. They set a watch, but the clerks attacked them. Thereupon the Bailiffs seized and imprisoned three clerks, and Sunday was spent by the one side, it seems, in invading the students' quarters, and by the clerks assembled about St. Mary's in killing one man and assaulting others. The Proctors seem to have made a belated attempt to prevent things going further. But blood was up on both sides, and on the Monday the opposing forces were on foot. The bell of St. Martin's summoned the townsmen. Ox-horns sounded in the streets. The battle raged from Carfax to St. Mary's. Houses were broken into, shops were sacked. Messengers, it is said, were hurried off to bring up reinforcements. But after the fall of Fulk Neyrmit, a fighting parson, shot by an arrow from an upper chamber by a townsman defending his house,

do not think the passage quoted by Twyne (XXII, 366) and referred to by Dean Rashdall (II, 397–8 and 756) is concerned with the secession to Stamford. But Dr. Rashdall has not missed the interesting colophon in William Wheteley's Commentary on Boethius' *De disciplina scholarium* (MS. Exeter College, 28), which shows that a Master was lecturing at Stamford in 1309. Does that imply a grammar school only or something more ?

[1] For the important agreement made in 1290 between Town and University see later (pp. 162–3).

the clerks seem for the moment to have accepted defeat. At least they obeyed the Proctors' orders to withdraw to their lodgings. Some of them may have been carried off to prison: the Chancellor would not have been backward to demand their release. Nor was he backward in blaming the town authorities for the outbreak and in demanding the keys of the gates. The Bishop was informed that the townsmen had made an attack on the innocent scholars. The burgesses complained to the King that the criminals of two counties made their home in Oxford and wore the habit of the Oxford clerks. But when justice got to work on the offenders, the Church as usual proved too powerful for its opponents. The town was fined. The liberties of the University were confirmed: it was the Bailiffs' entering scholars' houses to arrest them, which had caused the deepest resentment. Certain laymen arrested by the Chancellor and released by the Bailiffs were sent back to prison. The leaders of the townsmen were banished or removed from their places. For others, with the mild inefficiency of mediæval justice, a general amnesty was allowed.[1] But the townsmen nursed their injuries still. In the years which followed they took the opportunity to remodel the walls of St. Martin's Church, so as to increase its convenience as a citadel for defence or for attack.[2]

Riots on this scale were rare, but fights as mischievous and bitter continued to keep up the unending feud. Something more than high spirits or low tastes is needed to account for them. A deeper cause lay in the wide-spread grievance felt against the ever-encroaching privileges of clerks.[3] Fifty years later a still more famous outbreak in Oxford echoed perhaps a stronger note of national discontent. The Black Death had

[1] The most recent and exact account of this riot is given by Mr. Salter (*Med. Arch.* I, 43 *sq.*), who prints the deeds bearing on the subject and giving both points of view. Different accounts vary in their details. The most important original accounts are given by Walsingham (*Hist. Anglicana*, I, 62–3), in the *Opus Chronicorum* (59), by Rishanger (*Chronica*, 167)—all in the Rolls Series, edited by Riley, and all giving the date as 1296—and in *Annales Monastici* (ed. Luard in the same series, IV, 539). The *Select Cases from the Coroners' Rolls* (printed by the Selden Society, 90–91) give in picturesque detail the inquest on "Fulco Neyrnuyt." See also Wood (*Ann.* I, 349 *sq.*), Lyte (122–5), and compare the version of the concord between Town and University, dated Sept. 22, 1298, in Mr. Salter's Appendix (333–4) with that given by Mr. Anstey (*Mun. Acad.* 67–9).

[2] See *Med. Arch.* (I, 104).

[3] But prejudice against the clergy did not prevent the town from accepting a decision by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Chichester on points in dispute in 1348 (see *Med. Arch.* I, 143–6 and App. I).

changed the face of England and had created dim new possibilities for the poor. It had swept away, we are told, an incalculable number of the common people, and of monks and clerks "a multitude known only to God."[1] Wages leaped up. Labour seized its opportunity. Archbishop Islip bewailed "the unbridled cupidity of the human race." Even salaried priests demanded large increases of pay. Vested interests began to tremble. The spirit which stirred the Lollards, which armed Jack Cade, was afoot. But the famous riot of St. Scholastica's Day, Tuesday the 10th February 1355, differed little in its origin from the riots that had gone before. A party of clerks drinking at the Swyndlestock tavern beside Carfax quarrelled with the vintner and broke his head with a quart-pot. His friends took up his cause. St. Martin's bell brought out the townsmen. The Chancellor, interposing to keep the peace, had to flee for his life. The scholars, summoned in their turn by the clamour from St. Mary's steeple, hastened to the Chancellor's relief, and fighting followed with no great damage till night fell.

But matters were not allowed to rest there. Next morning the Chancellor warned the students sternly against breaches of the peace, while the Mayor rode off to Woodstock to lay his complaints before the King. But the townsmen were already collecting their forces and calling in allies from the country-side. They were determined not to miss so good an opportunity of settling accounts with the spoilt children of the Church. Fourscore citizens, secretly collected at St. Giles', broke out upon the scholars in Beaumont Fields. Again the bells clanged and the armies mustered, and a fierce and much more dangerous fight ensued. The scholars tried to shut the gates, but the countrymen poured through them—two thousand strong, it was said, with a black flag at their head. The clerks were overpowered and took refuge in their Halls and Inns. But the Halls and Inns were fired and pillaged. Books, lyres, clothes, carpets, and a curious belt composed of human skins[2] are mentioned in

[1] It is not easy to find definite information as to the effects of the Black Death on the University, though there are various references to the havoc wrought among clerks, and one Petition of the period represents the University in general terms as ruined and enfeebled by it (*Collect.* III, 137–8). In the dioceses of Norwich and York it has been estimated that two-thirds of the clergy died, and half the population of England is said to have been swept away. But Geoffrey le Baker, an Oseney clerk, has only vague and meagre statements about the effects at Oxford (see his *Chronicle*, ed. E. M. Thompson, 99). See also Creighton's *History of Epidemics in Britain* (chap. III), Miss Putnam's *Enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers*, and her article on *Wage Laws for Priests* (*American Hist. Rev.*, Oct. 1915).

[2] Twyne (IV, 58).

the list of spoils. Cries of "Slay, Slay, Havoc, Havoc," resounded through the night:

> "Vexilla prodito ad domus properans
> Banno sic edito 'Ha Wok' vociferans."[1]

With the morning the Chancellor in his turn hurried to the King, and efforts, perhaps now dictated by panic, were made to keep the clerks at home. But again the mob broke into the Halls. Scholars were beaten, wounded, killed, pursued to the churches and dragged from sanctuary there. Some were even carried off and tortured, their tonsured crowns flayed "in scorn of their clergy." The Friars marched out in solemn procession. But their crucifix was dashed to the ground, and a scholar murdered while clinging to the Friar who bore the Host. The vanquished clerks abandoned the contest and fled in despair. Within a few days Oxford was deserted by all students who could not find protection behind walls strong enough to defy attack.

Then, slowly but surely, the hand of retribution fell. The Bishop of Lincoln laid the town under an interdict. The King at last set his justice on foot. A Commission was appointed to inquire into the riot. Two hundred townsmen were arrested and the Sheriff of Oxfordshire dismissed. The Mayor and his chief associates were sent to prison. Both Town and University had to surrender their privileges, but the University's were restored within four days. Once again the Church and her supporters triumphed, and the burgesses paid dearly for excesses which had delivered them into their enemies' hands. A new Charter in June 1355 bestowed on the University, more precious to the King than gold or topaz, fresh powers of interfering with the trade and government of the town, powers of regulating bread and ale and weights and measures, of supervising markets, of keeping the streets, of assessing the taxes of privileged persons, of punishing laymen as well as clerks for carrying arms. A heavy fine was imposed for damage done in the riot.[2] Goods seized from the clerks were collected and returned. The Chancellor's jurisdiction was definitely extended to the Northern suburb.[3] But it was some months before the Masters consented to resume their lectures. It was still longer before the Church

[1] See the Poems on the Riot given in *Bodl. MS.* 859, and printed in *Collectanea* (III, 165 *sq.*). The University complains of her sufferings and troubles, and of the viper John de Bereford, the Mayor who had stirred up the strife.

[2] The University accepted fifty pounds—"quinquaginta libras argenti"—in the end. But much larger demands were made at first. (See *Med. Arch.* I, 44 and 158–9, and *Mun. Civ. Oxon.* 132 and 135.)

[3] Disputed by Richard D'Amory, it was confirmed by the King in 1356. (See *Mun. Acad.* 173–80, and Salter's *Med. Arch.* I, 161–6).)

made terms.[1] And even then the Mayor and Bailiffs and sixty burgesses were bound under penalty of a hundred marks to attend each year a Mass at St. Mary's on St. Scholastica's Day for the souls of the clerks who had been killed, and to offer a penny apiece in memory of their victims. Even when Masses for the dead went out of fashion, the University substituted other services and insisted that the penance should go on. It was not till 1825 that the petitions of the townsmen for its abolition were accepted and the time-honoured vengeance of the University appeased.[2]

The Chancellor's position was now secure. The town and its liberties had passed more and more under his control. His old spiritual jurisdiction over the scholars of Oxford, depending on ecclesiastical sanctions and support, had become in effect a territorial monarchy and extended widely over laymen. The Charter of 1244, a long step in the process of aggrandisement, had given him civil jurisdiction in debts and contracts in which clerks were concerned. The Charter of 1248 had asserted his rights against the town. The Charter of 1255 had given him a voice in the punishment of laymen who injured clerks, a considerable measure of criminal jurisdiction. The reign of Edward I had seen his powers and those of the University steadily enlarged. An important Charter of 1275 had confirmed his authority in civil actions in which either party was a scholar.[3] A still more important agreement, made in 1290 between University and Town in the presence of the King,[4] had defined and

[1] The settlement arrived at in May 1357 is given in *Mun. Acad.* (190–202) and in *Med. Arch.* (I, 168–71). See also Ogle (*Royal Letters*, 51–65 and 331–3). The community was punished, according to mediæval methods, but individual offenders came off more or less lightly.

[2] Among recent writers Dean Rashdall gives a full account of this memorable riot (II, 403–8), with detailed references which I need not repeat. But, like Sir H. C. M. Lyte and Prof. Thorold Rogers and more than one of the old chroniclers, he dates it Feb. 1354, instead of Feb. 1355. The right date is given in Thompson's edition of Adam of Murimuth (421–2) and by Ogle, as above. Wood's account (*Ann.* i. 456 *sq.*) is as racy as usual. Mr. Salter prints some important documents (*Med. Arch.* I, 148 *sq.*), beginning with the King's writ of March 5, 1355, taking the University into his special protection, and others from the City Records (*Mun. Civ. Oxon.* 126 *sq.*). Of the references in the Close Rolls and Patent Rolls perhaps the most important is the King's mandate of July 1355, reciting the privileges reserved to the University (*Cal. Cl. R.*, 1354–60, p. 140).

[3] Dean Rashdall comments (II, 398), "it is not clear that the former privileges gave a civil jurisdiction except when the scholar was defendant." In 1286 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 236) there was a fresh grant of jurisdiction to the Chancellor in actions and contracts between scholars and Jews. (See also *Med. Arch.* I, 40.)

[4] "Coram ipso Domino Rege et ejus consilio ad Parliamentum" (*Mun. Acad.* 46). The Crown interfered freely when it thought fit.

strengthened his jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases in which one of the parties was a clerk.[1] It had asserted his rights over the King's Bailiffs. It had extended them over wide classes of University servants and dependents. It had revealed the grievances resented by the townsfolk and the high claims of University officials. It may well have deepened the old jealousies which led to the riot of 1298.[2] But the settlement which followed the Slaughter of 1355 was even more conclusive. It decided in the University's favour the long contentions of the past, and gave the Chancellor an irresistible authority over the traders and the independence of the town.

It was no question now of defending the liberties of scholars against the jealousies of townsmen. The only question was how far the burgesses of Oxford were to retain the freedom and self-government which they had long enjoyed. They were still a powerful community. They probably out-numbered the clerks.[3] They had flourishing trades. Twenty-nine brewers, eighteen butchers, sixteen bakers, twelve tapsters, all women, are mentioned in the records of 1380–81. Skinners, weavers, carpenters and fullers were equally well represented, while forty-nine tailors, fifteen bootmakers and seven glovers ministered to the appearance of clerk and layman alike. The town income quietly increased. By the end of the fourteenth century rents produced over seventeen pounds a year. The cellars under the Guildhall yielded something. Closed roads, the strip of land under the wall, the turrells which defended it, yielded something too. Fees for admissions to the Guild varied, but might bring in as much or more.[4] There were small profits from the Castle Mill, from fishing in the town moat, from the stalls kept by butchers. The fee-farm collected for the Crown by the Bailiffs may sometimes have yielded a substantial surplus,[5] but this, it is probable, the

[1] "Except in cases of homicide and mayhem." (See Rashdall, II, 401, n., and App. xxxii.) Compare with the agreement given by Mr. Anstey (46–56), the *Inspeximus* of 1315 printed by Mr. Salter (*Med. Arch.* I, 88–94).

[2] It may be added that in 1309 the scholars were granted the right to summon laymen before the Chancellor in personal actions. This was confirmed in 1324 and 1327. (See *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1309, p. 103; 1324, p. 391; 1327, p. 22; and *Med. Arch.* I, 83–4.)

[3] Prof. Rogers (*Oxf. City Docts.*, ed. Boase, v) estimated from the Poll-tax rolls of 1380 that there were 2,035 laymen over fifteen in the town.

[4] But often less (*Mun. Civ. Oxon.* xxxiii). Mr. Salter prints some of the Chamberlains' accounts (*Ib.* 253 *sq.*). No accounts of the Bailiffs survive.

[5] *Ib.* (xxxvi–ix). In 1352 the fee-farm was reduced from £63 os. 5*d.* to £58 os. 5*d.* In 1537 it was reduced again. In case of subsidies voted by Parliament Oxford was rated at a fixed amount for each "tenth," namely £91 7*s.* 10*d.* This was reduced by £10 or more in 1440 (*Ib.* 207).

Bailiffs kept. The town had no reason to fear for its prosperity. But it was falling under its rival's sway. The Chancellor's authority had to a large extent superseded that of the town officials. His Court was popular and active : in actions for debt its procedure was rapid and cheap.[1] He was mainly responsible for peace and order. He had charge of the streets. He settled what taxes the University's dependents paid. He interfered freely with the traders of Oxford, with their markets and their prices, and with the quality and distribution of their goods.[2]

The supply of food and drink was naturally a matter of the first importance, and the University's efforts to keep down their cost were a never-ending source of contention with the town. In 1285 we find the Chancellor complaining that the Mayor and Bailiffs exacted a quarter of every salmon sold.[3] In 1293 the King commanded that the price of wine for Oxford scholars should be only a halfpenny more than the London rate.[4] In 1311 the King required the Mayor and Bailiffs to confiscate at the Chancellor's demand all wine found to be "putrid and corrupt."[5] As the fourteenth century proceeded, Royal Mandates poured into Oxford[6] to regulate the trade and conduct of the town, writs in regard to the assize of bread and ale, writs for paving and cleansing the streets, for avoiding smells, for purifying water, for working fat and tallow, for slaughtering cattle outside and not inside the walls. Butchers and other offending tradesmen were unwilling to move into the suburbs, where, it was alleged, evil-doers dwelt. There were petitions also for the punishment—the real not merely formal punishment—of bakers and brewers who broke the rules, demands that strangers should be allowed to sell food unimpeded,[7] and not food only but cloth

[1] Whereas that of the Hustengs Court was slow and cumbrous. On the practice by which a layman "ceded his action" against another layman to a clerk, and thus gave the Chancellor a jurisdiction to which he was not entitled, see Mr. Salter's note (*Ib.* xxiv–vi).

[2] On the freedom which the Oxford market enjoyed from the Royal *clericus mercati*, see Mr. Salter's note (*Med. Arch.* I, 176). The consumer was protected to some extent against excessive prices first by the regulations of the guilds, later by the courts held under the Statute of Labourers, and by the courts held for the assizes of bread and ale. (*Ib.* II, 129–30.)

[3] *Oxford City Documents* (216).

[4] This was confirmed in 1330 (*Cal. P.R.*, 1330, p. 28, and *Med. Arch.* I, 118).

[5] *Mun. Civ. Oxon.* (21–2).

[6] As many possibly as 400, Mr. Salter thinks, during the century, addressed to Town and University, Letters Patent and Letters close. There were 26 in 1327 and more in 1355 (*Ib.* xiv, 6–22, and *passim*).

[7] Provided that they paid the customary dues and did not sell retail (see Ogle, *Royal Letters*, 17–18, *Mun. Civ. Oxon.* 17–18 and 96–7, and *Med. Arch.* I, 160–1). Both Town and University had probably grounds for complaint against each other. Later on, in 1449 we find the man-

and linen, vain sighs on the part of over-charged consumers for dim ideals of freedom in trade. The control of bread and ale was an ancient source of trouble. Ever since 1248 the University had claimed with the King's sanction to be present at the assize,[1] and had constantly complained of the way in which the townsmen evaded their obligations. In 1324 the King granted the custody of the assize to the Mayor and Chancellor jointly: the two officials could not, however, always agree as to the time and place. The friction went on. But after the riot of 1355 this long-standing quarrel was settled, and the Chancellor at last secured in both cases the custody of the assize alone. At the same time he secured the supervision of market offenders, of meat and fish unfit for human consumption, and of those mysterious forestallers and regrators whose dealings were a constant source of suspicion to the mediæval world.[2] In theory the liberties of the town remained. But in most points vital to

ciple of Durham College declaring that the Oxford bakers gave the townsmen 13 to the dozen and the clerks only 12, and Parliamentary Petitions accusing the Chancellor of abusing his powers. (See *Collectanea*, II, 56, and III, 103–4, 117–18, 122–3, 126, 135–6, etc.)

[1] The King granted this in 1248, 1255 and 1301. The two franchises were never separated, but the court for the trying of bread was held at least twelve times, and the court for the assize of ale only twice, every year. The rent paid for the double assize was 100 shillings a year. Its profits were worth more and went to the Chancellor or perhaps in part to the Proctors. In the fifteenth century the rent was reduced to a penny, Edward IV confirming on this point the grant of Henry IV (*Med. Arch.* II, 140 and 286). I owe these details chiefly to the full and interesting account of the Assize of Bread and Ale printed by Mr. Salter from the University Archives (*Med. Arch.* II, 129 *sq.*). For the Assay of Weights and Measures see the same volume (266–7). See also *Med. Arch.* (I, 153–4 and earlier references *passim*), *Mun. Civ. Oxon.* (34–5, 37–8, 53–4, 59–60, 63–4, 72–4 and 86), and Ogle (*Royal Letters*, 60–4 and 329). It is not easy to say how far the control of ale carried the control of wine. It was probably not included in the early grants.

[2] Dr. Murray's Dictionary defines a forestaller as one who buys up goods before they reach the public market, and the King's Writ of 1320 printed by Mr. Salter (*Mun. Civ. Oxon.* 31–4) throws light on this. Dr. Murray's definition of a regrator as a middleman who collects goods from the producer and brings them to market is not so complete, and should be compared with Mr. Salter's valuable note (*Ib.* xxii–iv). The regrators, who, unlike the forestallers, were of real use to the public, seem to have been small dealers, who put in their windows—or whose wives put in their windows—what they wished to sell, mostly articles of food, and sold them to the public between market days. Their number was limited by agreement to 32. The town was interested in increasing the number—Twyne notes that early in the fourteenth century the number increased to 100 (IV, 67)—because it levied a charge of 15*d.* on every regrator's window. The University laboured to keep the number down, apparently on the curious theory that if there were too many regrators, they would not be able to make a living without charging too much. A regrator of beer was a publican (*Med. Arch.* II, 183).

its administration and prosperity, the Chancellor's ascendency was now practically supreme.

If the privileges of the University grew at the expense of the town, they grew also at the expense of the Bishop. The conflict of interest which had appeared in the days of Bishop Lexington, developed quickly in the days of Bishop Sutton. On the part of the Bishop of Lincoln we have grumbling protests against the University's usurpations. On the part of the University we have successful, if sometimes barefaced, assertions of its claims. In 1280 Congregation insisted that the Chancellor had possessed from time out of mind the right to deal with suits between scholars and laymen, with the probate of scholars' wills, with inquisitions into their morals, and with contracts made by Masters within the University. It is astonishing how much unproved assertions imposed upon the mediæval mind. The Chancellor and Proctors improved on this with the ingenious theory that the Bishop had only an appellate jurisdiction in cases of morals when resort to the Chancellor and to Congregation had failed.[1] Sutton did not willingly surrender his claims. He summoned the University officials to answer for contempt of his visitatorial powers. He interfered with the University's jurisdiction. He refused to confirm the Chancellor by proxy, and insisted on his appearing before him—a demand which led to a sharp quarrel and a cessation of lectures at Oxford. He objected to the University speaking of electing its Chancellor at all. The Archbishop had to warn him that the University would not submit to this "unwonted bondage." King and Parliament had to intervene. Even when Bishop Sutton ungraciously yielded, the controversy went on. Bishop Dalderby early in the fourteenth century protested against the University's "conspiracies" and usurpations. He made difficulties about confirming the Chancellor, reminding the Masters that they could only nominate, that it was for the Bishop to appoint. He threatened with excommunication all who made Statutes to the prejudice of his See. But the University was not to be dismayed. In 1322 it claimed the right to depose its Chancellor, as well as to elect him, and the Bishop agreed to revoke the appointment apparently without demur.[2] When a new Chancellor needed confirmation, it became a point of honour for the Bishop to ask

[1] See the agreement of 1281 between Bishop Sutton and the University (*Med. Arch.* I, 37–9). Sutton, says Dean Rashdall (II, 423–4), was "the last Bishop who seriously attempted to interfere with the ordinary course of appeal from the Chancellor's Court to the Regent Congregation and thence to the full Congregation of Regents and Non-regents."

[2] And was even careful to stipulate that in so doing he did not seek to acquire any new right. (See his letter in the Archives, I, 8, and Salter's *Med. Arch.* I, 105–6 and note.)

why he had not come to seek it, to protest against his absence and to insist that it was only "by special grace" that he confirmed him at all. But this formula satisfied the dignity of both sides, and was generally accepted for some fifty years.[1] In 1350, however, an unwise Bishop reopened the question. The University, now fortified by precedents, appealed to the Archbishop to interfere. Archbishop Islip told his Diocesan sharply to confirm the Chancellor within six days. Not only that, he confirmed him himself, when the Bishop refused.[2] And though a pretty quarrel followed, in which the angry Bishop cited his superior to Rome, the Pope sanctioned the strong action of the Primate. In 1367 Urban V went further. He dispensed with the need for confirmation altogether. Legitimate election of the Chancellor by the Regents of the University was declared to be enough.[3] The University had at last emancipated itself from the Bishop's control.

The Archdeacon of Oxford could not expect to be more successful than the Bishop in arresting the growth of the Chancellor's power, and a long dispute in the fourteenth century ended in giving the Chancellor archidiaconal jurisdiction over his scholars.[4] But the Archbishop of Canterbury sometimes proved a tower of strength when the University wished to challenge the claims of its old ruler at Lincoln. The Primate's authority was not easily disputed. His views on doctrine commanded obedience. He was always ready to listen to appeals. His Visitations were important academical events. He kept a watchful eye on the University's proceedings, and he rarely failed, in early days at any rate, to encourage its independence.[5]

[1] But not without occasional friction; e.g. in 1343 the Bishop authorised the Senior Professor of Theology to excommunicate those who by intrigue sought to elect a Chancellor. [2] *Mun. Acad.* (168–72).

[3] *Ib.* (228–30). But the date should be Nov. 8, 1367. The constitutional issues between the University and the Bishops of Lincoln are fully and carefully discussed by Dr. Rashdall (II, 418 *sq.*). But Mr. Gibson's article on the confirmation of Oxford Chancellors in the *Eng. Hist. Review* (July, 1911) gives other valuable details from the Lincoln Registers. For Archbishop Islip's action see his Register at Lambeth (ff. 27^{b}–29^{a}). Pope Urban's Bull was challenged by the Bishop in 1369, but was confirmed in 1370 (*Cal. Pap. Letts.* IV, 83).

[4] And over a limited number of privileged tradesmen. On the lawsuit with the Cardinal Archdeacon Gaillard de la Mote, in which the Archdeacon was supported by Pope John XXII and the University by Edward II and Edward III, and which ended in the settlement of 1345, see Dr. Rashdall's note (II, 423–4) and the references there given, *Med. Arch.* (I, 114–16), and Lyte (128–9).

[5] E.g. in 1279 the Archbishop, in a Synod at Reading, confirmed the University's privileges and promised to execute the Chancellor's sentences of excommunication (*Med. Arch.* I, 35–6, and *Mun. Acad.* 39–41); and in 1348 he intervened, with the Bishop of Chichester, to settle a dispute between University and Town (*Med. Arch.* I, 336–41).

Indeed at the end of the fourteenth century Archbishop Courtenay acquiesced in a Bull of Pope Boniface IX,[1] which exempted the University from the "jurisdiction, dominion or power" of all Archbishops and Bishops whatsoever.[2] But Courtenay's successor, Archbishop Arundel, faced by the "insolency" of "a company of boys," found that this privilege went a great deal too far. He secured the help of King and Parliament in setting it aside. He induced another Pope to cancel it in 1411. And finally—but not till after a sharp struggle, in which the Archbishop found himself barred out of St. Mary's and actually threatened with excommunication by the Chancellor—the Archbishop's right of visitation was established, and the University was made to feel the Primate's power.[3] Generally speaking, the Archbishop's right to intervene in questions that touched the University was admitted. It often proved a moderating and reconciling influence. It was supported by the Crown and by clerical opinion, and was rarely resented by the University itself. And the Pope's intervention was sometimes useful too. The Popes showed themselves on several occasions disposed to strengthen the University's position. They took an interest in its disputes and its studies.[4] They interfered to grant degrees.[5] They rebuked heresies when heresy appeared. They received reiterated appeals from Oxford for benefices for scholars trained in its Schools, and they seem on the whole to have appreciated the importance of appointing men whose education would reflect credit on the Church.

More useful still was the intervention of the Crown. Henry IV, it is true, supported Archbishop Arundel, and earlier Kings

[1] He even aided, says Dean Rashdall (II, 430), to procure it.

[2] *Mun. Acad.* (78–81): but Mr. Anstey misdates it 1300: it should be 1395. See also Twyne (II, 211–12 and 223–4), Wood (*Ann.* I, 365), Rashdall (II, 430). In 1396 the lawyers in the University protested against this Bull, and the King called on the University to renounce it (Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 227, and *Cal. P.R.*, 1397, p. 109).

[3] See later (Chap. VI). See also Lyte (292–5), Rashdall (II, 430–7), and the references quoted by both. In 1479 Sixtus IV restored the University's exemption from English ecclesiastical control (Wood, *Ann.* I, 631 *sq.* and *Reg.* FF—*Bodl. MS.* 282, f. 74).

[4] E.g. the Bull of 1246, ordering that all teachers at Oxford should be first examined and approved by the Bishop or his deputy according to the custom of Paris, and the decree of the Council of Vienne, which Du Boulay (IV, 141) gives under 1311, for the teaching of Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and Chaldaic at Oxford and other Universities. In 1320 the Archbishop of Canterbury took steps to raise funds for a converted Jew to teach Hebrew, but Greek seems to have been dropped (Wilkins, *Concilia*, II, 500). The object was missionary rather than educational.

[5] Dr. Rashdall points out (II, 30) that the Archbishop's power of giving degrees is a relic of the Papal dispensing power. (See also II, 750–1.)

like Edward II and Richard II sometimes showed a stern front to University demands. But the Crown in general proved itself the Chancellor's friend. It helped to enlarge his rights and his freedom. It encouraged him in resisting improper claims from Rome, in checking, for instance, the pretensions of an Archdeacon of Oxford who was also an Italian Cardinal and an absentee. It refused to allow the Chancellor to appear as a party in the Papal Courts. It recognised and enhanced the mysterious prestige with which circumstances gradually surrounded his office. And many of the men who held the post greatly helped to increase its reputation.[1] Grosseteste was Chancellor in power if not in name. Richard of Wych was afterwards a Bishop and a Saint. Thomas of Cantelupe became Chancellor of England. Robert of Winchelsey with all his faults was a great Primate, strong enough to win political victories even over Edward I. The University compared him, not inappropriately, with Becket: they were "two olives formerly planted in the University's garden and afterwards transplanted to paradise." [2] Richard Fitz-Ralph, "Armachanus," was conspicuous both in the Schools and in the Church, a fearless censor of Mendicant abuses, a fore-runner of Wycliffe in philosophy, an Irish prelate whose bones worked miracles after death.[3] Robert Stratford, who defeated the Stamford secession, was a brother of John Stratford Archbishop of Canterbury, and not only Chancellor of Oxford but Chancellor of England and Chancellor of the Exchequer. William Courtenay, who ruled the University in 1367, was a still greater personage. He became Primate, but he started life as a great-grandson of Edward I; and his nephew, Richard Courtenay, the opponent of Archbishop Arundel, was the dear friend of Henry V.

Great churchman as he was, the Chancellor was not necessarily in Holy Orders. The Regent Masters who elected him usually selected a Canonist or Theologian, and in a vacancy the senior member of the Faculty of Theology acted *ex officio* as "Chancellor born." But custom alone restricted the freedom of their choice,

[1] There were exceptions. John Wylliott of Merton in 1349 carried his election by force, and is accused of breaking open a University Chest and banishing a Proctor (Twyne, IV, 148, and Lyte, 170–1). John Lutterel in 1322 differed so seriously from the University that he was deprived of his office with the Bishop's consent (*Med. Arch.* I, 105–6). There are references to Lutterel's disputes with the University in *Lord Harlech's MS.* (f. 155).

[2] *Harlech MS.* (155–6). Winchelsey was Chancellor of Oxford in 1288.

[3] Fitz-Ralph was probably Chancellor in 1333, though Wood doubts it. (See Dr. Poole's article on him, *D.N.B.*) Fitz-Ralph was a great preacher: there are 88 sermons of his in *Bodl. MS.* 144. He was often at Avignon. Among other tasks he laboured to reconcile the Armenian Christians with the Roman Church.

and they had power not only to make, but to unmake their nominee. If it were found that the Chancellor could not be relied on to do justice, the Proctors and Congregation could summon him to mend his ways or go.[1] In the Chancellor's absence from Oxford, a Commissary or Vice-Chancellor might be appointed to discharge his duties.[2] But his absence was steadily discouraged because of the "many perils" it involved.[3] He was, from 1322 at any rate, if not earlier, elected for two years: but he might be re-elected. It was not until the fifteenth century that his office became permanent, that he ceased to be resident in Oxford, and that the Vice-Chancellor nominated by him stepped into his shoes.

But this elective Sovereign, depending on the Masters and yet owing his independence to them, was a real Sovereign while he reigned. His powers were large, his dignity undoubted. The silver seal and chain, the silver cup, the measures for grain and cloth and liquor, the weights and scales, the hammer and anvil, the copies of Bulls damning heresies and errors, all presented to him on his installation together with the volume of Statutes which he had to interpret and apply,[4] were symbols of an authority which carried further every day. Not only the town, but the University came more and more under his control. He could vary and dispense with the Statutes of the Halls. He exacted sureties[5] from their Principals. He could in certain cases remove them.[6] He could suspend Masters from lecturing and prevent students from taking degrees. Traders had to satisfy his standards. Craftsmen solicited his sanction for their regulations. Disorderly characters, male and female, fell under his scourge. His jurisdiction, built on wide ecclesiastical foundations, included the powers of an Archdeacon and of a Justice of the Peace.[7] The Mayor and Bailiffs of the town were bound to

[1] *Mun. Acad.* (108–9). The Proctors and Regents would first invite him to repair his errors. If he proved obstinate, the Non-Regents would then be called in to help to depose him. Mr. Anstey gives a "Forma electionis Cancellarii" (493), which, Mr. Gibson tells me, is in the oldest hand of *Reg. A*. It is found also in *D*, *C* and *B*.

[2] The oldest University account-book preserved in the Archives gives details of the expenses incurred on a business journey of the Chancellor in 1358. (See Mr. Gibson's paper in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.* for Oct. 1909, and *Med. Arch.* I, 175 *sq.*)

[3] *Mun. Acad.* (127). He lost his office if absent from Oxford in full term for a whole month, unless he had a good excuse, or was specially exempted, like Robert Stratford. The perils of absence were of course dwelt on when the University wanted an excuse for refusing to obey the summons of the Bishop of Lincoln.

[4] *Ib.* (284–5).

[5] "Cauciones" (*Register Aaa*, 14, 19, etc.). The Register gives repeated lists of the Halls and their Principals.

[6] *Mun. Acad.* (470).

[7] *Ib.* (535).

help him in arresting offenders. The Sheriff was bound to imprison them on his demand.[1] A Charter of Richard II forbade the King's judges and officials to try suits which belonged to the Chancellor's Court.[2] A Charter of Henry IV defined and enlarged his jurisdiction. It was to extend from Godstow Bridge on the North to Bagley Wood on the South, and from Botley on the West to St. Bartholomew's Hospital on the East.[3] Ecclesiastical privileges ended fitly at an institution which enshrined the comb of Edward the Confessor, long famous as a cure for headaches, St. Stephen's bones, St. Andrew's rib and St. Bartholomew's skin. And five years later, in 1406, King Henry gave the University a further privilege. In spite of protests from the town and the county, which found an echo in the House of Commons, he transferred to a new officer appointed by the Chancellor, the Seneschal or Steward of the University, the right of trying for felony and treason members of the University, privileged laymen and dependents, who did not enjoy the immunities of clerks.[4]

A curious miscellany of charges is to be found among the cases which came before the Chancellor's Court. Scholars, Masters, Principals of Halls are summoned for all sorts of offences, not excluding failure to pay rent. Their violence is punished. Their possessions are noted. Their wills are proved. Their incontinence is checked.[5] Townsmen are quite as faithfully dealt with. Beer and bread are constantly in question: their quality has to be closely watched. All taverners are made to

[1] See, *inter alia*, the Royal mandates of 1327 and 1331 (*Mun. Civ. Oxon.* 60–1, and *Med. Arch.* I, 120–1).

[2] *Med. Arch.* (I, 221–2).

[3] *Ib.* (226–30).

[4] *Ib.* (231–4). These privileged servants and traders are enumerated in the important indenture of 1459 (*Ib.* 243–6). They included among others stationers, book-binders, writers, barbers, manciples, cooks, laundresses, carriers, etc. When clerks lost their ecclesiastical privileges at the Reformation, all members of the University fell into the category to whom the Steward's jurisdiction applied. (See Rashdall, II, 409–11.) Henry's Charter in the University Archives (A.1.) speaks of the "malice of the lay folk of the town," and includes counts of treason, insurrection, felony and mayhem. Clerks convicted of serious offences at Assizes were surrendered to the Bishop before the Reformation, and then punished by ecclesiastical law. (See also *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, 1341–1417, pp. 430–1, and *Registrum Privilegiorum*, 1770, p. 47.) The High Steward's Court still exists. It may be added that the townsmen on their side had a remarkably large number of servants, many of them apparently engaged in brewing ale. See Mr. Salter's comments on the Poll Tax of 1380 and the Statutes of Labourers (*Med. Arch.* II, xvii).

[5] A charge of this nature brought in the fifteenth century against the Master of the Great Hall of the University was, happily, quashed (*Register Aaa*, f. 6^{b}). This, the first Register of the Chancellor's Court, 1434–1469, has been prepared for the Press by Mr. Salter.

take an oath on the Gospels at St. Mary's to brew nothing but good beer. A long and bitter experience was needed to shake the mediæval churchman's belief in the efficacy of oaths. Sellers of bad meat have to be punished, an attempt to make a corner in fish put down. Brawls, assaults and the carrying of weapons constantly give rise to trouble. There are quarrels over debts and pledges, quarrels over procedure, quarrels over games. There are violent quarrels, in which laymen flee to Broadgates Hall for sanctuary, or angry clerks break each other's heads. And there are trivial quarrels, like the one in which a venerable Canon on the one side and a schoolmaster and his wife on the other are forbidden to indulge in abuse and making faces, and sentenced, by a happy touch of humour, to entertain each other at dinner with a goose.

The orders of the Court are widely varied. They are sometimes petty and inquisitorial. They explore every corner of University life. There are orders exacting sureties for good behaviour, orders binding servants on oath to observe their indentures, orders permitting inn-keepers to erect ovens, orders limiting expenses in the Schools, orders even settling the amount of parishioners' offerings at St. Peter's in the East. A Friar is degraded and banished for libelling two Bachelors of Theology in a sermon. A writer is accused of falsely and cunningly attaching a new document to an old seal. A schoolmaster, threatened with excommunication, is imprisoned for conspiring with a multitude of scholars to snatch the sentence from the priest's hand and to drag him from the pulpit. A Master, falsely defamed as a Scotchman, produces witnesses to prove his English birth. There are little details of personal delinquency, illustrating the closeness of the inquisition into conduct and the simple, child-like side of mediæval life. From time to time inquiries into morals were held by representatives of the University in churches. Townsmen as well as scholars came under review, and juries of citizens gave evidence as to their neighbours' faults.[1] A manciple[2] is punished for dicing and gaming all night. A Civil Law scholar is accused of entering a manciple's house and banging his wife. A laundress is charged with committing evil deeds under pretence of washing. A Vicar is sworn not to pay suspicious visits to a tailor's wife. An organ-player of All Souls,

[1] The University divided the town into districts, and appointed a Doctor of Theology and two Masters of Arts in each, to conduct the inquiry and report to the Chancellor's Court. The inquisition, beginning with clerks, was gradually extended to townsmen. It may have been founded on the episcopal inquisitions of an earlier day (Rashdall, II, 412).

[2] A manciple was of course an officer or servant chiefly concerned with the supply of provisions.

convicted of incontinence, weeps so bitterly when sent to prison that he is promptly forgiven and let out.[1] A student has to pay fourpence for drawing his dagger against a Proctor. An innkeeper at the Cardinal's Hat has to make good the value of a horse which he has allowed a couple of Welsh students to purloin. Tailors who scamp the material for the Bedels' and the Masters' clothes are threatened with imprisonment. Women in the Middle Ages were sometimes harshly treated, and women offenders are not overlooked. Agnes Petypace, who has extreme views on domestic discipline, is bound over not to beat her servant more than decency permits. Margery Snow is banished for breaking prison. Margaret Curteys[2] is pilloried for worse offences. The pillory itself became a grave subject of contention. In 1325 the Mayor presumed to move it without consulting the Chancellor first. The Chancellor excommunicated the offender. The Mayor appealed to the Regent Masters against him. Finally by a compromise the pillory was moved again and re-erected just six feet nearer the North Gate.

In most cases the mildness of the penalties inflicted is as noticeable as the fatherly discipline enforced. Banishment beyond the limits of the town[3] seems to have been the severest punishment. Imprisonment, fine, penance, excommunication, the pillory—for townsmen—above all, the giving of sureties for good behaviour and the practice of clearing a man's character by oath, were the favourite methods of securing justice. The main object was to induce an offender to confess his fault and to amend in future. Promises of reformation were accepted with generous credulity. Hard swearing, the oath of a man's friends at compurgation, was trustfully treated as equivalent to proof.[4] Arbitration was as popular as compurgation. Aggrieved parties were exhorted to be content with compromise and reconciliation, as children are taught to kiss and make friends. It was only by degrees that the grave abuses of compurgation were acknowledged, and the superiority of pecuniary fines allowed.

The system was, no doubt, imperfect and hardened offenders

[1] *Mun. Acad.* (674). On the business and the humours of the Chancellor's Court see Mr. Anstey's volumes *passim*, and *Register Aaa* in the Archives (ff. 1, 2, 4, 6, 10, 11, 20, 26, 27, 28, 33, 41, 52, 57, 64, 71, 85, 98, etc.).

[2] This offender, though the spelling of her name varies, was well known in the Chancellor's Court about the middle of the fifteenth century (*Reg. Aaa*, 47).

[3] Twelve miles round Oxford (*Mun. Acad.* 540). But Letters Patent of 1459 made the area of banishment ten miles in the case of "incontinent women." (See Ogle, *Royal Letters*, 117, and Rashdall, II, 411, n.)

[4] Compurgation was of course in no sense a trial by jury, as the heading of one extract in *Mun. Acad.* (631–2), for which Mr. Anstey is not responsible, suggests.

took advantage of its faults. But it is probable that the clerks of Oxford were more often made amenable to punishment than the clergy in the ordinary ecclesiastical Courts. As cases for decision multiplied, the Courts held by the Chancellor and his deputies increased. A Regent Master might decline to plead except before the Chancellor or his Commissary. But the *Hebdomarii*, the weekly judges, were kept busy with minor cases, and Bachelors of Canon Law and Civil Law were called in to help the Doctors to get through them. From these inferior Courts appeals were frequent, first to the Chancellor (or his Commissary), then to the Congregation of Regents, and then to the whole body of Regents and Non-Regents. Beyond that an appeal could be carried in civil cases to the King, and in spiritual cases to the Pope.[1] Clerks were reputed a litigious race, but it seems that they were on their guard against the lawyers they employed. Penalties had to be provided to check needless litigation, delays, obstruction, frivolous appeals. University legislation did its best to insist on the speedy decision of cases, and to check the "unbridled multitude of advocates," who for the sake of gain encouraged law-suits and suppressed or hid the truth. The right of appeal to the Bishop of Lincoln, which the University at first was ready to admit as a means of getting rid of his immediate interference, fell into disuse as its independence increased. The Archbishop of Canterbury's right to intervene, and to call up cases into his Court, was more readily acknowledged, especially as a counterpoise to the Bishop's claim; and the University did not hesitate to petition the Archbishop for his patronage and assistance when it was desired.[2] But the appellate powers usurped by Congregation, on the plea of ancient customs which had no origin in fact, vested large powers of spiritual jurisdiction in an assembly whose members had in many cases no ecclesiastical standing at all.[3]

[1] See *Mun. Acad.* (231–2). See also *Ib.* (19 and 356, 69–77, 260, 460–1 and 465). Mr. Salter prints (*Med. Arch.* I, 190–1) a King's Writ of 1367 forbidding appeals "extra regnum," that is to Rome. The appeals in Oxford were heard by delegates of the two Congregations, representing all the Faculties. This old right of appeal was last resorted to in 1844. In 1894 an Order in Council substituted for it an appeal from the Vice-Chancellor's Court to the Queen's (or King's) Bench Division. Dr. Rashdall has an interesting Appendix (II, 785–90) on the present jurisdiction of the Vice-Chancellor's Court.

[2] See Wilkins (*Conc.* III, 241–2), *Lambeth MS.* 221 (f. 172), *Reg. Arundel* (II, f. 91^b, cf. Twyne, XXIV, 121), and *Epist. Acad.* (13).

[3] Rashdall (II, 438–9). The Dean points out (437) that the system of appeal at Oxford was copied from the system at Paris, where an appeal lay from the Rector's Court to the Faculty of Arts and thence to the whole University, although the circumstances at Oxford were entirely different.

Beside the Chancellor and closely associated with him were the two Proctors elected by the Faculty of Arts, one by the Masters of the South and the other by the Masters of the North.[1] Primarily responsible to the Artists and to the Nations, they became the official representatives of the University as a whole. They were probably the earliest executive which it possessed. The Chancellor was at first a personage apart, outside the guild of Masters. Even when his interests were identified with it, and he became the recognised President of the Great Congregation, the Proctors retained in the Congregations of Regents some powers which a President would generally possess. They presided over the Congregation of Regents in Arts. They alone could summon that assembly. And to this day traces of their old position and authority survive. The Proctors had to assist the Chancellor in his functions. They had to carry out the Statutes. They had to superintend elections, to regulate academic business, to take part in graduation ceremonies, to administer the oaths. They had to keep order, to make lists of offenders, to see to punishments and fines. They had to supervise the University's expenditure and the University's accounts. They received its rents, no great matter, payments for Graces, fees for degrees, and other small sources of income.[2] They could, if united, effectively veto legislation : at first indeed one Proctor alone could do so by refusing to summon the Faculty of Arts.[3] They were the Chancellor's assessors in most of his public acts, and they could, if necessary, summon Congregations to examine into his conduct and to remove him from office. It may interest undergraduate offenders, proctorised in modern Oxford for some minor iniquity of academic life, to remember that their task-masters once had no small power to break or punish the august Head of the University himself.

Below the Chancellor and Proctors, but ranking in antiquity

[1] The two Proctors were elected yearly soon after Easter by two Boards representing the Northern and Southern Masters of Arts. The Southern Proctor was the senior of the two (*Mun. Acad.* 81 and 485 *sq.*). "To this day it is the Proctors who administer all oaths and declarations, who in the Regent Congregation submit graces to the House and in all Congregations count the votes and announce the decision" (Rashdall, II, 365).

[2] The average income of the University between 1464 and 1496 was about £58. (See the Proctors' Accounts printed by Mr. Salter, *Med. Arch.* II, 272, and for more details on this subject, later, Chap. VIII.)

[3] Mr. Anstey prints under 1304, and again under 1344 (*Mun. Acad.* 81 and 146), Statutes empowering one of the Proctors with the Chancellor's assent to summon a Congregation of Regents in Arts at St. Mildred's, in spite of his colleague's opposition. There seems to be no authority for the date 1304.

beside them, were the six Bedels.[1] They also were elected officers, servants appointed by the University to execute its orders and maintain its state. They figured in all ceremonies, funerals included. They published proclamations, generally in Latin. They went round the Schools, giving out University announcements. They collected the votes in Congregation. They served writs, exacted fines, and escorted evil-doers to prison when they consented to go. Their dues and perquisites were settled by Statutes, which had to be repeated when the "charity of the students grew cold." Three of them, who came to be known as Gentlemen or Esquire Bedels, were superior to the others in standing. They were expected to provide their inferior colleagues with food and with ten shillings a year for shoes. And these superior posts were evidently in demand. We find great personages interfering in the nominations. In days of corruption it was alleged that the posts were sold. In 1433 the four Superior Faculties attempted to nominate a Bedel, asserting that they were the "senior and saner part of the electors." But the Masters of Arts resisted and carried their candidate in.[2] Later on, Henry VI and Edward IV recommended candidates of their own. Henry demanded the punishment of two Bedels, who had "outrageously uttred" libels against himself, his "wyf" and his son. And later still, in 1501, the election of an Oxford Bedel caused a sharp division in Royal circles. The Prince of Wales and the Bishop of Lincoln supported one candidate. The Prince's grandmother, the illustrious Lady Margaret, preferred another. The King and Queen encouraged a third. The Lady Margaret's candidate won, and the Bishop, who was also Chancellor of the University, was respectfully reminded that even Cæsar, Cicero and Pompey had sometimes proved unable to oblige their friends.[3]

The government of the University lay of course in the hands of the Masters. Strictly speaking, they were its only members.[4] At Oxford, it is true, the Non-Regents, the Masters who had ceased to lecture, had an authority denied to them elsewhere. They took part in the making of Statutes and in other important

[1] Dr. Rashdall derives the title from *Bedellus* or *Pedellus*, and that from *pedum*, a stick (I, 194, n.). But Dr. Murray's *New English Dictionary* does not confirm this view.

[2] See *Mun. Acad.* (321–3), and later (p. 339). John Came, the candidate of the Faculty of Arts, received the votes of a majority of Masters. For the Bedels' rights and duties see Mr. Anstey's volumes, *passim*. Two Bedels were attached to the Faculty of Theology, two to the Law Faculties, and two to the Faculties of Medicine and Arts.

[3] *Ib.* (756). See also Churton (*Lives of Smith and Sutton*, 169–76 and 499–505), and Lyte (374–5).

[4] Any Regent Master might be called on to take part in University business, to wait upon the Bishop, even to appear before the King.

University affairs. But the regular business of the University was largely in the hands of the Regent Masters, and among these the Masters of Arts—*fons et origo cæteris*[1]—took the lead. The Congregation of Regents in Arts, sometimes called the Black Congregation, was summoned by the Proctors to separate meetings at St. Mildred's. In very early days it established its right to be consulted first, and it seems probable that for many generations proposals to alter the Statutes and to grant Graces to individuals were submitted to this Congregation and discussed by it before they were adopted by the University as a whole. The Masters of Arts were wont to declare that a Statute which they disapproved could go no further. And though the other Faculties were unwilling to admit this, and claimed the right to disregard the recommendations made, it is at least doubtful whether in early days any Statute which the Faculty of Arts persistently rejected could have been insisted on by the Great Congregation or have permanently secured the University's assent.[2] As time passed, however, the authority of the Congregation of Artists diminished. In 1437 St. Mildred's Church was partly pulled down. When College teachers increased in number, the Regents in Arts must have declined. Their separate meetings ceased. In the days of Queen Elizabeth the Black Congregation is spoken of as obsolete,[3] and its powers were evidently extinct.[4]

[1] *Mun. Acad.* (142).

[2] *Ib.* (117, 188–9, 331–2, 429 and 481–3). See also Rashdall (II, 372).

[3] In 1570 (*Reg. KK*, 94[b]).

[4] The name "Black Congregation" for the Regents in Arts seems to be used only once in the Statute Books, in a document inserted about 1485 (see *Mun. Acad.* 481, where Mr. Anstey's heading "Forma Celebrandi Congregationem Nigram," etc., taken from a seventeenth-century memorandum in *Registrum B*, is a mistake: the heading should be "Forma Congregationis Magne"). It is used three times in *Registrum Aa* (ff. 41[b], 93[a] and 122), all between the dates 1450 and 1462. It may have been used little if at all in early days. I do not feel sure that the name "Previous Congregation" was ever used. Has it any authority beyond the phrase "congregationibus artistarum præviis ad congregation$\frac{em}{es}$ Regentium et Non-regentium" used in two passages in *Mun. Acad.* (81 and 146)? The suggestion that Non-Regents sometimes attended the Congregation of Artists is made three times in *Mun. Acad.* (81, 146 and 188–9). But the words "et Non-Regentibus" at the foot of p. 188 are a mistake; they are not in the MSS. And the words on p. 81, "congregationibus artistarum præviis ad congregationem Regentium et Non-regentium apud S. Mildredam faciendam," which are practically repeated on p. 146, cannot, I think, be correct. If we change into faciend*is* the word printed faciend*am* on p. 81 and faciend*as* on p. 146, the difficulty disappears. I think this is the right reading. Except *Reg. D*, which gives "faciendas," the MSS. use a contracted form. If this surmise is justified, there is nothing to show that Non-Regents attended the Congregation of Artists, and Dean Rashdall's note (II, 374)

The Congregation of Regents of all Faculties, the Lesser Congregation,[1] was destined to enjoy a longer life. In name it still survives. It met in the Congregation House at St. Mary's. The numbers attending it may have varied a good deal.[2] It dealt with all kinds of University business, finance, administration, lectures, studies. It could make Ordinances though it could not pass Statutes. It could grant Graces, and out of its power of dispensing with the University's requirements there grew in time the power of granting degrees. As time passed, its authority may have developed and increased. But it is not easy to draw a definite line at any given moment between the work done by the Congregation of Regents and the work reserved for the Great Congregation, or to say exactly what duties the Congregation of Regents could not, if it were necessary or convenient, undertake.[3] The Congregation of Regents and Non-Regents, the Full or Great Congregation, met in the choir of St. Mary's Church. Its numbers were presumably the largest, but how far the Non-Regents attended it is difficult to say. This constituted the real Parliament of the University and was alone competent to make its laws. It survives to-day under the well-known name of Convocation which the sixteenth century apportioned to its use.[4]

In the Great Congregation voting was by Faculties, and the Non-Regents voted like a Faculty together. The full solemnities of University legislation towards the end of the fifteenth century are described in a curious document in the Proctors' Books. There were five days of elaborate ceremonial: first the promulga-

would need amendment. It is clear from the context that the Regents mentioned at the beginning of the Form in *Mun. Acad.* (481) are Regents in Arts. The term "Parva Congregatio" is also found, though very rarely. It appears from two passages in the Oriel Inquisition of Sept. 1411 to be identical with the Black Congregation.

[1] The name "Congregatio Minor" is comparatively rare. It occurs only six times in *Register Aa*, all in Jan. and Feb. 1456, and Mr. Gibson, to whose exact knowledge I am here again indebted, believes it to be unknown in the Statute Books.

[2] But see *Registrum Aa* (f. 122[a]), where a Congregation of 60 Regents in 1462 seems to be a full meeting, and the Merton *Register* (I, ed. Salter, 155), where 18 Doctors and about 50 Regents are said to have attended a Minor Congregation in Feb. 1492. Regents continued to lecture after the short period of Necessary Regency was over: but the number of Doctors here seems large.

[3] Even its inability to make Statutes mattered little, if Ordinances would serve the purpose.

[4] The Non-Regents were probably difficult to get together, as the Preface to the Chancellor's Book suggests. The Black Congregation has gone; but the Lesser Congregation of Regents still exists in the modern Oxford constitution as the Ancient House of Congregation, with the now purely formal power of conferring degrees. (See Rashdall, II, 791–2.)

tion of the Statute in the Black Congregation, then the Assembly of the Masters at St. Mary's and the election of scrutators, then the separate conclaves and discussions when the Bedels summoned the Faculties to deliberate apart, and finally the formal declaration of the decisions to which the Faculties had come.[1] During the discussions the Non-Regents occupied the Choir of the Church. The Theologians sat in the House of Congregation. The Canonists, the Civilians, the Medical men, and the Proctors with their own Arts Regents, met in different Chapels set aside for the purpose. The consent of the Regents in all four Faculties, Arts, Theology, Law and Medicine, was at first required for every Statute, and the consent of the Non-Regents as well. But at the beginning of the fourteenth century the principle of majority voting came in. The Friars declared that it was invented to prejudice them. But after the award of 1313–14 it was admitted that a majority of Faculties could bind the rest.[2] The Theologians and Canonists, the "most sacred" Faculty and its "venerable handmaid," claimed superiority of standing: and next to them the Doctors of Medicine and of Civil Law. But the Medical Doctors sat on the Chancellor's right hand.[3] At times the separate Faculties seem to have exercised the right of making regulations for themselves. But in general the details of discipline and education were settled by Congregation for all Faculties alike. The superior Faculties had no Deans of their own, no clearly marked or organised independence.[4] The influence of the Faculty of Arts was always paramount; and to that influence, accentuated perhaps by their own want of special opportunities or exertions, the decline of the higher Faculties at the English Universities is due.

University education in mediæval Oxford was a long and laborious business for those who sought the honour of a degree. In

[1] *Mun. Acad.* (481–3). The heading given by Mr. Anstey, as already explained, is wrong. There is a later transcript of this document in the Chancellor's Book. Three days or more if necessary were apparently given to the discussions and voting at St. Mary's. The Canonists and Civilians were sometimes treated as two Faculties. Dr. Rashdall thinks that they generally appointed two representatives on University Delegacies, to which Divinity and Medicine each appointed one, and Arts four, but that in divisions they sometimes voted as one Faculty (II, 375, n.). His view as to the number of representatives is confirmed by *Reg. Aa*, under date 4 Dec. 1453.

[2] See *ante* (pp. 73–5), and *Collectanea* (II, 218 and 226).

[3] And the Civilians on his left (*Mun. Acad.* 234–5). This was a requirement of King Richard II. Academic opinion would scarcely have rated medical men so high.

[4] Dr. Rashdall notes this as "the greatest constitutional peculiarity of Oxford" (II, 447). In foreign Universities each Faculty regulated the conferment of its own degrees.

the earliest days there was no *Matricula* or list of students on which the names of all new-comers were inscribed.[1] No oath of obedience to a Rector was taken before they started on their course. The requirement that every scholar should place his name on the roll of some Regent Master was the oldest and nearest substitute for matriculation. Long afterwards Henry V enjoined that all scholars should within a month of their arrival take an oath before the Chancellor to keep the Statutes for the preservation of the peace.[2] The basis of education was Grammar, and Grammar meant the teaching of Latin. John of Salisbury has left on record his plea for classical studies as a foundation, rather than the sophistications of logic which even in the twelfth century were taking possession of the Schools.[3] The Psalms were learned first. Then Cato[4] supplied the universal reading-book. Donatus, Priscian and Alexander de Villa Dei[5] taught rules for parsing, scansion and philology. But in the early days, before its meaning narrowed, Grammar included a good deal more than that. Latin prose and French translation were a part of it. Latin verse is among the earliest school traditions we possess.

> "Inter artes quæ dicuntur trivium,
> fundatrix Grammatica vendicat principium;
> sub hac chorus militat metrice scribentium."[6]

And the student of verse and prose passed on, not only to the delights of mediæval disputation and to mediæval authors like Boethius, but to Ovid and Terence, to Livy, Tacitus and Virgil, to Lucan and Persius and the classics of the past.[7]

Most of the boys who learned Grammar at Oxford were probably drawn from the immediate neighbourhood. Many

[1] Matriculation was at first peculiar to Student Universities like Bologna. Oxford was of course a University of Masters. At Paris individual Masters had their own lists.

[2] *Mun. Acad.* (277–9).

[3] *Metalogicus* (I, cap. xxiv: in Migne, tom. 199, col. 853 *sq.*).

[4] *Dionysii Catonis Disticha de moribus ad filium*, a popular work whose origin is not known (Rashdall, I, 72, n.). Warton, who gives an interesting account of this early metrical study of ethics (*Hist. of English Poetry*, Section XXVII) dates it before the middle of the fifth century. It may be quite a century older. Caxton translated it into English prose in 1483, and even then described it as the best book for young children in school.

[5] Alexander of Villedieu, called Grammaticus, was born between 1165 and 1175. He turned Priscian into metrical form, and his *Doctrinale*, published about 1199, became a famous grammar in schools. (See Magrath, *The Queen's College*, I, 114–15, n.)

[6] See Du Méril (*Poésies Populaires Latines du moyen âge*, 151). The word "Poeta" was often used for a classical scholar. (See Rashdall, II, 241, n., and *Mun. Acad.* 437–8 and 441.)

[7] See Dr. Rashdall on "Twelfth-century Humanism" (I, 65).

a town in the Middle Ages had its own Grammar School, connected with some Monastery or Cathedral or church.[1] William of Wykeham founded a great Grammar School for his boys at Winchester. Waynflete provided a Grammar Master at Magdalen, to teach the young Demies till they began their course in Arts. The Grammar Masters at Oxford may possibly have been in the earliest days under the care of the Archdeacon.[2] But very early in the fourteenth century we find the University asserting its control.[3] Two salaried Masters of Arts were appointed to superintend the Grammar Schools. The Grammar Masters made a yearly payment to the University, which in the fifteenth century was generally six marks.[4] They received their licenses from the University, and in course of time Grammar degrees arose. But these degrees were not on the same footing as those of the regular Faculties, and they did not confer membership of Congregation.[5] The Grammar Masters were responsible for the morals as well as for the education of their scholars. They entered on office by whipping a boy, who received a groat for his invidious "labour." A cane[6] and a birch were their symbols of Inception. But many of them attained distinction. One of the most famous, John Leland, a kinsman probably of the great antiquary of later days, kept a school, it seems, at Peckwater Inn in the early years of the fifteenth century:

"Ut rosa flos florum, sic Leland grammaticorum."

We hear of three Grammar Masters in 1447, but of only one in 1464 and in 1477. About the middle of the fifteenth century there are said to have been five Grammar Schools in Oxford, Inge Hall, Lyon Hall, Tackley's Inn, Cuthbert Hall and White Hall.[7] But before the end of the century these old schools

[1] *Ib.* (II, 600–3 and notes). The Dean has a valuable Section on this subject.

[2] *Ib.* (II, 598).

[3] See *Mun. Acad.* (85–6, 259, 354, 436, 440, 501–2 and 563–4). The two superintendents appointed in 1306 are said to be elected "ut fieri consuevit."

[4] This payment and the superintendent's salary sometimes varied; but the latter is always 13*s.* 4*d.* in the fifteenth-century Proctors' Accounts which we have. See Mr. Salter's clear summary (*Med. Arch.* II, 278–9).

[5] A Bachelor's degree in Grammar grew up, as well as a Master's. See Boase (*Register*, I, 3, 11, 14, 64, etc.), Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 8—where there seem to be one or two slight errors), and Rashdall (II, 599). Schoolmasters could win Grammar degrees by composing some prescribed exercise, e.g. 100 verses in praise of the University. See *Reg. G* (143) and Boase (*Reg.* I, 64).

[6] Or palmer.

[7] See Rous' list quoted by Wood (*City*, I, 639) and Salter (*Med. Arch.* II, 279–80). The mention of Boster Hall seems to be a mistake.

were dead or dying, killed perhaps by the new free Grammar Schools that were growing up. In 1492 the superintendents appointed by the University, who had no work to do for their pay, were made to act as superintendents of the disputations at the Austin Friars, where there was work to be done and no pay assigned.[1] By that time, if the fierce criticisms of Erasmus may be trusted, Grammar Masters had degenerated abroad if not in England into a miserable race of men, "hunger-starved and slovens in their schools," deafened by noise, poisoned by foul atmosphere, aged and tormented by their crabbed studies, and using birch and rod remorselessly to terrify the boys who made their lives so hard.

Once the elements of Grammar had been mastered, and often before their Latinity was adequate to their needs, students could enter upon the regular Arts course. The *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, the Seven Liberal Arts of antiquity, were still the foundation of knowledge. Rhetoric succeeded naturally to Grammar: the limit between them is not easy to define. Logic or Dialectic overshadowed them both. Rhetoric helped to teach the arts of composition and persuasion. It included some training in the elements of law.[2] The oratory of Cicero was laid under contribution, the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle and the even more familiar writings of Boethius.[3] In the fifteenth century Rhetoric was largely associated with a study of the Latin poets. A degree in Rhetoric, ranking little above a degree in Grammar, was sometimes combined with a laurel crown. "A Kyng to me myn habite gave," sang John Skelton with a poet's license. And whatever the degree was worth, it apparently qualified the holder to teach Henry VIII in his delightful boyhood spelling and the "Musys nyne." But as the teaching of the Schools developed, Logic with its syllogisms, its disputations, and its training in the methods of argument and thought, became the most engrossing subject of them all.

At Oxford, however, to a greater extent than at Paris, the four Arts of the *Quadrivium*—Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy—held their own in the educational tradition. Boethius in his *De Musica* had set out to teach the theory of

[1] *Mun. Acad.* (363) and *Med. Arch.* (II, 279, 347 and 351).

[2] Particularly in Italy. "The old division of Rhetoric into the three branches, 'demonstrative,' 'deliberative,' and 'judicial,' allowed the introduction of Law-studies under the last-mentioned category without requiring the addition of a new Art to the sacred Seven" (Rashdall, I, 103).

[3] In 1215 the text-books at Paris may have been limited to Donatus and Boethius. In fifteenth-century Oxford they apparently included the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid and "poetria Virgilii" (*Ib.* I, 434, and II, 457, and *Mun. Acad.* 286).

Music; and musical theory, governed by considerations of proportion and arithmetic, was regarded in the Schools even more than its practice. Degrees in music ranked much on the same level as degrees in Rhetoric, and they also were late in date. They appeared in the fifteenth century at Cambridge and possibly at Oxford. But the first recorded Doctor of Music at Oxford was Robert Fairfax, who took his degree in 1511.[1] Bachelors were admitted to read a book of music.[2] Candidates for the Doctorate had generally to compose a Mass. Arithmetic owed much of its importance to the Calendar. It was of value, like astronomy, in fixing ecclesiastical dates. Reckoning was elaborate and difficult till the Arabic numerals came in. But Merton men helped to make mathematics popular at Oxford, and English mathematicians like John of Holywood and Bradwardine must have attracted thirteenth and fourteenth century students. Geometry was founded upon Euclid. Astronomy was based upon the system which Ptolemy had conceived. The earth was the centre of the Universe, and round the earth the sun, the planets and the stars revolved. Mathematics and astronomy were closely connected. The line between astronomy and astrology was very dimly drawn. The stars, it was thought, presided over science and ruled the destinies of man. An Oxford scholar was admitted to practise in astrology as late as Tudor days.[3]

The teaching of the Seven Arts was supplemented by the teaching of the Three Philosophies. Natural Philosophy opened up the world of science. Moral Philosophy taught the meaning and the limitations of duty, conscience, will. Metaphysical Philosophy peered into the problems of the origin and the future of mankind. And for all alike Aristotle was the teacher of supreme authority, ruling, since the re-discovery of his writings in the thirteenth century, not in philosophy only but in almost every department of thought. Text-books, no doubt, might vary, but Aristotle held the field. The logician turned to the *Categoriæ* and the *De Interpretatione*, to the *Priora* and *Posteriora Analytica*, to the *Topica* and the *Sophistici Elenchi*.[4] The rhetorician depended on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. The natural philosopher

[1] And he, it seems, was only incorporated from Cambridge (Boase, *Register*, I, 78). Bachelors of Music appear a little earlier at Oxford, but I do not find in Mr. Boase's volume any before 1505. See also Rashdall (II, 458) and Abdy-Williams (*Account of the Degrees in Music at Oxford and Cambridge*, especially Chap. II).

[2] Probably a book of Boethius.

[3] Rashdall (II, 458–9). See also *Register H.* (f. 4ᵃ), and the *Merton Register* (I, pp. 466–7).

[4] The Oxford Arts course included also among other books Porphyry's *Isagoge* and the logical works of Boethius, Gilbert de la Porrée's *Sex Principia*, and the writings of Priscian and Donatus. (See Dean Rashdall's

looked to his *Physics*,[1] the metaphysician to his *Metaphysics*. For the student of Moral Philosophy his *Ethics*, *Politics* and *Economics* were an indispensable guide. Under the great name of Aristotle the Arts course prospered and grew. It is true that many of those who followed it may never have advanced as far as a degree. Yet the predominance of the Faculty of Arts was the basis of the University system, and it is of interest to follow the steps in the Arts student's career. The crowded little Schools in the famous lane beside St. Mary's were the centre of University life. The Masters sat at desks raised well above their audiences. The students, if they obeyed the Pope's injunction, which is doubtful, sat in the straw or rushes on the floor,[2] so that "all occasion of pride might be taken away from the young." More probably, like Edmund Rich, they sat on seats.[3] Books were few, and *viva voce* teaching universal. The teachers read, the students heard, and might or might not understand. Latin was of course essential. But many a student had to plunge into Aristotle before he had mastered the only language in which Aristotle could be read.

For the first part of his career the Arts student was a learner only. He attended lectures, which started very early in the morning. He took part in exercises. He joined in repetitions, in detailed discussions of the lectures given. Ordinary lectures were originally the regular lectures given by Masters on the usual lecture-days.[4] They were given in the morning hours and in the recognised Schools. Extraordinary or cursory lectures

analysis, II, 455–8, and compare his account of the Arts studies of Paris, I, 433–43.) There was little real change between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, but the text-books must have altered from time to time. In Paris in the thirteenth century we find the sceptical *Liber de Causis*, an Arabian work attributed to Aristotle; and German Statutes mention other treatises like the *Summulæ* of Petrus Hispanus, and works on mathematics by Englishmen like John Holywood (De Sacro Bosco) and Archbishops Patcham and Bradwardine.

[1] *De cœlo et mundo, De proprietatibus elementorum, De vegetabilibus et plantis, De animalibus*, etc.

[2] Urban V in 1366 required all students of Arts to sit on the floor (Du Boulay, IV, 390). But students in the higher Faculties at any rate sat higher, and there is evidence that before the middle of the fourteenth century Arts students were demanding seats and desks. Mr. Gibson has drawn attention to the University Formulary of about that date preserved in the British Museum (*Royal MS.* 12, D. XI), which contains proclamations by the Chancellor forbidding pushing and fighting for seats, noisy entrances into the Schools, unpunctual arrivals, etc.

[3] At least the Lanercost Chronicle assumes this in a quaint passage, quoted in *Collectanea* (II, 187).

[4] "Legible" days. Later on it was the custom at Paris for authorised teachers besides Masters and Doctors, e.g. Bachelors of Theology, to give ordinary lectures, even in afternoon hours (Rashdall, I, 427).

were lectures given during the hours not reserved for ordinary lectures, and generally speaking in the afternoon. The distinction between them and ordinary lectures was primarily one of time. But they differed also in the men entitled to give them, and to some extent in the place and manner in which they were given.[1] Ordinary lectures were reserved at first for Masters or Doctors, and these authorised teachers might at different hours give extraordinary lectures too. But extraordinary or cursory lectures could be given by Bachelors, or by scholars of a certain standing admitted to lecture in order to qualify for a Bachelor's degree. The difference between the two classes of lectures originated, it seems, at Bologna, and once corresponded with a distinction between the more essential and the less essential text-books of the law. At other Universities and in other Faculties the distinction between the subjects treated was less marked. But at Paris the term cursory came to be applied to the extraordinary lectures of Bologna, the lectures given out of the ordinary hours. And at Oxford, which adopted the Paris tradition, cursory lectures, with their greater freedom as to time and place and the standing of the lecturer, came to mean something lighter and quicker in their methods, less exhaustive, it may be, in their treatment, at any rate less formal and elaborate, than the ordinary lectures of the Schools.[2]

A thirteenth-century jurist once propounded a plan for a course of law lectures at Bologna, which may serve to illustrate the methods of the University teachers of the Middle Ages :—

> " First, I shall give you summaries of each title before I proceed to the text ; secondly, I shall give you as clear and explicit a statement as I can of the purport of each Law (included in the title) ; thirdly, I shall read the text with a view to correcting it ; fourthly, I shall briefly repeat the contents of the Law ; fifthly, I shall solve apparent contradictions, adding any general principles of Law . . . and any distinctions or subtle and useful problems arising out of the Law with their solutions, as far as the Divine Providence shall enable me. And if any Law shall seem deserving, by reason of its celebrity or difficulty, of a Repetition, I shall reserve it for an evening Repetition." [3]

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[1] It appears that they also differed sometimes in the matter of payment. At Bologna a non-Doctor " extraordinarie legens " was forbidden to demand fees (*Ib.* I, 212).

[2] This subject, which has puzzled writers less familiar with the comparative history of mediæval Universities, is treated by Dean Rashdall with great clearness (see, especially, I, 207 *sq.* and 426–7), and I see no reason to doubt his conclusions. On the Arts student's obligation to attend ordinary lectures on every lecture-day see *Mun. Acad.* (426–7). Masters and Principals of Halls had to report offenders.

[3] Dean Rashdall quotes from Savigny this statement by Odofredus (II, 219–20). He points out that there is no mention here of " a very

At Oxford, in the fifteenth century, the rules for lecturing were still substantially the same. A Statute of 1431 required the Masters in ordinary lectures first to read the text, then to expound it openly and fully, then to pick out passages calling for special comment, and then if necessary to start problems for discussion. But there was to be no wide wandering from the text, no interfering with the work of other Faculties, no trespassing upon forbidden ground.[1] To analyse, to subdivide, to know the *pros* and *cons* of every argument, to be alert in disputation, in posing questions and in suggesting replies—these were the arts which appealed to teacher and scholar alike. Long before the Middle Ages were over the students of Oxford must have had the debating instinct in their blood.

After some two years of studies of this kind [2] the Arts student became a "General Sophister." He was then expected to take part in disputations, principally in logic, for at least a year, opposing and responding in the parvise.[3] Later on, in his fourth year, he had to face the test of Responsions, to dispute in grammar and logic with a Master, another important stage in his career.[4] After passing that,[5] he was qualified to face the Board of four

important feature of all mediæval lectures—the reading of the 'glosses.' By the Bologna Statutes the Doctor is required to read the 'glosses' immediately after the text." He adds that in Lent Repetitions were suspended and Disputations took their place.

[1] *Mun. Acad.* (288).

[2] Sir H. C. M. Lyte says that, while grammar and logic were studied before Determination, and music, geometry, astronomy and moral philosophy after it, there was no fixed rule as to other subjects (206–7). But some natural philosophy was required before Determination (see *Mun. Acad.* 34; the [vel] interpolated there in the second paragraph should be omitted), and later at any rate some mathematics (*Ib.* 243).

[3] "*Parvisum* interim frequentantes, et se ibidem disputando, arguendo, et respondendo doctrinaliter exercentes" (*Mun. Acad.* 242). *Parvis* was the term for the cloister of Notre Dame and of St. Pauls: Ducange derives it from *Paradisus*. Dr. Clark's suggestion (*Reg.* II, i, 21) that *in parviso* means *in parvisis* or *parvisiis*, in little things like logic and grammar, must be set aside, together with the temptation to translate it "in smalls." The old phrase lingered on for centuries in the *testamur* given after Responsions. The Form for Determination in 1268 (not 1267) should be compared with that in 1409 (not 1408) in *Mun. Acad.* (34–6 and 241–3). In 1412 the Form was found "nimis onerosa" (*Ib.* 260–1), and its modification ordered.

[4] He became a "Quæstionist" and had to respond to the "quæstio." These forms, no doubt, developed by degrees. If this form of Responsions can hardly be said, in Mr. Mullinger's phrase (I, 353), to "correspond to the present final examination," it at least involved some test of knowledge.

[5] In the thirteenth century there was an interval of six to eight months between responding to the question and determining (*Mun. Acad.* 35). But this was reduced later to a few weeks (*Ib.* 242).

Masters, elected for the purpose annually before the beginning of Lent, to satisfy them that he had read the necessary books and completed the necessary exercises, and to prove that he was in all respects, in learning, in conduct, and even in stature, a fit and proper person to "determine." [1] Besides the candidate's oath that he had been through all the processes required, the Masters must have had opportunities of taking evidence as to his character and knowledge, if not of examining him in his books: [2] and witnesses had to be produced to testify to his attainments.[3] But it is a singular fact that at Oxford and Cambridge, alone among the Universities of Europe, there is no trace at either Determination or Inception of anything corresponding to an examination in the modern sense.[4]

Determination was an imposing function, a rehearsal as it were, invented by the students, of the still greater ceremony of Inception ahead. It began on Ash Wednesday and continued for several days.[5] The candidates were called on to dispute in the Schools, to defend propositions against all comers, to argue especially points of logic, to show the proficiency which they had attained. Their friends saw to it that they secured an audience,

[1] The exact meaning of this term has been much canvassed. Mr. Mullinger's explanation (I, 354), based on Dean Peacock's, that, instead of disputing himself, as at Responsions, the candidate now presided over the discussion and gave his decision or determination on it, is accepted by Mr. Boase (*Reg.* I, viii), but is criticised by Dr. Rashdall as incomplete. Yet the Dean's definition—"to 'determine' meant to maintain a thesis against an opponent"—does not seem to cover the ground (I, 444). The determiner, no doubt, had to argue. But may he not have crowned his argument by summing up the conclusions, the determination, of the debate? The idea of a Bachelor finishing up his disputations as a student may possibly, as Ayliffe suggests (II, 120), have been included in the term. The phrase *determinare acta sua* is used in one ordinance (*Mun. Acad.* 240). See also Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 50 *sq.*) and Lyte (208).

[2] The Masters took age and even height into account (Boase, *Reg.* I, 287). The average age for Determination at Oxford can hardly have been less than 19 or 20. The tendency at Oxford, as compared with Paris, was to make it later, and to reduce the requirements for the M.A. (Rashdall, II, 451–2).

[3] *Mun. Acad.* (34–5 and 243–4). The distinction between determining *pro se* and determining *pro aliis* is not easy to understand. To determine for others must have meant paying their expenses: it was the rich men who did it: and one would have expected them to claim some exemption from study in return. Yet both the earlier and the later Statutes insist on some additional reading in their case, if they have not already determined for themselves (*Ib.* 35 and 243). On the other hand determiners for others could incept after two years more of study, instead of three (*Ib.* 416–17); and this may have been regarded as sufficient consideration for the expense they incurred.

[4] On this point see Rashdall (II, 442–3).

[5] The candidate was said *stare in Quadragesima* during these days of Lent.

and were even prepared if necessary to drag in the passers-by.[1] The bell of St. Mary's summoned to these contests in the morning. The same bell, or the compline at St. Frideswide's, stopped them in the afternoon. Masters watched over them and checked irrelevance in argument.[2] Success in disputation was the test of efficiency, the real equivalent of examination, in the mediæval Schools. Brilliancy in debate at Determination might make a young man's reputation. "Great is eloquence," said a Pope of the Middle Ages, "nothing so much rules the world."[3] And the importance of the trial, the publicity and ceremonial attached to it, the gatherings of friends and supporters, the costly gifts, carousing and festivities which crowned it all, made it a memorable event in a student's life. At Determination he passed into the rank of Bachelors, secured, as we should say, his Bachelor's degree. With the Chancellor's license[4] he began to give cursory lectures to others, besides joining in disputations and attending lectures for himself. He became to some extent a teacher as well as a learner. The first part of his apprenticeship was complete.

Four years of hard work were thus required for the Bachelor's degree in Arts, and at that point, if not sooner, it seems probable that many Oxford students may have suspended their University career. But the final stage of Inception remained. Three more years at least of study, of reading and disputing, of ceremonies, festivities and charges, were needed to make a man a member of the community of Masters, to acquire the full license and the teacher's rights.[5] During these years he took part in the disputations at the Augustinian Convent, the immemorial "Austins" which long survived the disappearance of the Friars. He delivered

[1] A very early order by the Chancellor, in the earliest hand in *Reg. A.* forbade this.

[2] In the fifteenth century, at any rate (*Mun. Acad.* 246).

[3] See Bishop Creighton (*Historical Lectures*, 197).

[4] The license to lecture—on some book of the Faculty of Arts, and generally on Aristotle's *Organon*—preceded the act of Determination; and strictly speaking, it was this license, rather than the act of Determination, which gave a Bachelor's standing. The ceremony of Determination could be omitted. It was usual, but it was not essential, before Inception. But the man who did not determine had to study for eight years in all—"fere per octo annos" (*Mun. Ac.* 415—an early Statute, perhaps before 1350), "ad minus . . . per octo annos" (*Ib.* 417). I think eight years for non-determiners to incept in, and seven for others, may be taken as the rule, though the Statute of 1431 suggests that even determiners were expected to take eight years over the course (*Ib.* 285–6). It should be remembered that many students took more than four years to get the B.A. degree, and that the seven or the eight years were often exceeded.

[5] The clerk who did not proceed beyond the Bachelor's degree was styled *Dominus*, in English *Dan*, *Dompne* or *Sir* (Lyte, 216).

the elementary lectures on Aristotle expected of him, and carried much further his own study of the philosopher's works. When all necessary processes had been completed and he was ready to be received into the company of Masters, nine Regents, besides his own Master who presented him, were called on to speak from personal knowledge to his character and attainments. Five others deposed more generally to their belief in them.[1] He was presented to the Chancellor, and kneeling before him he took the oaths required by custom,[2] and received in the name of the Trinity the license to incept, to lecture, to dispute.[3] Then at last the way was clear to the final ceremony. The Inceptor engaged a School to lecture in. He made a circuit of the Masters, accompanied by the Bedel of the Faculty, and invited them to his function and his banquet. He went through his "Vespers,"[4] another solemn disputation on the eve of the great day itself, and the presiding Master, the Father of the occasion, made a speech extolling his merits. Finally he appeared in St. Mary's Church with a great concourse of Inceptors, Masters and spectators, in the presence of the Faculty which he desired to join. He rehearsed the ancient and elaborate ritual. He received the book, the cap, the ring, the kiss of peace. He delivered his inaugural address and joined in a last disputation. He took his final oaths, was hailed as Master, and proceeded to pay his footing among his new colleagues with feasting and expenditure which he could often ill afford.[5] The framework of the old Arts system was completed. The student, now a teacher and a

[1] Manners, morals, habits, all were taken into account. The ceremony of Inception was called the "Act." The depositions were strictly confidential. The nine deposed *de certa scientia*, the five deposed *de credulitate* (*Mun. Acad.* 424).

[2] To obey the Statutes, to incept within a year, to keep down the expenses of Inception, to keep the peace, to use the University books as they should be used, to avoid the temptations of Stamford and other dangerous ideas, etc. (*Ib.* 374–6). The oaths never to consent to the reconcilation of Henry Simeon or to reassume the degree of B.A. were taken after Vespers (Lyte, 213–14).

[3] Mr. Anstey quotes the form of words from the Junior Proctor's Book, and notes the large blot obliterating later the name of the Virgin (*Mun. Acad.* 383). The principal references to Inception in Arts in his volumes (285–8, 377–8, 382–3, 414–19, 424–6, 430–5) will be found better arranged in Mr. Gibson's forthcoming book.

[4] But there might be an interval of some months before the *Vesperiæ* took place. Time-honoured buffooneries, like shaving the candidate's beard, went with them.

[5] The actual ceremony of Inception was performed by a Regent of the Faculty concerned, and in the case of Arts students by the Senior Proctor. The license, as Dr. Rashdall points out (II, 446), came from the Chancellor, the actual Mastership from the Faculty. There were "Acts," degree-days, in winter as well as in summer.

Necessary Regent, could pass on to the higher Faculties, to the larger fields of thought ahead.

For all the higher Faculties a further course of training was enjoined. We have little information before the sixteenth century in regard to Oxford medicine and medical degrees. Science was of slow growth in a world where Scholasticism ruled, and where wordy disputation was more valued than observation or research. The Northern Universities were even slower than those of the South to substitute experiment for dogma. For many generations astronomy and astrology were the most highly developed forms of science. Practically all the great mediæval mathematicians were astronomers. All medical science was supposed to be governed by the stars. For the arrangement of the Calendar astronomy was of course essential. Chaucer may not have been the only fourteenth-century father who "compouned" an Astralobie "after the latitude of Oxenford" for his son, an Oxford boy.[1] For fixing the date of Church festivals, especially the all-important date of Easter, astronomy had a high ecclesiastical value. For the Doctor it became no less indispensable, as Eastern superstitions gathered round the science of early Greece. "A Doctor without Astrology," declared the mediæval pundits, was like an eye without the power to act. Medical men "must of necessity know and consider the natures and conjunctions of the stars."[2] Even Roger Bacon thought that the most valuable of medicines, compounded in part of pearls and precious stones, should be exposed to the stars' influence for eight days. And these ideas, linked with the attractions of Scholasticism and the timidity of the Church, long prevented medical science from developing in the right direction. Surgery was generally undervalued. The Doctors of Paris in the fourteenth century, and probably the Doctors of Oxford also, thought it a degrading manual art. Surgeons at Oxford could secure a license to practise, but could not secure even an inferior degree. They ranked little if at all above the apothecaries and spicers who sold roots and balsams in the High Street. Anatomy was dreaded, though at Salerno as early as 1238 Frederick II had ordered the dissection of a corpse

[1] See *The Ancient Kalendar of the University of Oxford* (edited by Christopher Wordsworth, O.H.S., p. 13), *Bodl. Quart. Rec.* (II, 238), and *D.N.B.* (article on Ralph Strode). See also Mr. J. L. E. Dreyer's essay on *Mediæval Astronomy* (in Vol. II of the *Studies in the History and Method of Science*), which is based largely on M. Pierre Duhem's *Système du Monde*, and Mr. Gunther's volumes which illustrate, in the fourteenth century especially, the importance of *Early Science in Oxford*. Dr. Singer's *Early English Magic and Medicine* has some interesting sidelights on the medical beliefs of the early Middle Age.

[2] See the passages quoted by Dr. Rashdall (I, 244, n.).

every five years. At Florence, when dissections were permitted, it was found necessary to sustain Professors and students with spices and wine.[1] A great fourteenth-century Doctor at Montpellier mocked at the Northern physicians, who knew all about the Universal and the technicalities of logic, but who knew nothing of practical experiments and could not carry through a single ordinary cure.[2]

The Greeks indeed had bequeathed to their successors traditions which would have taught them better ways. Alone among the nations of antiquity they understood that a science of medicine must depend on observation, not on theory. Hippocrates, the Father of Medicine, "the divine old man," as Sydenham called him, had invented the inductive method some four hundred years before the Christian era. His appeal to experience, his collection of cases, his high and noble ideal of his calling, and the teaching inherited from him and his followers, were the foundation of medical science down to modern times. Galen, who followed five or six hundred years later, overshadowed the history of medicine for a thousand years and more. Galen had the good fortune to propound views which were acceptable to most of the theologians of the Middle Ages, whether they were Christians, Mohammedans or Jews. His vast and wordy treatises contained for centuries almost all that medical students wished to know of physiology, biology, anatomy and botany.[3] His twenty-two volumes, with their Latin, Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew versions, filled the Schools. And even after Aristotle's scientific writings had been re-discovered, and when their vast sweep in physics and psychology, in physiology and above all in biology, was partly understood, Galen continued to dominate the scene. Mediæval philosophers, medical men included, could appreciate Aristotle's treatises on life and death, on soul and sense, on youth and age, on sleep and dreams and waking, better than his contributions to biology and his invaluable observation of living nature. Schoolmen like Albert the Great might plunge into

[1] *Ib.* (I, 246).

[2] *Ib.* (I, 430, n.). Degrees in surgery could be obtained sometimes in Italy, and Bologna became an important home of anatomical science. Boniface VIII forbade the mutilation of corpses. But the practice of dissection was admitted in the fourteenth century at Bologna, Venice and Montpellier, and in the fifteenth century at Saragossa, and, no doubt, elsewhere. (See Puschmann, *Hist. of Medical Education*, tr. E. H. Hare, 243 *sq.*, and Rashdall, I, 245–7 and II, 133.)

[3] Galen was born A.D. 131. His writings in fact contained, says Dr. Singer, to whose little volume on *Greek Biology and Greek Medicine* I am much indebted (p. 69), "the whole knowledge possessed by the world in the department of physiology from the third to the seventeenth century, nearly all the biological conceptions till the thirteenth, and most of the anatomy and much of the botany until the sixteenth century."

the study of botany with a vigour and discrimination not to be despised.[1] Arab commentators might contribute their ingenious learning: Arabic translations were the principal medium through which the medical science of Greece found its way into Western Europe.[2] But still, though science struggled, the cramping traditions of Scholasticism survived. The leaders of medicine still built their theories upon words. At Oxford at any rate it was long before medical science could throw off the swaddling-clothes of the Middle Ages.

At Oxford there were lectures both on theory and on practice. Galen and Hippocrates were the foundation of the course. The *Liber Febrium* of Isaac the Jew and the *Antidotarium* of Nicholas of Salerno are mentioned,[3] and other treatises must have been in use.[4] Most medical students at Oxford probably passed through the Arts training; but an Arts degree was not essential for a medical man, though the inevitable disputations and the duties of responding and opposing were. It appears that the Bachelorship of Medicine, admission to lecture on a book of the *Aphorisms*, generally went with admission to practise in Oxford.[5]

[1] Albert probably drew some of his knowledge of natural history from the works of Michael Scot, a famous scholar and wizard of the thirteenth century, translator of Aristotle, abbreviator of Avicenna and astrologer to Frederick II. Bacon mentions his visiting Oxford in 1230, and Scot may possibly have been an Oxford student. Dante, Boccaccio, Sir Walter Scott and many others have contributed to his fame (see his *Life* by J. Wood Brown and *D.N.B.*).

[2] The profound influence on medical study of translations made from the Arabic in the eleventh and twelfth and perhaps the thirteenth centuries, largely at Monte Cassino and still more largely at Toledo, is shown in a valuable note by Dr. Payne quoted by Dean Rashdall (II, 780–5). "Most of the works of Hippocrates and Galen *must*, and all of them *might*, have been derived" from such translations. For the predominance of Galen see the list of books chosen for lectures at Montpellier in 1340 (*Ib.* 123–4).

[3] *Mun. Acad.* (406 and 409).

[4] Besides Galen's *Liber Tegni* (τέχνη ἰατρική) and the *Aphorisms* and *Regimenta Acutorum* (περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων) of Hippocrates, other works of Galen, if not of Hippocrates, must have been well known at Oxford. Isaac and his disciples wrote on several subjects. The writings of Johannicius, Theophilus and Philaretus (sometimes identified with each other), of Ægidius, the great Parisian Doctor of the twelfth century, and of others, may have been known at Oxford, as at Paris and Cologne. The medical works of Avicenna and the Arabs, widely studied in Southern Europe, were less known, it seems, in the Universities of the North. Compare the information on medical studies at Bologna, Paris, Cologne, Montpellier, given by Dean Rashdall (I, 247–8 and 429–30, and II, 123–4). Sir N. Moore has some notes on the studies of John Mirfield, a London physician of the fourteenth century (*Hist. of the Study of Medicine in the British Isles*).

[5] Rashdall (II, 454–5). At least it seems from *Reg. Aa* to have been so in the fifteenth century.

It could be obtained by Masters of Arts after four years' study; others had to take a longer time.[1] In both cases an examination by the Regent Doctors was required.[2] The full degree of Doctor of Medicine, the license and Inception, needed even for Masters of Arts two years of further study, and it seems probable that these two years were partly spent in practical work.[3] If little hospital practice was available,[4] some attempts to deal with patients may yet have been made, and in the sixteenth century at any rate some slight experience of anatomy and some proof of cures effected was required.[5] But even so the practical training must have been wholly insufficient. The Medical Faculty of Oxford, overweighted with theory and circumscribed by tradition, remained a small and struggling Faculty, although the Crown insisted on its being treated with respect. It was vain for Henry V's legislation to try to confine the practice of the "mysterie of fysyk" to University men. Quacks, unlicensed practitioners, apparently flourished in the town of Oxford,[6] while in the University there was sometimes only one Doctor of Medicine available to teach.[7] There must of course have been able men drawn in all ages to medical study. At Merton

[1] Non-M.As. apparently needed eight years' study for admission "ad practicam in municipio Oxonie" (*Mun. Acad.* 406), as long a period as they needed for the M.D. But the old Statutes are not too clear on all details.

[2] "Super practica" (*Ib.*). But this may be only on the theory of practice. References to Bachelors of Medicine in the early Statutes are very rare. But there is one in *Mun. Acad.* (425).

[3] Dean Rashdall doubts (II, 454, n.), not without reason, whether either examination or practice was required to turn an M.A. into an M.D. But examination was surely needed (*Mun. Acad.* 406): and the admission to practise in Oxford two years before the M.D. degree must surely have been given in order to enable some practical experience to be secured. This seems to have been the custom at Cambridge. (See Peacock, *Observations on Statutes*, App. lii, n.)

[4] The Hospital of St. John could not have afforded valuable facilities for medical training at Oxford. Dr. Singer reminds me that the mediæval hospitals were intended for the aged, the infirm and the chronically ill, just those cases against which modern hospitals are on their guard. Still Hospitals existed. Paris in 1449 required Bachelors of Medicine to visit the hospitals or else to accompany practitioners on their visits. Salerno and Montpellier from an early age, Vienna and Ingoldstadt later, expected Bachelors of Medicine to acquire practical experience; and I think that this was probably the understanding at Oxford too. (See Puschmann, *Hist. of Medical Education*, tr. Hare, 253 *sq.*)

[5] See Hearne (App. to Trokelowe's *Annales Edvardi II*, 347–8) and later (Vol. II, Ch. XII). But the cures may refer to cases of surgery only.

[6] "Multi laici et illiterati practizantes": they were to be punished as disturbers of the peace (*Mun. Acad.* 236–7). This Statute, of May 1400, needs re-editing, but its substance remains.

[7] As for instance in 1414, and he was *alienigena*, not an Englishman. (See *Linc. Episc. Reg. Repingdon*, f. 136–7, and Twyne, II, 13.)

especially in early days the interest shown was strong. But it was not till the sixteenth century, till the control of the Church diminished and science broke its bonds, till medical lecturerships were founded in the University and the College of Physicians started on its life, that a new era in academic medicine began. Even then progress was far from rapid. Theories and formulas still played an abnormal part. To John Earle of Merton in the seventeenth century a "dull Phisitian" was still a thing to mock at. "He is sworne to Galen and Hypocrates, as Vniuersity men to their statues (*sic*), though they never saw them." His "discourse is all Aphorismes." He "tels you your Maladie in Greeke." [1]

Medicine and Law were popularly supposed to lead to a prosperity which philosophers could not hope for :—

> "Dat Galenus opes, dat Justinianus honores,
> Sed genus et species cogitur ire pedes."

But it was not by teaching in Oxford University that either lawyers or physicians found the way to wealth. There was a time, in the days of Roger Bacon, when Civil Law threatened to eclipse all other studies. But before the middle of the fourteenth century it is evident that that danger had passed away, and that very few Doctors of Civil Law remained in residence at Oxford.[2] The Law Schools lectured on Justinian and on Gratian, on the *Digest* which revealed the spirit of Roman jurisprudence, on the *Decretum*, the celebrated twelfth-century textbook which had secured the triumph of the Canon Law. But in England the Law took its own course and trained its own disciples. The Civil Law of Rome was studied chiefly for use in the ecclesiastical Courts.[3] And the Canon Lawyers who filled so many great Sees in mediæval Christendom, and built up the authority of the Roman priesthood over the consciences of men, never secured the same influence in this country as they did abroad. The degree of Bachelor of Civil Law [4] at Oxford required four years of study in the case of Masters of Arts and six years in the case of other people. For the Doctor's degree two or three more years of lecturing and disputing were probably

[1] *Micro-cosmographie* (Arber's reprint of 1869, 25–6).

[2] The authorities could not count on as many as four (*Mun. Acad.* 404 ; Mr. Gibson dates this before 1350). And there was apparently the same scarcity of Canonists (*Ib.* 399).

[3] Edward I's grant of free lodgings in the Palace at Beaumont to Franciscus Accursius, the Bolognese Civilian, whom he brought to Oxford in 1275, is the first trace of any contribution towards the endowment of a University Lecturer (Rashdall, II, 460, n.).

[4] That is, the license to lecture on a book of the *Institutes*. See *Mun. Acad.* (402–5) and Rashdall (II, 454).

expected,[1] and they were chiefly occupied in reading the *Institutes* and certain volumes of the Civil Law. The rules for the Bachelor's degree in Canon Law were not less exacting. They did not stipulate for a degree in Arts.[2] But they enjoined five years' study of the Civil Law, of the *Decretum* of Gratian and the *Decretals* of Gregory IX and his successors.[3] For the Doctorate it seems that two more years of studying, lecturing and disputing were required, and it may be an additional year for those who had not already taken a Civil Law degree.[4]

Doctors of Theology, the supreme science, needed still higher qualifications. For them sixteen to nineteen years of training were not thought too much,[5] though it must be remembered that the practice of dispensing with some of these elaborate requirements increased as time went on. Masters of Arts, with seven years of study behind them, had to work seven years more to become Bachelors of Divinity, to be admitted, that is, to lecture on the *Sentences*, Peter the Lombard's indispensable text-book of theology, which was hardly second in authority to the Bible itself. Albert the Great indeed had assured his pupils that the Virgin possessed a summary knowledge of both.

[1] No time is specified. The chief books mentioned besides the *Institutes* are the *Digestum Novum* and the *Infortiatum*. The ordinance adds—"Qui igitur de cetero legere voluerit instituta, libros saltem ordinarios apparitatos [juris civilis] proprios se juret habere, aut alienos ad minus sibi ad usum totius lecturæ suæ in illa facultate absque fraude concessos" (*Mun. Acad.* 402–3). The words in brackets are added in *Reg. A.*

[2] But they, no doubt, presupposed an Arts training.

[3] On Gratian's great text-book and on the *Decretals* of Gregory IX, Boniface VIII, Clement V and their successors, see Dr. Rashdall's interesting section (I, 128–42).

[4] I think this is probably the meaning of the three material passages in *Munimenta Academica*, which are not very clear. P. 400 gives, as I understand, the requirements for the Bachelorship—three years of Civil law, two years on the *Decretum*, and the *Decretals* complete during the five years. P. 398 gives the requirements for the Doctorate, five years of Civil Law, two years on the *Decretum*, and the *Decretals* twice over meanwhile. P. 399 adds that Inceptors in Canon Law, who have not already ruled in Civil Law, must spend at least three years in Civil Law, two years in Bible study and three years on the *Decretum*, besides hearing the whole of the *Decretals*. The Statutes are not well arranged, and a comparison with Paris or Bologna does not help.

[5] Sir H. C. M. Lyte adds two more years for the Necessary Regency in Arts (223). But did the M.A. who became a theological student wait till those two years were over to begin his theological training? It may be so; the Petre Statutes at Exeter seem to contemplate this (Boase, *Ex. Regist.* 1894, xc); and Necessary Regency was exacting; it required twenty-four lectures a term. But if he did, he would lose most of the advantage which he gained in point of time by taking his Arts degree. The Statutes do not make this clear. The total period again might well be lengthened by students taking more than seven years for their M.A. degree. See also *Reg. Ann. Coll. Merton.* (xxvi).

The seven years included a thorough study of the Bible and the *Sentences*. Opponency came in the fifth year. For the Doctor's license two more years of training were needed, more work upon the Bible and the *Sentences*, more disputations, the delivery of at least one public sermon,[1] Vespers, and all the solemn ceremonial which accompanied the Inceptor's rank. Candidates who were not Masters of Arts, but who obtained leave to dispense with that requirement after the famous Statute of 1253, had to submit to a still longer process, and to work for another two or three years.[2] The Doctors of the supreme science were determined that its distinctions should not be too lightly won.

Hardly less formidable than the tax upon the time of students was the tax upon the student's purse. The costs of the whole elaborate system, of functions like Responsions, Determination and Inception, tended to be far too high.[3] Some efforts were made by the authorities to check them. Statutes were passed forbidding gifts of robes and feasts and drinkings. But these Statutes were afterwards repealed,[4] and it is uncertain how far the efforts to enforce economy were continuous or sincere. The fees for Arts degrees paid to the University were small, only one week's commons for Masters and half that sum for Bachelors.[5] We find a fifteenth-century Bachelor of Arts admitted for fourpence. We find Bachelors in Common Law asked for trifling payments, a contribution to repair a window in the House of Congregation, a noble for the pavement of St.

[1] In Latin at St. Mary's (*Mun. Acad.* 395; see also 391 and 396–7). More preaching, it seems, was required in the fifteenth century. But an English sermon at St. Peter's in the East was preferred by some candidates to a Latin one at St. Mary's (Rashdall, II, 453 and n.).

[2] Candidates who were not graduates in Arts required for the B.D. nine years of theology (*Mun. Acad.* 389) and eight years' study of the liberal arts (*Ib.* 390)—making for the D.D. nineteen years at least. On the requisites for Theological degrees see Mr. Anstey's work (203–4 and 388–97).

[3] William of Wykeham allowed his College to contribute towards the expenses of his poor scholars 13*s.* 4*d.* at Responsions and Determination, and 26*s.* 8*d.* at Inception (*Stats. of Colls.* I, New Coll. 52–3). But these figures must have been constantly exceeded. In the fourteenth century it could have been no rare thing for a degree in Theology to cost—when translated into modern values—two or three hundred pounds.

[4] See *Mun. Acad.* (247 and 455). The date of the latter passage is 1322. In 1478, however, there is some reduction again in the rules for expenditure (*Ib.* 353–4). Perhaps, as Mr. Salter suggests (*Med. Arch.* II, 274), Cambridge was "cutting the rates."

[5] The average receipts from this source at Oxford from 1464 to 1496 —every year is not given—were only about £3 a year. (See the Proctors' Accounts in *Med. Arch.* II, 273 and 275.) Mr. Salter thinks this indicates about thirty M.A. and forty B.A. degrees yearly. The receipts from the Doctors' degrees, however, formed nearly half the University's income (*Ib.* 274). But see *Reg. Ann. Coll. Merton.* (xxii).

Mary's and another for the building fund of the new Schools.[1] But the presents and perquisites required by custom, robes for Masters, gloves for Bedels, and above all the large and extravagant entertainments, were far more serious than the fees. For the higher degrees these costs were very heavy, though probably the charges varied and something was done to accommodate them to what candidates could afford to pay. A new Master of Arts was glad to escape the duty of feasting the Regents by paying twenty pounds, a considerable sum in the Middle Ages.[2] In 1343 the Benedictines proposed to grant twenty pounds for each of their members who incepted in theology.[3] Even poor Friars were made to pay ten pounds, though the University denied this.[4] A Prior of the Austin Friars at Oxford was probably fortunate to escape so cheaply.[5] In the year 1400, we are told, the Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, paid over a hundred and eighteen pounds for two of its members to incept in theology and Canon Law,[6] a sum which could hardly represent in modern money less than fifteen or sixteen hundred pounds. Such figures are difficult to credit. But the old limit for expenditure at Inception was very high," three thousand gross Tournois," [7]

[1] See Boase (*Univ. Reg.* I, 10, 2 and 5).

[2] *Ib.* (I, 7). But the University on its side spent a good deal on feasting Inceptors.

[3] See Wilkins (*Concilia*, II, 714 and 725). Each Inceptor in Canon Law also was to have a grant of 20 marks. But if more than one member of the Order incepted in the same year, these grants had to be divided between them.

[4] *Epist. Acad.* (352–4). It is to be feared the University quibbled.

[5] *Mun. Acad.* (564–5). The Friar's fee was reduced to 10 marks and the monk's to 20 marks in 1478 (*Ib.* 353).

[6] Lyte (225) quotes Tanner MS. 165 (f. 212). But see the *computus* in the Chapter records at Canterbury (*O.* 128[a]). A century and a half later Ramus estimated the cost of the Doctor's degree in Paris at 1,002 *livres* for theologians and at 881 *livres* for medical men. (Rashdall, I, 476.)

[7] " Tria millia Turonensium grossorum " (*Mun. Acad.* 383), or " Turonensium argenteorum " according to the Canon adopted in 1311 by the Council of Vienne. The latter phrase is used in the Cambridge Statutes (Peacock, *Observations*, App. A, xxi). What were these *Turonenses grossi* or *argentei* worth ? Dean Rashdall (I, 232) and other writers speak of them as " pounds Tournois." But if, as Mr. Wylie estimates (*Hist. of Eng. under Henry IV*, vol. IV, 285), the pound Tournois was worth 22*s.* 6*d.* in 1400, the sum becomes incredible. In 1337 Benedict XII forbade the Black Monks to spend more than " valorem duorum millium Turonensis argenti " (Wilkins, *Conc.* II, 599). And in 1346 Clement VI, to solve doubts as to the English equivalent, decreed that " quatuor Turonensium parvorum sterlingo Anglicano in pretio coæquari ; ita quod sexaginta libræ illorum Turonensium æquevaleant libris quindecim sterlingorum " (*Ib.* 734). Here the *Turonenses parvi*, spoken of as pounds, are worth 5*s.* each. But 2,000 of them would make in modern money an almost impossible sum. No wonder there were doubts about the meaning

which seems to have meant according to modern standards about five hundred pounds. Even by this limit some University students declined to be bound. Fine young gentlemen like George Neville of Balliol, who loved magnificent dinners, took full advantage of the regulations which refused to confine expenses too strictly.[1] But wealthy Inceptors like Neville were allowed to pay the expenses of poor colleagues. Even Walter Paston, whom Lady Harcourt disappointed of the venison which she had promised for his feast, hoped to get some advantage from the fact that Lionel Woodville, the Queen's brother, was taking his degree at the same time.[2] The University, too conscious of its own niggardly endowments, was no niggard in allowing other men to spend. And the heavy charges must have operated strongly to prevent students in the higher Faculties from taking their degrees.[3]

The Masters who surmounted all these difficulties and entered on their career as teachers were not permitted to forget the obligations which they had incurred. They were bound in early times to hold disputations for forty days continuously, wearing their full academical dress, and to lecture constantly as "Necessary Regents" for two years.[4] The Mastership, it should

of the phrase, which seems to have been almost as indefinite as some contemporary statements about numbers. But sooner or later for University purposes in England the value of the "tria millia Turonensium" must have been fixed; and I see no reason to reject the estimate given by John Caius in 1574 (*Hist. Cantabrig. Acad.* 123), and based apparently on the Old Proctor's Book at Cambridge, that the *Turonenses* in question were taken to be worth something over 3*d.* each, that forty-eight of them went to the mark and seventy-two to the pound, and that 3,000 of them equalled £41 13*s.* 4*d.* in Elizabethan money. This in modern values is about £500. The Commissioners of 1852 accepted John Caius' calculation (*Documents relating to Univ. and Colls. of Cambridge*, I, 379); and so did Mr. Mullinger (I, 357).

[1] See *Registrum Aa* (66[a]) and Boase (*Reg.* I, ix). Neville also supplicated for leave "accipere" (or "acceptare"—*Mun. Acad.* 731) "sub se tot inceptores quot sibi placuerit."

[2] *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner, III, 248 and lxviii).

[3] The average yearly receipts from Doctors' degrees, £26, between 1464 and 1496, indicate very few degrees each year (*Med. Arch.* II, 273–4). But a list of graduates in 1414 (*Linc. Episc. Reg. Repingdon*, 136–7: Twyne, II, 13–14) shows a substantial number of Doctors and Bachelors of the higher Faculties, about thirty, apparently in residence at that time.

[4] *Ib.* (419 and 452). How old this obligation was, or how long it was enforced, it is difficult to say. It may have been partially dispensed with early. Sir H. C. M. Lyte (quoting *Mun. Acad.* 415) speaks of the one year of necessary Regency being "afterwards lengthened to two years" (217). But the ordinance referred to only requires an Inceptor in Arts to swear "sibi provisum esse de scholis pro anno quo tenebitur ad lecturam," and there is, I think, no proof that it is earlier in date than the ordinances requiring two years of lectures.

be remembered, was originally a vocation, not merely an honorary degree. The fees which the Masters collected,[1] and on which their remuneration depended, were certainly not extravagant in amount. Twelve pence a year or three pence a term was paid for lectures in Logic. Eighteen pence a year was the minimum for lectures in Physics. Grammar fees were rather higher, eight pence a term [2]—perhaps the students needed more attention—and in the superior Faculties the charges were a good deal higher still. Masters as a rule were forbidden to remit them. The Statutes explain that, if a rich man lectured for nothing, poor men might be unable to draw the audiences which they deserved. In the fifteenth century the fees of all Regents in Arts were pooled and equally divided. But they were not always easily collected, and they were probably never large enough. The want of adequate salaries for teachers has hampered University teaching from the earliest days. Duke Humphrey of Gloucester established about 1436 temporary Lecturerships in the Seven Arts and Three Philosophies, but he failed to endow them with the income needed. The famous Lady Margaret, two generations later, was the first to endow a University Chair. But without such permanent endowments University teaching was bound to fail. Tutors and lecturers on College foundations stepped more and more into the places of the old Masters of the Schools. College funds became responsible for teaching which the poverty of the University was unable to provide. The necessary lectures of the Regents were more and more excused or avoided as time went on. In the sixteenth century they became little better than a form. The single "Ordinarius," who survived for generations to give formal lectures in each of the Arts and Philosophies, ceased to command or to expect an audience, and gave "Wall Lectures" to the empty walls.

From very early days, however, the Regents appear to have been by no means indisposed to dispense themselves from the obligation to lecture. Graces and dispensations of all kinds played a large part in University life. The regulations were so cumbrous that it became a common practice to ask for leave to omit some of them. Graces for that purpose became a matter of course, and almost an inseparable part of a degree. When a candidate was ready to graduate and thought that he had studied enough for the purpose, he presented his *supplicat*,

[1] Mr. Anstey, followed by Sir H. C. M. Lyte (218–19), derives the familiar College "Collections" from the fees, *collecta*, paid by pupils, which the Masters were bound to collect (*Mun. Acad.* xcvi, 428, etc.).

[2] But for special teaching more could be charged (*Ib.* 439–40). At Bologna, it seems, the fees for Grammar were lower than the fees for Logic and higher than the fees for Medicine (Rashdall, I, 240).

stating the terms he had kept, the lectures and exercises which he had attended, and asking for the other formalities to be dispensed with.[1] The granting of Graces became a regular source of income.[2] There were petitions of many kinds, petitions for leave to omit a certain number of lectures, petitions, less common perhaps, to vary the books prescribed, petitions to count a term kept at Cambridge or terms spent out of Oxford owing to the plague, petitions backed by influential persons, which at times threatened to degenerate into abuses, to secure University honours for individuals who were far from having satisfied the ordinary rules. And the conditions on which Graces were granted varied as widely. Sometimes they were granted *simpliciter*, without conditions. Sometimes an additional sermon or disputation or additional lectures were required in return. Sometimes presents for the Regents were exacted; robes, knives, dinners were not despised. Sometimes a special contribution, like the payment of a noble, was imposed. And sometimes, when hard pressed for money for a great, expensive purpose such as the building of the Divinity School, the University resorted to what was practically the sale of Graces, perhaps more freely than it liked.[3]

This important power of dispensing with rules, of granting dispensations from Statutes, belonged to the Masters, who not infrequently exercised it in their own behalf. There is evidence that it was easily abused.[4] But it is not so easy to say to which Congregation the power originally or properly belonged.[5] It is clear that the Lesser Congregation of Regents possessed it,

[1] E.g. in January 1456 John Toly, a Benedictine monk, supplicates that two years in the Faculty of Arts and six years in Canon Law with four long and short vacations may suffice that he be admitted *ad lecturam extraordinariam* of any book of the *Decretals*. This Grace, it may be added, which was conceded, was promulgated by one of the Proctors (*Reg. Aa*, 93[b]).

[2] In the latter part of the fifteenth century they brought in to the University on the average some £16 or £17 a year (*Med. Arch.* II, 273).

[3] *Mun. Acad.* (572–3). See also *Ib.* (730–5).

[4] *Ib.* (95 and 331–2).

[5] Dean Rashdall thinks (II, 447, n.) that the constitutional power of dispensation lay with the Regents, except when specially reserved by Statute to the Great Congregation. But I am not sure that this view covers all the facts. The University was allowed, in the words of the Preface to *Reg. A.* (*Mun. Acad.* 369) "cœtu Magistrorum regentium et non-regentium adjurato [recte adunato], statuta corrigere, eis addere seu detrahere . . . quatenus major pars Universitatis et sanior, deliberatione prævia, duxerit ordinandum: solent tamen Regentes sine Non-regentibus, propter fatigationes et vexationes frequentes in vocatione Non-regentium evitandas, gratiose cum personis aliquibus, certis ex causis, contra statuta aliquoties dispensare"; but they must be properly summoned, and all present must consent,

and from their use of it there has descended their immemorial right to confer degrees. But it is equally clear that the Great Congregation of Regents and Non-Regents exercised it also. And there can be no doubt that the Congregation of Artists claimed the right to discuss the grant of Graces, as well as other matters, before they went on to the Great Congregation.[1] But this claim was not uncontested,[2] and by the middle of the fifteenth century it may have been generally ignored.[3] The Register of that period shows us the Great Congregation granting Graces so freely, in one year at any rate, that their prerogative in the matter must have been beyond dispute.[4] Possibly in this, as in other cases, the lines were not always strictly drawn, and the old regulations proved more flexible in practice than their wording would suggest. Graces were undoubtedly a valuable device. They provided for all sorts of special cases. They avoided possible hardships. They rendered elastic a system where elasticity was greatly required. And when the ancient rules went out of fashion, they were of considerable use in bridging over the change to newer ways.

The winning of a Master's degree in the Middle Ages, still more the winning of the Doctorate in Medicine, Theology or Law, required, as these time-honoured regulations show us, a substantial period of work. The ways of learning were difficult and costly. The standards insisted on in principle at any rate were high. Many of the young men who passed through Oxford, who crowded its churches, sang in its taverns, fought in its by-ways, disputed in its Schools, probably found these demands beyond them and failed to carry the process through. The splendid ardour of the age of Abélard, the exaltation of the age which discovered Aristotle afresh, yielded in time to duller

[1] *Mun. Acad.* (117, 331–2, 429 and 491).

[2] *Ib.* (188–9).

[3] On March 17, 1450, in days when its old importance had departed, the Black Congregation resolved to ask the Great Congregation to decree, for this time only, that the Graces on the roll (with two exceptions) might be sought in the Black (*Parva*) Congregation, any Statute notwithstanding; and this proposal the Great Congregation accepted next day (*Reg. Aa*, 41^b). It is regrettable that our information on these points depends so largely on one fifteenth-century Register. In 1503 a decree forbade the Congregation of Regents to grant dispensations in cases reserved by Statute to the Great Congregation. (See *Reg. B*, 102, and *E*, 64^b.)

[4] The entries in *Registrum Aa* in February 1456 record a number of Graces granted by the Lesser Congregation of Regents, one or two and three or four at a time. But these are accompanied by much more numerous grants of Graces made by the Great Congregation, six, nine, thirteen, twenty-four, in a single day. In that month at any rate the great majority of Graces must have been granted by the larger body. (See *Reg. Aa* 93^b, 94^a, 95, 96 and 97^a.)

generations and more commonplace aims, to the search for experience, adventure or good fellowship, to the ordinary needs of education, to the calls of a professional career. The soul of the old system languished, and men became impatient of its verbal casuistry, its stereotyped routine. But the life of mediæval Oxford at its best was a life which scholars could delight in. The atmosphere was one of intellectual effort, widely diffused if not always clearly understood. The comradeship of master and pupil, the contact of mind with mind, bore fruit. And the leaders of thought, however few their disciples, never forgot the grandeur of their task, to make all knowledge the training ground of reason and reason the interpreter of faith, and by their help to solve the overshadowing problems of the destiny of man and the purposes of God.

CHAPTER VI

THE SCHOOLMEN OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY—DUNS SCOTUS, OCKHAM, WYCLIFFE

WHATEVER Oxford taught men in the Middle Ages there is no doubt that she taught them to dispute. Philosophy was a lofty and laborious science, in which only a minority of students could hope to travel far. But all who wished to enter on that field of study had to learn the use of logic first.[1] The syllogistic method was universal. To excel in logical discussion was the test of success. Oxford logicians and philosophers may have produced an infinity of sophisms. But they produced also a number of fine and subtle minds. And in none were their characteristics more conspicuous than in the great Schoolman who made Franciscan influence for a time supreme, and whose name, by the strange ironies of chance and education, has become a synonym for stupidity to-day. Even Thomas Cromwell's Commissioners, who " set Dunce in Bocardo," could not destroy his reputation, though they scattered his writings to the winds. His intricate and imaginative genius, with the keen and vigorous reactions it provoked, left its stamp deeply on the later Schoolmen and helped for generations to mould European thought.

Thomas Aquinas, as even his critics admitted, had made a noble effort to settle once for all the foundations of philosophy, to render the orthodox thinker contented and secure. But into his place as the chief leader of the Schools there stepped a new philosopher, whose disturbing ingenuity opened the floodgates of speculation afresh. Of the life of John Duns Scotus we know curiously little. He was a Franciscan Friar, born somewhere in these islands, earlier probably than 1274, the year of St. Thomas' death. He lectured at Oxford, it seems, about the beginning of the fourteenth century. He lectured also at Paris. He wrote voluminously. He died at Cologne.[2] But beyond these facts we know nothing certainly about him. The

[1] The distinction between *logica utens*, which was a method not a science, and *logica docens*, of which the proper object was the syllogism, and which was a science in so far as it dealt with the laws of thought, was emphasised by Duns Scotus but is found in Albert the Great.

[2] In November 1308, for certain, says Pluzanski (10).

monument erected to his memory in 1513 in the Minorite Church at Cologne summarised all, perhaps more than all, that we can safely say.

> " Scotia me genuit,
> Anglia me suscepit,
> Gallia me docuit,
> Colonia me tenet."

Two great authorities[1] have declared that no materials now exist at Oxford likely to throw more light on his career. A manuscript at Merton College, written in 1455, makes him a native of Northumberland and a Fellow of Merton ; the former statement may be worth consideration, but the latter may be dismissed. A note in the catalogue of the Library at Assisi, written in 1381, makes him an Irishman. A strong plea has been put forward for his Scottish birth.[2] A reasonable conjecture identifies him with a " Johannes Douns," who in the year 1300 failed to secure the Bishop's license to hear confessions in Oxford. If this identification be correct, Duns must have been thirty by that time and could not have been born as late as 1274. But he apparently remained in Oxford, and was soon afterwards lecturing on the *Sentences* as a Bachelor of Divinity there. His great commentary on the *Sentences*, known later as the *Scriptum* or *Opus Oxoniense*, soon won a high place in the Schools. Like other Schoolmen Duns took the whole world of knowledge for

[1] Bishop Stubbs and Mr. Coxe of the Bodleian (Mullinger, I, 173, n.). But younger Oxford scholars may have more to say ; and to one of them, Mr. C. R. S. Harris, who is now working on Duns Scotus, I owe many valuable suggestions. The facts as to Duns' life will be found in Mr. Little's *Grey Friars* (219–22), in his edition of Father Fitzmaurice's *Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland* (87–8), in De Martigné's *La Scolastique et les traditions Franciscaines* (256–98), and in *D.N.B.* Wadding's great edition of his works (1639) includes some of which the authorship is doubtful : the *De Rerum Principio* in vol. III is important for Duns' metaphysical views, and the great collection of *Quæstiones* on the *Sentences* in vols. V to X, which constitute the *Opus Oxoniense*, is important for his theology, and indeed for all his precepts. Among modern writers, besides the references in Mr. Mullinger's and Dean Rashdall's volumes, and Dr. Harnack's discussion of Duns' contributions to dogma in vol. VI of his *History of Dogma* (tr.), see Hauréau (*Hist. de la Philosoph.* 1872–80, Pt. II, t. ii, 171–259), Renan (*Jean Duns Scot* in the *Hist. Lit. de la France*, XXV, 404–67), Pluzanski (*Philosophie de Duns Scot*), Werner (*Scholastik des späteren Mittelalters*, I), Prantl (*Geschichte der Logik*, III, 202 *sq.*), Stöckl (*Gesch. der Philosoph.* II, 778–868), P. Minges (*Der Gottesbegriff des Duns Scotus*, Wien, 1907, and *Der Verhältniss zwischen Glauben und Wissen, Theologie und Philosophie nach Duns Scotus*, Paderborn, 1908), the articles by Minges and H. Klug in the *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* (Fulda, 1906, pp. 338–47, and 1917, pp. 44–78), and Dr. B. Landry (*Duns Scot*, Paris, 1922).

[2] By P. André Callebault in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (tom. XIII, 1920, pp. 78–88).

his province. His speculations on astronomy—the profound influence of the stars on human life was of course a commonplace with the thinkers of his age—did not close, if they did not open, the way to modern science. His views on civil society, on property and contract, showed his independence. His plea for poverty as almost essential to holiness, his exaltation of the poverty-loving monks above the secular prelates of the Church, brought down perhaps rebukes upon his head.[1] As a moralist he was sometimes startling. As a grammarian he had both originality and breadth. As a mathematician he is said to have been remarkable. As a logician he was supreme. In December 1304 he was called to Paris, in a letter which bore witness to his "praiseworthy life, his excellent knowledge and his most subtle mind." In Paris he taught perhaps for three or four years. He may then have lectured for a short time in the Franciscan Schools at Cologne. There is little reason to reject the tradition that he died early. There is still less reason to accept the story which declares that he was buried alive in a trance. But he found time to fill twelve folio volumes with dialectics which fascinated if they bewildered his age. And posterity for long bore witness, as ungrudgingly as his own generation, to the depth, the richness, the dexterity of his extraordinary mind.

Able critics have differed widely in their interpretations of Duns Scotus' philosophy. Some have recognized him rightly as above all else a metaphysician. Others have maintained with less plausibility that the worship of logic was the key to his career.[2] The exact value to be assigned to logic was a favourite subject of discussion in the Schools. Two famous teachers of the thirteenth century, William Shirwood and Petrus Hispanus—the latter a Portugese divine trained in Paris, afterwards conspicuous as Pope John XXI—had introduced to Latin scholars a new method of treating logic, and Pope John's *Summulæ Logicales* were for long a leading text-book in the West.[3] But

[1] The treatise *De Perfectione Statuum*, if genuine, may well have caused resentment, and may well, as Dr. Landry points out (*Duns Scot*, 245–50), have been made a reason for removing the writer summarily in 1308 from Paris to Cologne.

[2] M. Hauréau and Dean Milman (*Latin Christianity*, 1864, ix, 141) represent the two schools. It is not easy to be certain first what Duns actually wrote, secondly how far he varied his opinions, and thirdly how far his commentators have interpreted him aright.

[3] Mr. Mullinger (I, 175–9), following Prantl (*Geschich. der Logik*, II, 264), derives the work of Shirwood and of Petrus Hispanus from the manual on logic written by Psellus, an eleventh-century Professor at Constantinople. But it is quite as likely that the *Synopsis* of Psellus, so-called, was a later translation into Greek of the *Summulæ* of Petrus Hispanus, which even in the fifteenth century were still read in St. Andrews and Glasgow. See M. Thurot's articles (*Revue Archéologique*, 1864, X,

with the re-discovery of Aristotle and the re-birth of philosophy logic ceased to occupy so large a space. The leaders of the Schools depended on it still as an instrument invaluable for arriving at knowledge. But they refused to rank it with physics or metaphysics, as a science dealing with veritable entities like the laws of Nature or the existence of God. Albert the Great laid it down that logic was not concerned with being but only with "second intentions." [1] Second intentions were conceptions of the human intellect which had no real existence in the Divine mind or in the external world. And if Duns Scotus argued that these concepts of the intellect had an objective reality, and that the logic concerned with them was a science of reasoning though not a real science,[2] he differed little from Albert or Aquinas there. He cannot fairly be charged with teaching men to regard logic as an end rather than a means, or to accept *a priori* reasoning, verbal subtleties and intellectual distinctions as more important than the scientific observation by which alone true knowledge can be advanced.

Scotus realised as clearly as any of the Schoolmen that there were fields which logic could not cover, beliefs which it was idle to ask it to explain. Old teachers had subordinated philosophy to theology. Aquinas and his disciples had reconciled the two. But with Duns Scotus and William of Ockham they to some extent parted company again. Aquinas had been forced to reserve certain of the Christian mysteries, doctrines like the Creation, the Trinity, the Incarnation, as problems of faith which reason could not adequately solve. Duns, it seems, went further in relegating doctrines of theology to the sphere of faith. He could not find a satisfactory proof of the omnipotence of God or of the immortality of the soul.[3] In one treatise indeed he produced

267–81, and *Revue Critique d'Histoire*, etc., 1867, I, 199–202, and II, 4–11), Ueberweg (*Hist. of Philosophy*, tr., I, 404, n.), Dr. Poole's article on Ockham, *D.N.B.*, and Rashdall (II, 296, n.). As regards Shirwood I cannot agree with Mr. Mullinger (I, 177) that the reference to "old Sherewood's Vicetie" in Ben Jonson's song written for *The King's Entertainment at Welbeck* (Fol. of 1640, p. 278)—it is not a part of the *Underwoods*—has anything to do with the thirteenth-century Schoolman. The piece has several topical references to Sherwood Forest.

[1] "Scientiæ logicæ non considerant ens et partem entis aliquem, sed intentiones secundas" (Prantl, III, 91, n.). As M. Hauréau explains it (II, ii, 176), the intellect, directing itself towards external objects, discerns, for example, the individual Socrates; that notion is the *intentio prima*. It then goes on to recognise Socrates as an animal; that notion is the *intentio secunda*.

[2] *Scientia rationalis*, not *scientia realis*. It deals with *entia rationis* or *secundæ intentiones*.

[3] "Immortalitas animæ non potest demonstrari via naturali." (See note to *Quæst.* I, *Distinct.* xvii, on the Second Book of the *Sentences*, in Wadding, VI, 787.)

argument after argument for the existence of a single, final Cause.[1] He maintained the possibility of securing by natural reason some knowledge of God.[2] And he held with St. Thomas that some of God's attributes could be explained by reason while others could be deduced from revelation alone. But for Scotus, it seems, even more than for Aquinas, there were certain all-important dogmas of religion which it had to be frankly recognised that neither logic nor philosophy could prove.[3] He found their source and explanation only in the will of God, on which everything depended, the world's existence and the moral law. Deeply and warmly religious, he raised the claims of authority even higher than before. But at the same time, if all the works attributed to him are genuine, some of his arguments might have been used to sweep the rational basis of belief away.[4] For Aquinas the Divine Will, like the human will, was subject to a rational determination. God commanded what was good because it was good. Arabian commentators even denied the freedom of God. For Duns the Divine Will was subject to far less limitation. Good was good because God willed it so.[5] He emphasised and insisted on the Free Will of God. That was with him a cardinal doctrine, though it might occasionally lead to dangerous admissions and results. He insisted also on the freedom of man. He exalted the will as compared with the intellect, love as compared with knowledge. He would have softened the rigour of the Augustinian teaching by reviving in all its fullness the earlier doctrine of Free Will. But in the main he left theology dependent on authority and faith. Clearer than human argument and observation there shone

[1] *De Rerum Principio* (Wadding, III).

[2] See Pluzanski (Chap. VI).

[3] It is very difficult to be sure of Duns' views on the relations between theology and philosophy. See Minges (*Das Verhältniss zwischen Glauben und Wissen*).

[4] Mr. Harris has pointed out to me that in the *De Rerum Principio*, the *De Primo Principio* and the Commentaries on the *Sentences* Duns' position is not in principle different from that of St. Thomas, and that it is only in the *Theoremata*, a fragment incomplete and ill-arranged, that a more sceptical position is taken up. Mr. Harris doubts if this is Duns' work. So does P. Déodat Marie de Basly in an article on the *Theoremata* in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (tom. XI, 1918, pp. 3–31). On the other hand a very recent commentator, Dr. Landry, does not accept this view.

[5] But that, Minges points out, did not prevent good things from having also an inherent goodness in them. See on the problem of the arbitrariness of the Free Will of God, on which Duns has probably been often misinterpreted, Minges' treatise *Der Gottesbegriff des Duns Scotus* and his article in the *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* for 1906 (*Bedeutung von Objekt, Umständen und Zweck für die Sittlichkeit eines Aktes nach Duns Scotus*).

within the soul a light divine, illuminating man's experience, revealing in the darkness the difficult approach to truth.

But in philosophy Duns Scotus took a bolder tone. Realist as he was,[1] often as he may seem to yield to the Realist temptation to "multiply entities without necessity," to fill with abstractions the whole world of thought, his re-statement of the problems set by the Schoolmen was both original and profound. On the great problem of the Universals orthodox Scholasticism was now to a large extent agreed.[2] The old question "What is the Universal?" had been succeeded by the question "In what does Individuality consist?" The problem how the Universal existed in the individual had reappeared as the problem of individuation, and Aquinas, by maintaining that the principle of individuation lay in matter, had startled and confused his age. Duns Scotus joined issue on that point with the Dominican teaching, and tried to re-state the whole problem in regard to Universals afresh. He and his disciples inevitably challenged some of St. Thomas' conclusions, his theories in regard to angels, his doctrine of the Unity of Form. But Duns was less concerned to deny specifically the doctrines of Aquinas than to place his own interpretation on the old problems, to find fresh meanings of infinite variety for formulas which had racked so many philosophic minds. He delighted in ingenious speculation. His method is controversial and involved. His chief work was done in commenting on others, in explaining, answering, refining points which they had raised. His comments made at different times may not be always perfectly consistent. He did not live long enough, it may be, to elaborate a complete or final statement of his views. But as arguments they are stimulating and suggestive in a high degree. The origin of knowledge and ideas, the existence, the will and the attributes of God, the nature of matter, the problem of being, the source of the intellect and of the soul of man—these were the vast and lofty questions which Duns Scotus once more called the Schoolmen to debate.

Scotus was neither a sceptic nor a mystic, though he may have had something of the nature of both. Nor in many of his doctrines did he travel far from the path trodden by the orthodox thinkers of his day. Like them he took the experience of the senses as the basis of our knowledge. Like them, trying to give Aristotle "a Catholic interpretation," he sought the principle

[1] Yet the Nominalists borrowed from Duns some of their weapons, and the distinction between Realism and Nominalism is not in his case always clear. M. Hauréau (II, ii, 216–24) perhaps presses the charge of Realism too far.

[2] That is, in substantially accepting the existence at once in different senses of the Universals *ante rem*, *in re* and *post rem*.

of life outside the body, and agreed that through the soul the body lives and feels and thinks. But he differed from St. Thomas as to the way in which the soul became united with the body, and as to the nature of the body when once united with the soul. St. Thomas, in his determined opposition to materialism, held that the "corporeity" of the body,[1] even that which made it a body, was due to the soul. And he held that there was only one soul in man, one substantial form, the *anima rationalis*, which included all the vital functions. But was St. Thomas right in maintaining that matter had no actual entity and could not exist without form? Did not his acceptance of matter as the principle of individuation imply that after death there would be no matter by which human minds could be distinguished from each other and involve a heresy, the unity of all human minds? Was not the doctrine of the Unity of Form even more dangerous theologically? For if the soul were the form of the body, it disappeared with it, and Christ's body in the tomb could not have been substantially the same as Christ's living body. Duns could not accept these conclusions. He held, perhaps more naturally, that corporeity belonged to the body. The body might preserve its form even when the soul passed from it. Christ kept His form of corporeity in the tomb. Absolute unity of form could not be insisted on. More than one form must enter into the making of man.

In the days when Duns Scotus was a student, Aquinas had by no means won universal recognition, and in arguing against some of his innovations Duns was upholding the older traditions of the Schools. Duns drew from St. Augustine two of his favourite doctrines, the superiority of the will to the intelligence and the Plurality of Forms.[2] But in each case he took a view of his own. An important letter exists, written by Archbishop Kilwardby, probably about 1278, to an Archbishop of Corinth who had fallen a victim to the temptations of Aquinas.[3] The English Primate took his stand on St. Augustine. He maintained the substantial reality of the *rationes seminales sive originales rerum*—the germs deposited by God in matter, to

[1] The *esse corporeum*, distinct from the *esse vivendum* (Pluzanski, 114–15).

[2] Prof. de Wulf, in his edition of *Le Traité "De Unitate Formæ" de Gilles de Lessines* (*Les Philosophes Belges*, I, 22 and 30–2), argues that the thesis of the plurality of forms was not Augustinian by temperament, but the product of a "péripatétisme faussé," and largely due to Arabic and Jewish interpretations of Aristotle.

[3] This letter, with the six main points selected for argument, is given by F. Ehrle in his article on Augustinianism and Aristotelianism in *Archiv für Literatur-und-Kirchen-Geschichte des Mittelalters* (V, 603–35), and is discussed by De Wulf in Chap. VI of his introduction to G. de Lessines' treatise.

appear one day as substantial forms[1]—which played so large a part in the teaching of that great Father of the Church.[2] He insisted on the multiplicity of forms in nature, on the need of distinguishing the vegetative, the sensitive and the intellectual souls in man. The many operations of the human body, the diversity of parts affected—the feet and hands and eyes of a living man—required a diversity of integrating forms. So only could the problem of human generation and the deeper problems of the faith be understood. Duns refined upon this earlier theory. He took a line between Kilwardby and Aquinas. There was one primary form actuating matter and producing the body. There was another form giving life.[3] Duns held that, besides the soul, the body had its *forma corporeitatis*, and that the organs of the body had their own substantial forms. But he held also that the vegetative, sensitive and intellectual souls were not three forms but one. He would not allow plurality of forms within the spiritual principle. He would not multiply entities without necessity there. He called in the famous principle of parsimony, *Frustra fit per plura quod per pauciora æque bene fieri potest.* The doctrine of form and matter was bound up inextricably with the ideas of act and power.[4] The determining act, it was argued on the one side, must be a single form and simple. The constituting principle of things in nature, that which in communicating itself to matter gave it its substantial determination, could not be composed of several forms. The problem was to reconcile the unity of the soul with the multiplicity of its operations. To which on the other side it was answered that the multiplicity of a being's perfections required a multiplicity of substantial forms, which all applied their determining act to matter. The problem was to assign the share of each in constituting the concrete thing.[5] To the mind of Duns Scotus, who could conceive of matter as created before any form determined its existence, any number of acts might interpose between

[1] Ehrle (*Ib.* 633) describes them as " wirkliche in der ' materia prima' schlummernde Kräfte, welche, durch die Einwirkung des eine neue Wesensform hervorbringenden Princips erweckt, zu jener Hervorbringung mitwirken." See also Landry (*Duns Scot*, ch. III).

[2] On the main points of the Augustinian philosophy see De Wulf's essay quoted above (ch. II, 15–16).

[3] See Landry (78). On the meaning and relations of Matter and Form and Power and Act see also an article by H. Klug on *Die Lehre des Johannes de Duns Skotus über Materie und Form nach den Quellen dargestellt* (*Philosophisches Jahrbuch*, 1917, pp. 44–78). I owe this reference and others to Mr. C. R. S. Harris.

[4] " D'une part le potentiel (*δύναμις*) ou l'indeterminé . . . d'autre part l'actuel (*ἐνέργεια*). . . . Le support primordial de la puissance et de l'acte se retrouve dans le couple ' matière première et forme substantielle ' " (De Wulf, 23).

[5] The *compositum*.

the primary matter not yet in existence and the final union of form and matter in the concrete thing.

Idealist as he was, Duns insisted on the unity of matter and on its presence in all things created.[1] St. Thomas had perplexed the orthodox by suggesting that angels had no matter in them, and that in matter the principle of individuation lay. Duns declared that matter must enter into angels as into other things, and thus restored the individuality of the angel host.[2] He likened the world to a beautiful tree. Its roots were prime matter. Its leaves were passing accidents. Its branches were substances subject to corruption. Its flower was the reasoning soul, its fruit the angelical nature. And the hand of God had formed it from the first.[3] He recognised the existence of matter and form in all beings susceptible of change, of matter which is the subject of the change, and of form which is its result. But he distinguished, in his earlier works at least, matter primarily prime, which had no form, only essence without existence, from matter secondarily prime, which had received the form of the corruptible and the incorruptible, and from matter prime in the third degree, which was distributed among all species. He traced to form the differences which determined matter secondarily and thirdly prime alike. It was in the ultimate form which actualised the ultimate division of matter, which conferred on the substance individual existence, that the principle of individuation must be found, in other words, in a special principle which made it this being rather than that.[4] And for this individuating form Duns invented the strange term *hæccitas* or *thisness*, where Aquinas had been contented to dwell on the *quidditas* or *whatness* constituting man. "Over speculations like these," cried Erasmus passionately, "theologians professing to teach Christianity have been squandering their lives." As one strains after the meaning of the Schoolmen, one ceases to wonder at the thirteenth-century story of the upright and unhappy clerk, who was sometimes led by his studies to doubt whether he had a soul at all, whether there were a God to seek for, and whether the world were other than a dream.[5]

[1] See Wadding (III, 52 *sq.*).

[2] St. Thomas had to rely on the theory that every angel was a separate species, while men were individuals of one species.

[3] *De Rerum Principio* (VIII, 4, 30; Wadding, III, 53). The roots divided into corporeal and spiritual branches.

[4] As Dr. Landry puts it, human substance can be given to many individuals. The same substance augmented by *hæccitas* can only belong to one (*Duns Scot*, 101). The constituting principle of individuality, Pluzanski comments (229 and note) is that which completes the reality of the being, *ultima realitas entis—realitas* not *res*.

[5] *A Medieval Garner* (299).

It was not difficult to mock—Erasmus mocked delightfully—at notions, formalities, quiddities like these, "things which no eyes ever saw, unless they were eyes which could see in the dark what had no existence." What gave to such arguments their practical importance was their bearing on theology and the problems of the faith. If the Doctors of the Church inquired what happened to the elements in the Eucharist when the miracle of Transubstantiation was performed, they were driven for explanation to the metaphysics of the Schools. When St. Thomas argued for the Unity of Form, he had to apply his doctrine to the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and to explain how that mystery was intelligible if the form of Christ had passed at death. The questions how the great miracle was to be interpreted, what happened to the substances and accidents when the ceremony took place, in what sense Christ in the first memorable Supper partook of Himself, how the Eucharist could have been celebrated while Christ's body remained in the grave—a point which Aquinas had not made intelligible, but which Duns Scotus urged with his irrepressible imagination[1]—these were the problems which assailed the Schoolmen, and which at times they handled with astonishing intrepidity and resource. No doubt, they had to pay their tribute, not only to august traditions, but to the emotional cravings of their age. Critics have pointed out how large a part is played in religious history by popular superstition, based in the first place on the senses, modified—not always rendered clear—by philosophic teaching, and accepted by ecclesiastical authority in the end. But the demands of faith and the need for explanation in their turn stimulated the advance of thought.[2] The Schoolmen were scientists as well as theologians. Confined and mysterious as were the ways in which they wandered, they were yet the ways of learning and inquiry, and the men who followed them were recognised as the intellectual leaders of their age.

It was no proof of intellectual weakness if mediæval Oxford found Duns Scotus hard to understand. And it was not unnatural that posterity, reviewing with little sympathy the labours of the Schoolmen, fixed on his metaphysical gymnastics as the supreme type of over-refinement in debate. "The logician spins cobwebs out of his own inside," sang the students who studied his writings, and even more readily the students who did not.

[1] On Duns' doctrine of the Sacraments see Harnack's summary (tr. VI, 226–7, n.).

[2] "From the doctrine of God there grew up the doctrines of thought and of will; from the doctrine of the Trinity, the doctrine of the Kosmos; from the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, the doctrine of space" (*Ib.* VI, 238; see also 313, n.).

"Logicus araneæ potest comparari,
Quæ subtiles didicit telas operari,
Quæ suis visceribus volunt consummari."

Rabelais mocked at the "Barbouillamenta Scoti." Humanists and Protestants poured ridicule upon his faults. Diderot coined a word to rebuke his sophistications. Descartes declared that the logic of the Schoolmen more often corrupted than added to sense. No doubt, the Subtle Doctor sometimes allowed his love of argument to carry him too far. No doubt, the study he excelled in preferred defining words to ascertaining facts. "What is the best thing and the worst among men?" asks the clerk in the curious old Oxford Catechism,[1] among numerous other questions dealing largely with the family history of Adam and of Noah. And the Master's answer "Word is best and worst" perhaps throws some light on the method of the Schools. How many of Duns' hearers, one wonders, followed his flights completely? How many found a stimulus, how many found bewilderment, in contact with that astonishing debater? Yet behind the ceaseless syllogisms, the singular and intricate distinctions, the imagination of the controversial thinker running wild, one hears a voice that has thoughts to utter, one sees a strong, clear intellect at work. The methods may be devious or misleading. But the vision splendid is in view. And Duns after all was occupied with subjects which were the chosen study of some of the best minds of his day. If the Realist sought in Universals the foundations of individual life, if the Nominalist tried to weave into his philosophy such observation of natural phenomena as his opportunities allowed, if teachers led their pupils to examine the relation of form to matter and of concepts to realities, the meaning of substance, accidents, species and the like, it was from no mere love of verbal quibbling or of arguing for arguing's sake. It was because they thought that these difficult speculations were steps upon the path of knowledge, real aids to the solution of the mysteries of life. Beyond the web of Scholastic disputation they saw the quest of the Holy Grail. And the problems which they struggled to interpret are not dead. To every boy who grows to manhood in the city where Duns Scotus taught, there comes sooner or later, if he has a mind that questions, the longing to know more of these perplexities, the imperious impulse to unravel them if he may. Oxford's inheritance from the Middle Ages is the attempt to think about high things like these. And so long as youth lasts and inquires and wonders, the voice which the Schoolmen vainly

[1] Of the date of Henry V; quoted from the Lansdowne MSS. by Mr. Coulton (*A Medieval Garner*, 588–90).

tried to answer will call, and call not vainly, to the hearts and understandings of men.

Other names and other arguments not less perplexing play their part in the philosophy of the great Franciscan School. Duns, no doubt, wandered far from the paths which other Grey Friars had trodden, from the devout mysticism of Bonaventura and the practical common-sense of Bacon. But both inside and outside his Order his views found friends. Henry of Ghent, a fellow-student of Aquinas at Cologne, and one of the earliest and most brilliant theologians of the Sorbonne, anticipated some of Duns' opinions.[1] Three Minorites, claimed as Oxford students,[2] William of Ware, William de la Mare and Richard Middleton, have been reckoned among his masters. William de la Mare was one of the boldest critics of St. Thomas' doctrine of Unity of Form, and William of Ware's commentary upon the *Sentences* may be read in the Merton Library to-day. When the Subtle Doctor's brief career was over, his victorious syllogisms still held their empire in debate. At Oxford teachers like John Dumbleton and John Baconthorp the Carmelite sustained them. Walter Burley, the tireless commentator upon Aristotle, taught upon lines which the Realists had traced.[3] And though Richard of Bury, the book-loving Bishop of Durham, added nothing, for all his interest and celebrity, to the philosophy of his day, Thomas Bradwardine, one of his Chaplains, lent the authority of a celebrated treatise to support the Realist tradition and the accepted logic of the Schools. Bradwardine, a great figure in the Church, a great student of philosophy, and an Archbishop of Canterbury whom the Black Death struck down, returned to the ideas of Augustine, and foreshadowed some of Calvin's views. His bold appeal to Predestinarian dogmas gave a lead which Wycliffe followed, struck a deep note in the theology of his time. And Chaucer himself has borne witness to the part which the intellectual discussion of such problems played in the England which he knew.

> " But what that God forwoot moot nedes bee,
> After the opinioun of certein clerkis,
> Witnesse on hym that any parfit clerk is,

[1] See Hauréau (II, ii, Chap. XVIII). He also has been claimed as an Oxonian (Rashdall, II, 529, n. and 526, n.).

[2] The evidence is not strong. William de la Mare was an opponent of Aquinas, and owed a good deal, it seems, to Bonaventura and to Bacon. Richard Middleton is said to have written on the Immaculate Conception, a doctrine whose triumph has been associated also with Duns. (See Little, *Grey Friars*, 213–5, Hauréau, II, ii, Chap. XX, and Rashdall, II, 530 and 539.)

[3] Walter Burley of Merton cannot be claimed as a Friar.

That in scole is greet altercacioun
In this mateere, and greet disputisoun
And hath been of an hundred thousand men." [1]

Meanwhile within the ranks of his own Order a revolt against the methods of Duns Scotus had begun. Whether or not William of Ockham took his name from the ancient Surrey village whose peace not even the cataract of modern traffic has destroyed, there is no doubt that he was studying among the Grey Friars of Oxford in the days when the doctrines of the Subtle Doctor filled the Schools. Recent criticism has dealt severely with the traditions gathered round the early life of Ockham, and most of the facts alleged about it have been successfully impugned. He was never a member of Merton College. He was never, it seems, a leader or even a student in the Schools of Paris. He was born too late to be a pupil of Duns Scotus. He probably never qualified for the title of Doctor which posterity unanimously conferred.[2] But he was undoubtedly a son of Oxford. It was at Oxford that he studied and lectured and won his Bachelor's degree. And it was from Oxford that his fame as a theologian and philosopher spread to Paris and occupied the world. The followers of Aquinas found their master's doctrines, on the principle of individuation, on species, on divine ideas, subjected to a criticism keener than any they had met with yet. The followers of Duns Scotus found, under the Franciscan banner, an antagonist strong enough in intellect and courage to sweep the needless abstractions of their School away.

It was as a critic chiefly that William of Ockham excelled, and his criticism proved surprisingly destructive to many of the doctrines which the older Schoolmen had maintained. He abandoned, more definitely and boldly than Duns Scotus, the attempt to identify reason with religion. He declared that the dogmas of theology lay, and must ever lie, beyond the region of proof. Logic had its own sphere and processes and limitations. Philosophy and psychology had clear and intelligible aims. But

[1] See *The College Chaucer* (ed. MacCracken, 200); the passage is quoted by Mullinger (I, 198–9). Bradwardine's famous treatise, *De Causa Dei*, was of great importance in fourteenth-century theology (see Harnack, VI, 169–70). Dr. Rashdall comments (II, 540)—"However appalling some of the Augustinian dogmas may sound to modern ears, it must be admitted that a return to Augustine was a step towards a return to spiritual Christianity." I have thought it better in this brief outline of the methods and ideas of two or three leading Schoolmen to avoid entering on questions like the relative influence of Augustinianism and Aristotelianism and many other philosophical questions, which students of the subject will find adequately treated elsewhere.

[2] These facts seem to be established by the careful study of Ockham's early life given by P. J. Hofer (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, VI, 209–33). He places Ockham's birth little before 1300.

revealed religion, the vision of things divine, lay quite apart. The existence and the unity of God were not provable by argument; they were articles of faith. Transubstantiation, if impossible to grasp by human reason, was on that account all the more a proof of the omnipotence of God.[1] In the region of theology William of Ockham bowed as readily as any loyal Catholic to the formulas, the authority, even the superstitions of the Church. There he realised, as Duns did, the inadequacy of reason. He was content to rest on intuition. Like Duns he understood the mystic's point of view. But in the region of philosophy he turned his back on dogma, and plunged into speculation as frankly as any sceptic could desire.[2] What he could not explain he left to theology. For the rest he appealed to common-sense. The subtleties which the Realists relied on to reconcile the two became irrelevant. Experience, observation, the methods of induction, the modern spirit prevailed. Saved from all dangerous conflict with authority, and acclaimed after a brief struggle even in the University of Paris, Nominalism, as the Invincible Doctor understood it, found itself triumphant once again.

For William of Ockham faith alone could solve the problem of the soul's existence, a question on which Aristotle always seemed to him "to speak with doubt." [3] He preferred to bend his energies to discussing, in precise if peculiar language, the origin of knowledge and the meaning of concepts or ideas. But beyond the needs of logic he would not go. Logic in his view was concerned not with the essences of things—that belonged to metaphysics—but with the notions which experience suggested, with signs or terms imposed by ourselves. Concepts were the

[1] "Unreasonableness and authority are in a certain sense the stamp of truth." Dr. Harnack (VI, 166–7, n.) points out that Ockham is wholly sincere in this plea. He "presents the paradoxical spectacle *of a strongly pronounced religious nature finding refuge simply in the arbitrary will of God*" (*Ib.* VI, 310). The Sacraments for him "have simply an importance" because God ordained them so (*Ib.* VI, 227, n.).

[2] "La foi," says M. Hauréau, "ne l'inquiète pas" (II, ii, 361). Dr. Rashdall quotes Ockham's *Centiloquium Theologicum* as proof that he "positively revelled in demonstrating the uncertainty and irrationality of the dogmas which as a Theologian he was prepared to swallow with dutiful avidity" (II, 537–8). He adds elsewhere that "the Occamists put the finishing touch to the downward tendency of scholastic ethics" (*The Idea of Atonement*, 387).

[3] Intelligendo per animam intellectivam formam immaterialem, incorruptibilem, quæ tota est in toto et tota in qualibet parte, non potest sciri evidenter per . . . experientiam quod talis forma sit in nobis, nec quod intelligere talis substantiæ proprium sit in nobis, nec quod talis anima sit forma corporis. Quidquid de hoc senserit Aristoteles non curo, quia ubique dubitative videtur loqui. Sed ista tria solum fide tenemus" (*Quodlibet*, I, *quæstio* 10).

things which the logician dealt with, and laboured to distinguish and define. It was not the business of logic to decide whether "second intentions" had a real existence. To postulate abstractions, to multiply hypotheses and entities did not render clearer the approach to truth. The ancient problem of Universals he treated with the same strong sense. Man cannot know "the Divine essence or the Divine quiddity or anything about the reality of God." He can only form conceptions about them. The Saints of old had spoken of the names and not of the attributes of God. Modern philosophers might argue that the Divine attributes were distinct and diverse; the older philosophers had found the distinction in the names, and the identity and unity in the thing signified.[1] These names were signs expressing only concepts of the human mind. He had little sympathy with some current theories on Divine ideas, none for the view which would create fresh abstractions to explain them.[2] He emphasised again the maxim *Frustra fit per plura quod fieri potest per pauciora*. He rejected without hesitation the doctrine that Universals had a real existence outside the human mind. He brushed aside as irrelevant the inquiry whether the principle of individuation lay in matter or in form.[3] If neither matter nor form existed universally, nothing could be gained by inquiring to which of them the individual was due. Everything that existed was individual, was *hæc res* by the mere fact of its existence. Between man and the God who created him neither matter nor form could be interposed. Realist efforts to derive the individual from the Universal had not helped to make the problem clear. The individual was the only reality, the single thing which man's senses could perceive. The Universal was not anything really existing. But it was not on the other hand a mere vain imagination. It was a mental concept, "signifying at the same time several singulars," found *ante rem* in the intelligence of God, found *post rem* in the intelligence of man. Conceptualist rather than Nominalist, William of Ockham was yet styled the *Auctor Nominalium*. It has been claimed that his powerful advocacy closed in favour of the Nominalists the final chapter of the great mediæval controversy, as Abélard's had closed the first. In some respects his genius reaches back to Abélard: in some it reaches forward towards Luther: in some it reaches even further and joins hands with the common-sense philosophy of a later

[1] Hauréau (II, ii, 394).

[2] But Mr. Thorburn points out (see Discussion V in *Mind* for 1918, 345 *sq.*) that the phrase "entia non sunt multiplicanda, præter necessitatem" was not Ockham's.

[3] "Non est quærenda causa individuationis." (See Pluzanski, 231–2, and Charles, *Roger Bacon*, 207.)

day. He ranks as a champion of Nominalist opinion, as a trenchant critic of Realist illusions. But his influence in both camps, as logician, psychologist and philosopher, was profound. If Ockham is not to be ranked among the greatest of mediæval thinkers,[1] he yet introduced a truer method in the world of thought. If he avoided almost ostentatiously certain vital problems and accepted blindly certain dogmas, if he left uncharted that dim region where the mediæval Realist groped, not altogether vainly, after ideas which common-sense could not explain, he yet, within the limits which he fixed for his inquiries, taught men that truth was the supreme thing worth pursuing, not for the Church's sake but for its own.[2]

" Ockham," says Wood, " by these his inventions did set the wits of Oxford to work." But there was another side to his activities, significant of the new part which the Schoolmen were to play. He was not only an illustrious philosopher. He was a great figure in European politics, one of the leaders in a memorable controversy with the Supreme Head of the Church. His influence has been traced in the writings of Marsiglio of Padua, the most famous ecclesiastical rebel of the day, whose plea for new ideals of sovereignty and of religion, with its large-minded tolerance, its anti-sacerdotal doctrine, its strangely democratic note, struck at the root of the mediæval theory and anticipated the longings of a later age.[3] He gradually became the champion of his Order in the long controversy over evangelical poverty.

[1] His Nominalism, Mr. Harris suggests to me, is not satisfactory, because it fails to account for any correspondence between thought and things. For Ockham's influence on Luther and Luther's Nominalist traditions see Paquier's translation of Denifle, *Luther et le Luthéranisme* (III, 191–232).

[2] For Ockham's life and writings see, among other authorities, P. J. Hofer's two articles in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (VI, 209–33 and 439–65), which on some points modify Dr. Poole's article in *D.N.B.*, Wadding's *Annales Minorum* (ed. Fonseca, VII and VIII), Little's *Grey Friars* (224–34), Riezler's *Die literarischen Widersache der Päpste zur zeit Ludwig des Baiers*, Prantl's *Gesch. der Logik* (III, 327 *sq.*), Stöckl's *Gesch. der Philosoph.* (II, 986 *sq.*), Hauréau's *Hist. de la Philosoph.* (II, ii, 356 *sq.*), Goldast's *Monarch. S. Roman. Imp.* (1614, II, 313 *sq.*); and among Ockham's writings his *Summa logices* or *Summa Totius Logicæ*, his *Commentarii* on Aristotle, his *Quæstiones* on the *Sentences* and " *in octo libros physicorum*," his *Quodlibeta Septem*, his treatises *De sacramento altaris* and *De corpore Christi*, and his *Centiloquium theologicum*. Mr. Little, to whom I am so often indebted, has given a careful list of both the political and the philosophical writings. But it is not easy to point out the connection between the two. It was perhaps loyalty to his Order rather than philosophy which led Ockham to criticise ecclesiastical abuses.

[3] The argument of Marsiglio's *Defensor Pacis* is clearly sketched in Dr. Poole's little volume on *Wycliffe and Movements for Reform* (28 *sq.*). See also Goldast (*Monarch.* 154 *sq.*). But it must not be assumed that Ockham was ever associated with Marsiglio at Paris.

He boldly defended the theory that the Franciscans did not and ought not to hold property of their own—a theory which increased their claim to holiness, and which threatened alarming consequences if applied to the Church as an institution.[1] The Popes in their "Babylonish captivity" at Avignon not unnaturally refused to countenance this doctrine, and William of Ockham had other grounds as well for turning his powerful batteries on them.[2] There were plenty of abuses in Church and Papacy open to attack. Summoned by John XXII to answer for his heresies, he retorted by accusing the Pope himself of heresy. Flung into a Papal prison at Avignon, he escaped in 1328 down the Rhone in a boat, and threw himself upon the Emperor's protection. Louis the Bavarian, who had his own sharp quarrel with the Papacy, was quite ready to welcome so useful an ally. "O Imperator, defende me gladio, et ego defendam te verbo" —so, tradition says, the fugitive philosopher proudly appealed for the Prince's support. And in the years that followed, in spite of Papal excommunications, he continued his intrepid activities at Munich, in the little cosmopolitan society of free spirits gathered round the Emperor there, studying, pamphleteering, attending Councils, defending his Order, challenging the pretensions of the Holy See, maintaining the authority of the Emperors and their independence alike of Avignon and Rome. The Schoolman had developed into the Reformer. The logician had found new, practical, Imperial problems to debate. The Friar, even if in the end reconciled to the Church whose anathemas he so long defied, had raised issues which the assailants of the Papal system were never likely to forget.

John Duns Scotus and William of Ockham mark the climax of the long-drawn tournament, through which, like knights encumbered by their heavy armour, the thinkers of the Middle Ages moved. The years which separate Duns Scotus from Wycliffe were in Oxford years of vigorous intellectual life. The science of theology was the Schoolmen's main pre-occupation, but they claimed the whole field of science for their own. Natural

[1] Duns Scotus' *De Perfectione Statuum*—if it be Duns'—was an interesting anticipation of Ockham on this point.

[2] Hofer shows (*Archiv. Francisc. Hist.* VI, 439–65) that it was Ockham's theological and philosophic doctrines, rather than his views on the poverty of Christ, which led the Pope to summon him to Avignon to answer for his heresies. In its narrow sense the Friars' plea was little more than a legal quibble. They admitted that they had the use of property, but asserted that its ownership was vested in the Pope. In 1322 John XXII swept away this complacent theory by declaring that use was inseparable from ownership, and by depriving the Order of the right to hold property in the name of the Roman See. (See Little, *Grey Friars*, 77, and Poole, *Wycliffe*, 22 *sq.*)

philosophers were as ready to dogmatise about the "primum mobile," to "render a reason for thunder, winds, eclipses and other inexplicable things," [1] as divines to descant on original sin. Copernicus and Galileo found it as hard as Colet or Erasmus to let the light into the dim and venerable traditions which had so long passed for science in the Schools. But before the fourteenth century ended Scholasticism had done its work. Its supremacy was over. Its decline had begun. Its catchwords were still popular, perhaps more popular than ever. Its rivalries, descending from the Schools into the streets, furnished new excuses for the quarrels of the Nations, supplied new battle-cries for graduate and undergraduate brawls. Moreover, it began to touch practical problems, questions of government and social order, which gave it a fresh vitality and a closer interest in national concerns. It continued indeed to produce new Doctors. Richard Holcot, the intrepid Dominican, laboured to prove that Thomas Aquinas and William of Ockham had defended the same principles, that natural truths were one thing and revealed truths another thing, that philosophers and theologians were not bound to agree. Adam Woodham or Godham, one of the most remarkable of the later Franciscans, "a modest man," not inferior, some thought, in doctrine or ability to Ockham,[2] followed the Invincible Doctor at Oxford, wrote on the *Sentences*, and probably lectured in the convent there. The Secular clergy, less wedded than the Regulars to the Realist tradition, came to the front in philosophy, and handed the Nominalist tradition on. At Paris and at Vienna the new methods and ideas gained ground. Pierre d'Ailly, famous as teacher and as Churchman, made them paramount before the end of the century in the College of Navarre. As science became more rational and independent, and turned her back deliberately on the field of faith, theology in her turn became more mystical, more certain than ever of the miracles whose reasonableness it was no longer necessary to prove. And the most brilliant of William of Ockham's disciples, Jean Charlier de Gerson, reformer, statesman, philosopher, divine, who ruled the University of Paris after Pierre d'Ailly till Henry V became the ruler of France, combined with a clear and authoritative Nominalism the mystical piety of Bonaventura, and turned unsatisfied from the "cob-webs" of the Schoolmen, to contemplate directly the vision of God.

In a sense, it is true, the long, devoted labours of the Schoolmen failed. They proved unable to identify reason with religion, or to solve the insoluble problems of the world. Their narrow,

[1] The phrase is from the *Praise of Folly* (Erasmus, *Op.* IV, Leyden edition, 462).

[2] See Little (*Grey Friars*, 172 and note).

rigorous methods, their infinite sophistications, confined the studies and exhausted the patience of mankind. "The fame of them all shall perish with them," cried Petrarch: "one tomb shall suffice for their name and their bones." [1] And yet for centuries the Schoolmen trained the intellect of Europe in habits of precise and reasoned thought. They spoke a peculiar language, but they taught men to appreciate how much and how little words could mean. They inspired a passion for knowledge. They led generation after generation to think on large and lofty themes. And their bold questionings, their daring speculations, circumscribed by superstition though they were, became, in John of Salisbury's phrase, "torches of war" in the conflict with unreason, torches which may at times have made the shadows darker, but which helped to illuminate the way to freedom.

Wycliffe stands at the beginning of a new era. With him the days of Oxford Movements have arrived. But to the prestige and traditions of the Schoolmen he owed no small part of his authority and fame. He was essentially a son of Oxford. It was there that he won celebrity as the greatest living clerk. It was there that his opinions found their stronghold. It was there that he spent the chief part of his life. And it was through him that the University first applied its spirit and its genius to shaping the practical problems of the time. Yet a curious uncertainty hangs over his Oxford career. There are records of a John Wycliffe at four Colleges, Balliol, Merton, Queen's and Canterbury, during the Reformer's lifetime, and reasons well worth consideration have been found for identifying him with each. But there were at least three contemporary bearers of his name, or of a name which sounded very like it.[2] One became the Vicar of Mayfield [3] in 1361, under the shadow of Archbishop Islip's palace; and he may conceivably have been a Fellow of Merton in 1356. Another, afterwards unknown to fame, was a Poor Boy at Queen's in 1371–72.[4] And the third and greatest was

[1] Quoted by Mullinger (I, 433, n.).

[2] The name is spelt in some twenty different ways, Wycliffe, Wiclif, Wyclyve, Whytecliff and many others. The date of Wycliffe's birth is uncertain; Dr. Rashdall inclines to place it after 1324.

[3] Mayfield was a Vicarage, not a Rectory (*Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicholas IV, printed by the Commissioners of Public Records, p. 138).

[4] The Poor Boy's name is not said to be John. Of the six or seven entries in the College accounts printed in Dr. Magrath's notes (*The Queen's College*, II, 112), which contain the name of Wycliffe in one form or another, only one, in 1374–5, gives the name John. But the Wycliffes of Merton, Mayfield and Canterbury College were all called John. I cannot think with Dr. Rashdall (*D.N.B.*) that the Poor Boy of 1371–2 might be the Master John Wiclife who rented a room in 1374–5.

the Northern student, hailing from a Yorkshire village not far from the Balliols' old home, who was undoubtedly Master of John Balliol's little College in 1360–61. He may have been elected to the Mastership a few years before that. He was probably a Fellow of Balliol first, and may possibly have been enabled by the new Somervyle Statutes to stay on there and study theology after taking his Arts degree. He may, it is equally possible, have been a Fellow of Merton for a time. In 1361 he accepted the living of Fillingham—"value thirty marks"; and though his connection with the University was never broken, his connection with Balliol apparently ceased. In the same year he applied for a Prebend at York, which was not granted. But a Prebend in the collegiate church of Westbury was offered him instead. Later on his name was connected with a Prebend and Canonry at Lincoln, which he most likely never enjoyed.[1] There are good grounds for thinking that he had rooms at Queen's College between 1363 and 1366, and again in 1374–75, and yet again in 1380–81. And evidence which it is difficult to resist identifies him with the Master John de Wyclyve,[2] who was made Warden of Canterbury College in December 1365, when the seculars displaced the monks, and who was expelled from that post later when the monks triumphed over their opponents.[3] In 1368 he exchanged the living of Fillingham

[1] Mr. H. S. Cronin suggests (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1920, 564–9) that the Lincoln Canonry went to Philip de Thornbury, the son of an English mercenary leader in the Pope's service. In his paper on *John Wycliffe, the Reformer, and Canterbury Hall*, reprinted in 1914 from the Royal Historical Society's Transactions (3rd Series, vol. VIII) he suggests that Wycliffe held the Westbury Prebend from 1362 to 1375 and gravely neglected his duties. But he does not seem to have followed this point up. The paper is not quite free from prejudice.

[2] The appointment is recorded in Archbishop Islip's *Register* at Lambeth (f. 306[b]), and was made at Mayfield.

[3] This problem of identification is a well-known difficulty. The arguments against it, which deserve respect, are summed up by Dr. Shirley (*Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, 513 *sq.*) and Dr. Rashdall (article on Wycliffe in *D.N.B.*). But these arguments, suggested in part by articles and correspondence in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1841, II, 146–8, 378–9 and 591–2, and 1844, II, 136), are answered with skill though perhaps with some little over-statement in Mr. Cronin's paper on *John Wycliffe and Canterbury Hall*, as well as by Lechler in his Life of Wycliffe (tr. Lorimer, 103 *sq.*, ed. 1884). Those who think the Warden was not the Reformer but the Vicar of Mayfield, lay stress on Archbishop Islip's connection with Mayfield, on his alleged intention to annex that living to the Wardenship, on the silence of some chroniclers and critics like Walden, on the suggestion that the Warden had previously been a scholar of the Hall, and on the strangely indifferent tone in which the Reformer refers to the subject (*De Ecclesia*, ed. Loserth, 371). On these points it may be said that Islip's intention of annexing the Mayfield living is apocryphal, if it rests only on the passage to which Dr. Shirley refers, where Archbishop

for one at Ludgershall. From Ludgershall after a few years he passed on to Lutterworth. About 1372 apparently he became a Doctor of Divinity at Oxford, and in 1377 Black Hall seems to have been his temporary home. At Oxford he added to his reputation daily as a teacher "incomparable in scholastic exercises." And from Oxford he was drawn by the needs of an ambitious Prince, but even more by his own strong sense of public duty, to play a great part in national affairs.[1]

Parker stated long afterwards (*De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, ed. 1572, 274) that Islip appropriated (*appropriauit*) the Rectories of Mayfield and Pagham to the College. This is not a statement of Islip's intentions, but only an error of fact. The suggestion that the Warden had previously been a scholar of the College is also probably a mistake. If that was "an impossible position for the Vicar of Fillingham," the same difficulty would apply to the Vicar of Mayfield. The suggestion, made by Lewis (12–13), rests on a vague statement taken from Langham's defence, which may only mean that he thought the College ought to be ruled by a monk and not by a secular Fellow. The statement refers to 1367. I do not attach much importance to the wording of the *Regia pardonatio* of 1372 (Lewis, 248). The silence of Walden is rather curious, but he wrote some fifty years after the event. More curious is the cool detachment of the Reformer's tone in the *De Ecclesia*. But neither point is conclusive; and on the other side the indications that the Warden was the Reformer are very difficult to resist. First we have two contemporary statements, one by the Monk of St. Albans (*Chronicon Angliæ*, ed. Thompson, 115), which though vague in form is more applicable to the Reformer than to anyone else, the other, clear and positive, by William Woodford, who knew Wycliffe well at Oxford (Little, *Grey Friars*, 81 and 246–9) and could hardly have failed to know the facts. On this important point, and on some others, Shirley's argument is much weakened by more recent information. Next there is the fact that nothing we know about the Reformer's life makes his appointment as Warden improbable: on the contrary it fits in curiously well with such information as we have. After the Warden's expulsion the Reformer is found at Queen's—I think this can hardly be doubted. At Queen's also are found two supporters of the Warden, Middleworth and Selby, who had been expelled with him (Magrath, *The Queen's College*, 115–16). The Warden is described as *Magister*, the Reformer's proper title in 1365; the Vicar of Mayfield is always called *Dominus*, a term not applicable to a Master. The Warden's name, amid all the vagaries of mediæval spelling, seems always to be spelt without a "t," and the Vicar of Mayfield's, as such, always to be spelt with one: Whytecliff is the favourite form for him. Approaching the subject with some bias in favour of Dr. Rashdall's view, I find myself driven to the conclusion that the evidence identifying the Warden with the Reformer is much stronger than the evidence on the other side. I know of no proof that the Vicar of Mayfield was a Fellow of Merton in 1356. But Mr. Cronin, quoting Islip's *Register* (f. 316^{b}), suggests that the Archbishop "may have come across him through Merton Priory, on whose title he ordained a certain John Whytecliff, of the diocese of Salisbury, subdeacon in 1356." See also later (pp. 274–5 and 305–6).

[1] Of the many authorities on Wycliffe, the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (ed. Shirley), the continuation of the *Eulogium* (III, ed. Haydon), the *Chronicon Angliæ* (ed. Thompson), the *Chronicon* of Knighton (II, ed. Lumby) and the *Hist. Anglicana* of Walsingham (III, ed. Riley) are important. Among

The clerks who listened to Wycliffe's lectures could hardly have failed to watch with keen anxiety the issues between Church and State, between Papal claims and national independence, which overshadowed the history of the time. The splendid days of Creçy and Poitiers had departed. Disillusion and exhaustion had followed in their train. Since the Black Death silent economic changes had transformed the life and temper of the people. The Government, in which prelates and nobles struggled for supremacy, was inefficient and unpopular. Parliament was uneasy and suspicious. Trade languished. The mastery of the seas was lost. The Black Prince, with his glory behind him, was slowly dying in his Palace at Kennington.[1] His father was in his dotage, his son too young to rule. His brother, John of Gaunt, with his vast heritage of Lancaster and his dreams of a Crown in Spain if not at home, was a dangerous and overpowering influence too near the throne. The selfish aims of the great feudal magnates, the wealth and privileges of the Church, the ever-increasing demands, the ever-diminishing reputation of the Papacy, the deep and inarticulate discontent of the unrepresented classes, threatened the whole social order of the State. The French Popes in the "sinful city of Avenon," living in luxury and trafficking in corruption, could not count on obedience in England. "Bibamus papaliter," let us drink like a Pope, was supposed to be a favourite exhortation with Benedict XII. The rival Pontiffs of the Great Schism, who followed, were more concerned to suppress each other than to purify the Church. While Wycliffe at Lutterworth was heralding the Reformation, Urban VI was torturing his Cardinals and preaching a Crusade against the Anti-Pope. The one thing constant in Papal policy was the system of exactions it enforced.[2] The Papal appointments to English benefices, the foreign nominees thrust in, the appeals from English Courts to Rome, the annual

biographies Dr. Lechler's (tr. by Prof. Lorimer) has largely superseded the earlier lives by J. Lewis, R. Vaughan and others—though Lewis prints some useful documents. More lately Dr. R. L. Poole's *Wycliffe and Movements for Reform*, Mr. G. M. Trevelyan's *Age of Wycliffe*, Dr. Rashdall's article in *D.N.B.*, and Mr. Cronin's pamphlet on *John Wycliffe and Canterbury Hall*, have added to our knowledge. Mr. F. D. Matthew's Introduction to *The English Works of Wyclif* is of value, and Mr. L. Sergeant's volume is popular and useful. For Wycliffe's writings see the publications of the Wyclif Society, the *Catalogue* by Shirley, the lists given by Lechler (App. VII) and Rashdall (*D.N.B.*), and other references mentioned in these notes.

[1] He died in July 1376, the old King, his father, in June 1377.

[2] England was a great field for Papal impositions (see Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, III, ch. XIX). The Statutes of Provisors and of Præmunire, in 1351 and 1393, directed against Papal patronage and appeals to Rome, afford strong proof of the prevailing abuses.

tribute to the Pontiff—an evil legacy from a worthless King—the ancient Peter's pence, the fees and dues and so-called voluntary offerings, the greedy Papal collectors travelling round—these things were difficult to tolerate when Pope and Church alike had lost respect. The Mendicant Orders, once a stronghold of Papal influence, had long since yielded to the temptations, and ceased to command the admiration, of the world. "The earth is ruined by covetise," sang one of the contemporaries of Chaucer, "for no man careth but to fill his bags." [1]

Ecclesiastics still played a large part in the government of England. But that did not make the Church more popular. Prelates like Bishop Courtenay of London, Wycliffe's earliest opponent, or Archbishop Sudbury, who in 1381 was murdered by the mob, or Bishop Despencer of Norwich, once a soldier of fortune in the Papal armies and always better fitted for a camp than for a choir, or William of Wykeham, the famous Bishop of Winchester, to whose failings Oxford cannot be unkind, forfeited public confidence when affairs went ill. "Cæsarean clergy," as Wycliffe described them, worldlings bent on secular dominion, filled high place in Church and State. English livings were left vacant or neglected. Ill-paid substitutes did duty for the absentees. The ecclesiastical Courts were full of abuses. Ecclesiastical offenders often went unscathed. The sale of indulgences, the prevalence of pluralities, the pressure of clerical offerings and tithes and dues,[2] steadily sapped the laity's allegiance. Men noted ever with less and less tolerance the grave failings of the parish clergy, the decadence of monks and Friars, the too familiar devices of Pardoner and Pilgrim, the too well authenticated stories of clerical blackmail, the large community of useless clerks whose only tools were prayers and psalters, and whose only occupation was "as heirs of heaven" to beg. The mysteries of religion were ceasing to be mysteries. It was not only clerks who carped at them in "crabbed words." Wealthy laymen also would discuss them

"At meat in their mirths, when minstrels are still." [3]

[1] Coulton (*Med. Garner*, 558). In 1376 the amount of money paid yearly to Rome was believed to be five times as much as the total taxation of the country (Wylie, *Hist. of Eng. under Henry IV*, II, 349, n.).

[2] Mr. Coulton thinks that tithes "constituted a land tax, income tax and death duty more onerous than any known to modern times" (*Medieval Studies*, No. 8, p. 2). But this was before very recent legislation. He dwells also on the mortuaries exacted from parishioners' estates at death.

[3] Quoted from *Piers Plowman* by Mr. Trevelyan (*Age of Wycliffe*, 312), to whom I am here often indebted. Mr. Wright in his edition (I, 176) prints the passage rather differently and in short lines. The arguments in regard to the authorship of *Piers Plowman* are well summed up in the *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.* (II, ch. I).

Public opinion was ripe for a movement, not only against the power and privileges which the Church misused, but against the positive beliefs which she embodied, and from Oxford the leader of that movement came.

We cannot be quite sure of the date when the well-known Oxford Schoolman stepped into the political arena. But before he became a politician he was already a theologian of repute. If Wycliffe does not rank with the greatest of the Schoolmen in power or originality of mind, he was yet the last of the great mediæval Realists. But his Realism was of a moderate and enlightened type. He rejected the philosophy of William of Ockham, while he inherited his political independence. He owed much to Bradwardine, much to Fitz-Ralph, much to St. Anselm, and much to Plato.[1] He carried on the return to Augustine which Bradwardine had begun. He shared the Augustinian views of most of the early Reformers. For Wycliffe Universals had only an "intelligible and possible" existence.[2] They were realised in the individual. They existed eternally in the mind of God. The will of God, eternal and unchangeable, was not capable of arbitrary decrees, or of granting the unjustifiable privileges which Christ's Vicars on earth sometimes ventured to grant in His name. Wycliffe's insistence on predestination and on the necessity of grace did not destroy his belief in human freedom. Through all his obscure and tortuous Latinity—as uncouth as any that the Schools produced—there showed a strong and penetrating mind, keenly alive to the ethical side of Christianity, deeply conscious of the humanity of Christ. The speculative Schoolman met the practical Reformer. The preacher developed into the pamphleteer. In treatises and lectures, in tracts and sermons—his literary output was extraordinary as his years advanced—he passed from discussions of logic, from questions as to the origin of man, to theories of Church and State, of Civil and Divine Dominion, of the functions of the Pastor and the functions of the King. From thence he advanced to great debates on doctrine, to interpretations of the Eucharist, to polemics on monks and Friars, to a bold challenge to the power of Pope and Anti-Christ—not always for Wycliffe separable things. From obscure Latinity he turned to trenchant English, and appealed to his countrymen in tones that all could understand. And the plain, quaint English of the Twelve Conclusions, which his followers urged upon Parliament ten years after his death, has a force which no mediæval Latin could attain.

[1] He seems to have drawn his views on Predestination largely from Bradwardine, and his views on Dominion largely from Fitz-Ralph.

[2] See the *De Ente Predicamentali* (ed. Beer, Wyclif Soc. Publications, 41), and Rashdall (II, 540, n.).

> " Qwan the Chirche of Yngeland began to dote in temporalte after her stepmodir, the grete Chirche of Rome, and chirchis were slayne, be appropriacion to divers placys, feyth, hope and charite begunne for to fle out of oure Chirche. For pride with his sori genealogie of dedly synnes chalingith it be title of heritage." [1]

Wycliffe's famous Doctrine of Dominion, with its feudal view of lordship and of service, and its daring new appeal for a hierarchy severed from the temptations of worldliness and wealth, brought into Church politics the theories of the Schools.[2] God, the lord of all, gave men dominion in return for service. No intervening vassals, no mediating priesthood, interrupted the direct relation between God and man, the direct dependence on Him of layman and of priest alike. But dominion was founded in grace. The righteous man standing in grace had dominion over the whole sensible world.[3] The wicked man on the other hand had nothing. " The faithful hath the whole world of riches, but the unfaithful hath not even a farthing." A man's character not his office made him what he was. Bad potentates, even bad Popes, lost their right to dominion, if they lacked the grace on which all power reposed. The law of Christ was the only real foundation of all laws which men accepted, even of laws regulating property and wealth. Spiritual, evangelic dominion, conferred by Christ upon ecclesiastics, did not involve rights of property or jurisdiction. Temporal power and conquests and possessions belonged to the kingdoms of earth and not to the kingdom of the Church. Priests who did their duty in a life of simple poverty would never lack offerings from their flocks. But if by mortal sin they forfeited dominion, their claim to tribute, offerings and tithes failed also. Excommunication of a man was only valid provided that the man had sinned. Even the Pope's decrees were only binding so far as they carried out the Gospel law, the will of God. If the Church exceeded its proper functions, the State might intervene and vindicate its own authority. Transitory, and subject to modification and to error, as all Civil Lordship was, it might yet be necessary to accept it, to yield obedience to constituted rulers, even to tyrants for the time. In that sense there was meaning in the startling paradox that God must sometimes obey the Devil. Even to

[1] See the first conclusion as quoted by Dr. Gairdner (*Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, I, 44).

[2] See especially Dr. Poole's and Dr. Loserth's editions of the *De Dominio Divino* and *De Civili Dominio*. Dean Rashdall thinks the former treatise may date from about 1372. Others would date it earlier. It is difficult to date Wycliffe's works, but most of those we know probably belong to the latter years of his life.

[3] Subject to some limitations in practice, rendered necessary by the Fall of Man.

the wicked we must give their due. But righteousness, grace, was the only source of natural authority; the law of Holy Scripture was the only fundamental rule. And grace, moreover, was the only source of ownership. In theory at any rate Wycliffe did not draw back from the conclusion that to the righteous, the lords of the universe, the common stock of the world's goods belonged. A wise theologian would determine nothing rashly, wherever his political prepossessions might lead, but "according to law he would affirm that it were better that all things should be in common." [1]

It is easy to understand the influence of these doctrines in a society conscious of grave abuses and already stirred by discontent. Wycliffe was no advocate of revolution, though fearless in attacking wrong. He would not at first apply his theory to the circumstances round him without careful and elaborate reserves. But his hearers cared chiefly for its application, and quickly swept his reserves away. His first political pamphlet, on the right of the State to deal with the property of delinquent churchmen, and on the burning question of the tribute to the Pope, may date from 1366, or more probably from some years later.[2] But in 1374 he was sent officially to Bruges to negotiate with the Pope's delegates in regard to Church appointments. He was drawn into association with John of Gaunt. He was accused of "barking against the Church," of running from pulpit to pulpit to expound his dangerous opinions. His high-minded plea for poverty in the Church appealed strongly to great lords like Lancaster and Percy, who saw in the demand for disendowment a prospect of profit for themselves. If the Good Parliament of 1376 revolted against Lancaster and his rascally dependents, there was always a possibility that the Duke might regain his popularity by a crusade against the riches of the Church. If so, the *De Civili Dominio* might help to supply the argument required. There is little doubt that the Duke saw in the great Schoolman an instrument for winning the nation to his side. And it was largely as the Duke's ally that the Bishops attacked Wycliffe, and summoned him to answer for heresy in 1377.

The old chronicler has depicted for us the dramatic scene which followed at St. Paul's—Wycliffe's appearance in the crowded Cathedral, escorted not only by four Friars from Oxford but by the greatest nobles in the country, Percy's overbearing insolence, Bishop Courtenay's stout resistance, Lancaster's

[1] *De Civili Dominio* (I, ch. 30; ed. Poole, Wyclif Soc. I, 218).

[2] Dr. Loserth argues with some force for a date ten years later than 1366 (*Eng. Hist. Rev.* XI, 319 *sq.*). Wycliffe describes himself as "peculiaris regis clericus"; his connection with the Court had begun.

fierce threat that he would pull down the proud Bishop for all his Royal kin, the indignant Londoners, devoted to their Bishop and trembling for their liberties, breaking loose at last, the mob's attack on the Duke's Palace in the Savoy, the unloved Duke's escape by water to take refuge with the Black Prince's widow on the Surrey shore.[1] The proceedings came to nothing. The Reformer went unharmed, and he lost none of his popularity with the public. But before the year was over, the Pope had intervened. A Bull addressed to the Chancellor of the University of Oxford accused Wycliffe of teaching the doctrines of Marsiglio, and bade the University hand him over to the Primate and the Bishop of London. Other Bulls from Rome enforced the attack. And early in 1378, in the Archbishop's Chapel at Lambeth, another abortive trial took place.[2] The articles left the charges in no doubt. The Reformer had questioned the Papacy's claims to political dominion, the validity of excommunication and of spiritual censures, the priest's power to bind and loose. He had insisted on the need of grace, on the duty of conforming to the law of Christ, on the right of temporal authorities to call the Church and her rulers to account, and to deprive her of her possessions if they were misused.[3] On these points Popes and Bishops were certain to attack him, but the heart of the nation was upon his side. The young King's mother forbade the Bishops to assail him. The citizens of London broke into the Chapel at Lambeth to protect his cause. The trial ended with a weak injunction not to preach his doctrines on account of the scandal they excited. But that injunction neither he nor his followers obeyed.

Oxford still supported Wycliffe loyally. His friends there had promptly protested against the Pope's right to order the imprisonment of an English subject. The Proctors had been slow to act upon the Papal Bull. The Chancellor and the Doctors of Theology had declared Wycliffe's conclusions to be true. The Chancellor's deputy, who had confined him for a time to Black Hall, was deprived of his office. The Government was still his friend. In the autumn of 1377 Parliament had consulted him as to the lawfulness of stopping payments due to foreign holders of benefices in England. In 1378—and, it may be, earlier also—Wycliffe seems to have attended Parliament.[4] He

[1] *Chron. Angliæ* (ed. Thompson, 116 *sq.*).

[2] The exact dates and circumstances of the two trials are a little doubtful. But the view here taken seems to be the most likely.

[3] The eighteen articles are set out by Dean Rashdall (*D.N.B.*). Some arrange them to number nineteen; some give only thirteen. It is said that fifty were sent out to Rome.

[4] Dr. Rashdall thinks he may have been summoned as a Doctor of Theology in 1378. Dr. Poole (*Wycliffe*, 78) suggests that he may have

even ventured to defend Lancaster's high-handed violation of sanctuary at Westminster, which had resulted in the death of Robert Hale. But he could hardly have failed to realise the doubtful aims and practices of some of his political allies. In the same year, 1378, the Great Schism broke up the unity of Christendom, and shook afresh the authority of the Popes. And Wycliffe, disappointed perhaps in his hope of securing political reform from turbulent and selfish factions, threw into the work of doctrinal and spiritual reformation all the great energies of his remaining years.

It was to the people that the famous Schoolman turned, and through the voice of Oxford that he moved them. He organised and sent out his poor priests, to advocate a simpler faith, a purer Church, and to supplement the ordinary parish services by teaching English people in the English tongue. He "gathered round him," says a monkish chronicler, "many disciples in his pravity, living together in Oxford, clad in long russet gowns of one pattern, going on foot, ventilating his errors among the people." [1] They were no mere ignorant evangelists. They were in many cases University students and educated men, drawn from the greatest scholastic centre of the day.[2] But they understood the value of the missionary system which the later Friars had abused. Wycliffe himself was at first no enemy of the Friars. On the contrary, he claimed their support. He was prepared to imitate some of their methods. To his mind they contrasted favourably with the richly endowed monastic Orders. Their doctrine of poverty he thoroughly approved. But as time went on, his hostility to monks and Friars alike increased. He could not fail to see the defects of their practice, the uselessness of much of the monastic life, the many evils which mendicancy led to, the grave abuses which it encouraged and maintained. As incumbent of a parish he may possibly have learned to resent the Friars' interference. He resented still more their unfriendliness to his own poor priests. Even before they attacked his doctrines, he had become a stern critic of their faults. And his followers joined with gusto in the fray. The Friars were denounced as Iscariot's children, as disciples of Satan, as perilous enemies to Holy Church. Disciples are apt to go beyond their Master, and Wycliffe's missionaries, issuing from Oxford, no doubt exaggerated his opinions and

been present earlier, "in his quality of royal chaplain." But in neither capacity could he have had any regular claim to be present. A special appearance on a special occasion is not impossible. (See the anonymous *Continuation* of Adam of Murimuth's *Chronicle*, ed. T. Hog, 234.)

[1] See *Chron. Angliæ* (395), and Knighton (*Chron.* II, 184).

[2] Lovers of precedents may even find in Wycliffe's priests the first experiment in University extension.

pressed the meaning of his language too far. Before long he was able to supply them with weapons more formidable than any utterances of his own. For he had plunged into the noble work of translating the Bible. The great Protestant appeal to the authority of Scripture had begun.[1]

As yet, in spite of the powerful interests which he had offended, Wycliffe had proved invulnerable to attack. His daring criticism of abuses had found wide support. His character, his learning, his argumentative resources had confounded his opponents. His simplicity and courage had appealed deeply to the people. In London Princes and nobles had stood by him. In Oxford theologians and students, the younger men especially, had been content to follow in his footsteps. But in the last four years of his life these circumstances altered. The peasants' rising in 1381, with its dangerous challenge to Crown and Church and social order, the horrible days of rioting and slaughter, the panic-stricken gatherings in the Tower, the murder of Chancellor and Treasurer, Primate and Chief Justice, the still worse peril averted only by the rare courage of the boy King, produced inevitably a fierce reaction. In politics Wycliffe was no leveller, no preacher of revolt. There was nothing except prejudice to connect him with the rebels who hunted down the friends of John of Gaunt. But it was not difficult to represent his theories on the misuse of property and power as incitements to mischief and subversive of the State. And while the alarm produced by the rising told naturally against his teaching, a movement which gave the Church a new handle against him had been developing in the Reformer's mind. Before the rebellion was over, it was realised that Wycliffe in his conflict with clerical tradition had taken an irretraceable step. He had in effect been driven to challenge the central tenet of the mediæval Church.

For some years past he had felt doubts about accepting the ordinary view of Transubstantiation, the theory that the priest by the mere power of his priesthood could perform a daily miracle in the Mass, and change the substance of the bread and wine into the substance of the body and blood of Christ.

[1] When Wycliffe began his translation from the Vulgate is uncertain. It is unlikely that any part of it was widely known before 1381. He worked chiefly, it seems, on the New Testament, and his disciple Nicholas Hereford on the Old. John Purvey, his faithful curate or companion at Lutterworth, revised it all. It may have been completed about 1388. The MS. of Hereford's translation is in the Bodleian (MS. 959): he translated the Old Testament as far as the twentieth verse of the third chapter of the book of Baruch. Cardinal Gasquet's doubts in regard to the Wycliffite tradition are answered by Mr. F. D. Matthew in a note on *The Authorship of the Wycliffite Bible* (*Eng. Hist. Review*, 1895, X, 91–9).

He hesitated to admit that the accidents, the sensible properties, of the bread and wine remained, when their substance was destroyed and replaced. He clung to the belief in Christ's real presence in the Sacrament, but the longer he examined and discussed it, the harder he found it to explain. Even while a "Sententiary" [1] and a Responding Bachelor at Oxford, says one of his assailants, "he held publicly and in the Schools that, although the Sacramental accidents were in a subject, yet that the bread ceased to exist at consecration. And being much questioned as to what was the subject of those accidents, first for a considerable time he replied that it was a mathematical body. Afterwards, when this position had been much argued against, he answered that he did not know what the subject of the accidents was, yet he asserted clearly that they had a subject. Now in these articles and in his confession he lays down expressly that the bread remains after consecration and is the subject of the accidents." No doubt, as Wycliffe's views developed, his opinions fluctuated a good deal. They were easy to criticise. They were not always clear or consistent. And he did not perhaps convince himself entirely by resorting to figments of the Schools. As early as 1367, if the sermon be rightly dated, he had found it "enough for the Christian to believe that the body of Christ was in some spiritual, sacramental manner at every point of the consecrated Host." And as time passed, he came nearer and nearer to interpreting the real presence in a spiritual sense, to making the bread and wine the sign of the reality rather than the reality itself.[2] He never completely abandoned the old tradition. But he was driven to abandon the theory that the priest could change the substance, could "make the body of

[1] A Sententiary was a student admitted to lecture on the *Sentences*; we should say a Bachelor of Divinity. The quotation from Woodford which follows, and which very likely does injustice to Wycliffe's views, is given in *Fascic. Zizan.* (xv, n. 4) and in Matthew's introduction to Wycliffe's English Works (xxiii–iv). Wood's comments are interesting (*Ann.* I, 498 and 513).

[2] Sir H. C. M. Lyte pleads (262–3) for Wycliffe's consistency in the later years of his life. But it is not easy to reconcile the passage, for instance, in his *Confession* (*Select English Works*, III, 502)—"Right as the persoun of Crist is verrey God and mon—verrey Godhed and verrey monhed—right so, holy Kirke, mony hundred winters, have trowed, the same sacrament is verrey God's body and verrey bred"—with this statement quoted in *Fascic. Zizan.* (105)—"The consecrated host which we see on the altar is neither Christ nor any part of him, but the effectual sign of him." The Confession given in Knighton (II, 161) probably represents Wycliffe's opinion fairly enough—that the consecrated bread was in a sense God's body without ceasing to be bread: it was "both together." There is some excuse for Melancthon's criticism that Wycliffe's view was confused: but it would not be fair to accept as his opinions all that critics and chroniclers put into his mouth.

Christ," and with it to abandon the loftiest pretension, the proudest claim on which the hierarchy reposed.

It was only by degrees that Wycliffe's final position was established, and he never perhaps threw over all reserves and doubts. But he parted company frankly with the orthodox view, and even before his theory was fully developed, he found it assailed in a quarter where he had long looked for support. At Oxford the Chancellor, William Berton, was an old opponent. Without attacking Wycliffe personally, he induced twelve Doctors of Theology and Law to condemn the new doctrines put forth by "certain persons filled with the counsel of the Evil Spirit." Their decision was proclaimed and published while Wycliffe was lecturing at the Austin Friars.[1] He appealed at once to the King. But the sympathies of the authorities were no longer on his side. John of Gaunt, ready enough to despoil the clergy of their riches, drew back from the risk of denying their beliefs. He would not hear of the new "detestable opinion." He bade Wycliffe talk of it no more. The rebellion had taught its own lessons, and a reaction against all rebels had begun. Courtenay, the new Archbishop, summoned a Court at Blackfriars in May 1382, to condemn the doctrines which Wycliffe's followers professed, the dangerous heresies in regard to the Eucharist, the no less dangerous heresies in regard to the powers and the property of priests. The nerves of the Council were shaken by an earthquake, and it is significant that Wycliffe personally escaped attack. But the Bishops were authorised by the Crown to take strong measures against his supporters. All the interests which he had alarmed and challenged, seized the opportunity and gathered for revenge. Oxford might fight for its freedom of discussion. The Secular clergy, the younger men especially, might rally to the greatest Schoolman of the day. But the ecclesiastical authorities were now masters of the situation, and they were determined that the University should submit.

A curious contest followed. The Archbishop commanded the University to suppress the condemned doctrines under pain of excommunication, and entrusted his mandate to an old opponent of Wycliffe, the Carmelite Doctor Peter Stokes. But the Chancellor, Robert Rygge, was now on the Reformer's side. Stokes was afraid to publish his mandate. The Chancellor would give him no assistance, and meanwhile Nicholas Hereford and

[1] The date usually given is 1381. But it is difficult to harmonise the dates given in *Fascic. Zizan.* with the statements made in Wood's *Fasti* (30) in regard to Berton's Chancellorship. There are some grounds for putting the Oxford condemnation in 1380—though I think that less likely —and some for suggesting 1382. (See Matthew, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* V, 328–30, Poole's *Wycliffe*, 105, and the articles on Berton and Rygge in *D.N.B.*)

Philip Repington, two of Wycliffe's strongest adherents, were preaching inflammatory sermons in Oxford with the active connivance of their friends. Repington was said to have incited the people to rise and spoil the churches. The Chancellor, who came to hear him, went home laughing at his side. Repington's supporters carried weapons under their gowns, and the Mayor supplied the Chancellor with a guard of a hundred men. "Venerable father," wrote Stokes to the Archbishop, "I dare go no further for fear of death." The Masters of Arts,[1] the Secular interests, the University officials, the friends of University freedom, even the townsmen, the University's old rivals, made no secret of their sympathy with the Reformer's cause.

But the Church, with the Crown behind it, proved too strong. The Chancellor, summoned imperiously to Lambeth, was forced to beg pardon on his knees. He was only forgiven on the intercession of William of Wykeham, ever faithful to the University which he beautified and loved. He was compelled to suspend Wycliffe and his chief followers from preaching, and to make a general inquisition for heretics and their productions at Oxford. Most of Wycliffe's prominent supporters were sooner or later made to retract. Hereford and Repington were excommunicated. Others like John Aston and Laurence Bedeman, who had been Rector of Exeter College, were condemned. At Oxford at any rate the Reformers were silenced. Rygge proved unable to protect his friends. Hereford set off for Rome, in the vain hope of finding there tolerance and understanding, and was thrown into a Papal prison. And though he afterwards returned to England, raised the Wycliffite standard and faced imprisonment again, he finally forsook his old connections, received preferment, and ended as a monk. Repington recanted; he became Bishop of Lincoln, a Cardinal, and a terror to the Lollards. Bedeman subsided into a Devonshire living. John Aston, after a hard fight, apologised and "denied the presence of bread." But his submission may have been only a formality, for before five years were over he was preaching his old creed afresh. Even John Purvey, Wycliffe's companion at Lutterworth, was driven some years later to retract. Wycliffe himself, who remained to the last strangely unmolested, seems to have abandoned the battlefield at Oxford, and to have made no further fight there for his opinions.[2] He had already withdrawn to Lutterworth.

[1] But not, it seems, the Regents in Theology.

[2] Wycliffe's alleged recantation is neither proved nor probable. Knighton (*Chron.* II, 156 *sq.*) hardly establishes the charge. See Arnold's note (*Select. Eng. Works of Wyclif*, III, 501). Knighton's statement that Wycliffe appeared before a synod at Oxford in November 1382 is improbable. Lechler inclines to accept it (tr. 1878, p. 403), but Rashdall and Trevelyan do not.

He had determined to appeal from the wisdom of scholars to a wider and less educated world. "An unlearned man with God's grace," the Oxford Doctor sadly acknowledged, "does more for the Church than many graduates." [1] But though exiled from his old home, he flung himself more vigorously than ever into his popular campaign. His Latin dialectics may have lost their hold on theologians, but his terse, shrewd, forcible English still kept its powerful appeal for the people. The attempt made by the Crown and the Lords in 1382 to put down his itinerant preachers was sharply checked by the House of Commons.[2] His work went on. To the last he busied himself with his sermons, his tracts, his great translation, his fearless condemnation of ecclesiastical error and abuse. To the last he challenged Pope and Bishop, monk and Friar.[3] He denounced with all his old force and effectiveness the Crusade preached by Urban VI against his rival at Avignon, and the Bishop of Norwich's scandalous campaign on its behalf. But his health had already begun to break. Stricken with paralysis on Innocent's Day 1384, while hearing Mass in his own church, he failed quickly. From that day forward he never spoke again. His opponents let him die in peace. Archbishop Arundel indeed would have had the "son of the old serpent" dragged from his grave and thrown upon a dunghill. But it was not till many years later that orthodoxy so far triumphed in its malice as to take up his bones and burn them and cast his ashes in the river Swift.

Another famous Englishman, as stern a controversialist, as fearless a Reformer, and a far greater master of the English tongue, declared that the flame which Wycliffe lit in England proved "but a short blaze soon damped and stifled by the pope and prelates." [4] But the judgment of Erasmus that it "was only overcome and not extinguished" perhaps more nearly represents the facts. At Oxford indeed the Bishops' authority triumphed. Royal writs proscribed Wycliffe's opinions, and ordered the banishment of all who preached them. King Richard was as vehemently orthodox as the cousin who dethroned him: on his tomb at Westminster his boast that "he overthrew the heretics" can still be traced. In 1397 Archbishop Arundel determined to extirpate heresy in Oxford. His own banishment for high treason checked his plans. But the revolution which

[1] Trevelyan (*Age of Wycliffe*, 306). Compare *Eng. Works of Wyclif* (ed. Matthew, 428).

[2] Trevelyan (310–11).

[3] It is uncertain whether in 1384 Wycliffe was cited to Rome or not. Mr. Matthew thinks he was; so does Dr. Poole. But Lechler and Rashdall are doubtful.

[4] Milton (*Of Reformation in England*, Bk. I).

seated Henry IV on the throne restored the Archbishop's authority, and sealed again the alliance between Church and State. The Lollards, who claimed to be half the nation, may have been "lollers" or idle fellows. But there was no doubt of their resolve to attack Church abuses as well as to "lull" or sing or mutter psalms.[1] They preached. They read the Bible. They lifted up their voices against celibacy. They denounced the confessional, pilgrimages, relics, even the unchristian practice of war:

> "I know not how charity may stand,
> Where deadly war is taken on hand."[2]

Powerful squires were counted among the Lollards' protectors. Town after town in England was full of their friends. London, Leicester, Bristol, the Midlands and the West, became centres of Lollardy.[3] Oxford, even under repression, was still their academic home. The University was no longer "the mother of virtues, the lamp of knowledge, the prop of Catholick faith." In 1401 an Act with the sinister title *De Hæretico Comburendo* sharpened the softer penalties of an earlier day. Persecution for heresy was a new fashion in England, a fashion which never for long took root among our people. "Roasting men to orthodoxy," in Jeremy Collier's saying, might be permitted but was not understood. But Church and State were bent upon repression, and both had reasons for disquiet. Preachers of "dissembled holiness" were to be spared no more. Prosecutions were instituted. Obstinate heretics "damnably thinking of the Sacraments"[4] were burned. Prince Henry himself intervened at the pitiful death of John Badby, the tailor of Evesham, in 1410, entreating him to confess his errors for life and pardon and threepence a day. The same great King vainly tried to argue Sir John Oldcastle out of his beliefs. Orthodox opinion could not understand why knight or noble wanted

> "To bable the Bibel day and night."[5]

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[1] Both derivations have been suggested for the name.

[2] Gower (quoted by Trevelyan, 329).

[3] Especially London and Bristol, says Adam of Usk (*Chron.*, ed. Thompson, 3–4 and 141, n.). He speaks of the slaughter of 23,000 Wycliffites, under the year 1382—a wild statement, even if it is meant to include all the Lollards killed before the close of his Chronicle in 1421. Dr. Rashdall, while discounting these figures, seems to think that a Wycliffite rising was stamped out with great slaughter in 1399 (*D.N.B.*, vol. lxiii, p. 218). But I do not know of any authority for this beyond Adam of Usk's statement above.

[4] Dr. Gairdner (*Lollardy*, I, 47) quotes from an Act of 1401. See also other details collected in his first chapter, and Stubbs' *Constitutional History* (III, 357 *sq.*).

[5] See Wright (*Political Poems*, II, 244).

Oldcastle's rising seemed to justify severities. Persecution lasted, and the proscribed opinions lasted too. At Oxford indeed in 1406 the Chancellor and Masters are alleged to have issued a celebrated document—there are good reasons for thinking that it was issued under the University seal—extolling Wycliffe in terms which the Heads of the Church could never have approved. A later Chancellor declared that the University seal had been stolen, to send encouragement from heretics in Oxford to heretics in Prague. And it is not impossible that a hasty vote of Wycliffite Masters in the Long Vacation may have sanctioned a demonstration which the University as a whole would have condemned.[1]

Be that as it may, Archbishop Arundel was himself at Oxford shortly afterwards,[2] holding a provincial Council and over-awing rebels. Wycliffe's Bible was prohibited, together with all translations of the Scriptures issued without the leave of the Bishops. University teachers were forbidden to teach heretical doctrines or to allow discussions about the nature of the Sacraments or the essential dogmas of the faith. A monthly inquisition to discover heretics was ordered in all Colleges and Halls. The offenders were to be suspended and expelled. Unlicensed preachers were to be suppressed. A rigid censorship subjected books to the approval first of University delegates and secondly of the Archbishop himself. Not content with these sweeping Constitutions, which struck directly at freedom of discussion, the chief source of Oxford's intellectual life, Arundel, it seems, was determined that Wycliffe's heresies should be condemned by the University too, and he demanded the appointment of twelve persons to draw up a list of the Reformer's errors. In

[1] Lyte (279–80) makes this suggestion. But it is not impossible that the seal was stolen and misused. (See Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 336.) Dr. Rashdall (II, 433, n.) seems to suggest that the incident occurred in 1411. But 1406 is the date generally accepted. (See Wilkins, III, 302, and Wood, *Ann.* I, 542–3.) On Peter Payne, a devoted Wycliffite, whom Gascoigne accused of sharp practice in the matter, see the interesting article in *D.N.B.*

[2] Probably in 1408, towards the end of the year. Dr. Gairdner gives both 1408 and 1407. (Compare his article on Arundel, *D.N.B.*, with his *Lollardy*, I, 61.) From the Archbishop's Register at Lambeth it seems clear that Councils were held both at Oxford and at St. Paul's Cathedral (*Regist.*, Arundel, II, 10^a–12^b). Wilkins (*Conc.* III, 314–19) speaks of the Constitutions as made in St. Paul's in January 1408 (Old Style), but adds at the end "Datæ Oxonii" (the words in the *Register* are "Datt. Oxon."); and he gives in a foot-note authority for the view that the decisions made at Oxford were confirmed in London. Dr. Rashdall (II, 432, n.) thinks the Constitutions were published both in Oxford and in London. Dr. Stubbs (*Const. Hist.* III, 360) and the Archbishop's *Register* (f. 12^b) which Wilkins follows (III, 320), give the date of publication as 1409. But it is not easy to be certain about the dates.

vain the Oxford Masters raised objections. In vain the majority of Faculties in the Great Congregation refused to make the appointment of delegates required. In vain, when the Archbishop at last secured their appointment, John Byrche, a freedom-loving Proctor, induced the Masters to cancel it and to carry on the fight. In vain the students resisted and rioted and resorted to scurrilous songs. In vain the Chancellor who dissolved the Congregation was driven to resign. The imperious Archbishop got his delegates. The delegates after some delay and pressure got out their list of heretical propositions, two hundred and sixty-seven long. And the books of Wycliffe which gave sanction to these errors were burned at Carfax under the Chancellor's eyes.[1]

But fresh material for controversy was soon forthcoming. Arundel determined to assert his claim to visit the University officially, in spite of the immunities granted by the Pope.[2] In 1411 he summoned the Masters to meet him at St. Mary's, and the Chancellor Richard Courtenay, backed or instigated by the Proctors, refused. An issue dearer than any heresy of Wycliffe's, the independence of the University, was at stake. John Byrche and Brent his colleague fortified the Church against the Archbishop. They declined to allow him to enter Oxford as Visitor, and when he launched an Interdict against them, they defied his authority and celebrated Mass. Armed scholars, only too glad of the pretext, poured into the streets and forced the Primate's followers to withdraw.[3] Arts students and Seculars, Northerners and Southerners, lovers of privilege and turbulence and independence, even Oriel Fellows with a taste for roystering,[4] joined in.

[1] The report of the twelve delegates is referred to in letters from the University, the Archbishop and the King. (See Wilkins, III, 339 *sq.* and 350–1, and *Cotton MS. Faustina*, C. VII, 171^{b} *sq.*) It was probably presented before December 1409 (Lyte, 283, n.). Wilkins gives the report twice, once under 1382, which must be a wrong date, and once with the conclusions in full under 1412 (III, 171 *sq.* and 339 *sq.*). See also Arundel's *Register* at Lambeth (II, 126^{b}–127), *Cotton MS. Faustina*, C. VII (134^{b}, 135 and 160^{b}), and Twyne (II, 229). Some of the erroneous propositions were, it seems, again examined and condemned, in Oxford in June 1410 and in London in March 1411. (See Lyte, 283–4 and *Univ. Arch. Reg. C*, 123^{a}–125^{b}. See also *MS. Bodl.* 282, 109^{b} *sq.*)

[2] The Bull of Boniface IX, in 1395, which exempted the University from all episcopal jurisdiction, had roused strong opposition, even at Oxford, which was encouraged by Arundel and supported by the King. It was revoked by John XXII in November 1411. (See Lyte, 292–5.)

[3] Twyne records the Archbishop's anger (XXIV, 122 *sq.*).

[4] The record of the Archbishop's Visitation in Oriel College Treasury has been used by Dr. Rashdall and Sir H. M. Lyte. Thomas Wilton was one of the most active and determined rebels, and Northern feeling—Wilton was a conspicuous Northerner—probably contributed to Wycliffe's support. (See later, p. 260.) But the opposition to Arundel had in many cases very little to do with theology.

In September 1411 the King summoned Chancellor and Proctors to London and required their resignation. The King's Council, Parliament, and subsequently the Pope himself, set aside the Bull which exempted the University from the Archbishop's jurisdiction. The Masters were called on to elect a new Chancellor and new Proctors. But uncowed and impenitent they re-elected the old ones instead.[1] Prince Henry had to be called in to mediate and to avert the Royal anger. In the end the Archbishop's right of visitation was acknowledged.[2] The University's opposition was suppressed. And with the triumph of ecclesiastical authority the independent spirit of the Oxford Schoolmen and the interest, no doubt, of their teaching declined.

But the liberty which Arundel had struck at did not disappear. Wycliffe's books "lay hid."[3] But his *Wicket*, a popular tract against Transubstantiation, found readers all through the fifteenth century in England. Even in Oxford Colleges his books were bought. English Lollards carried them North over the Border. Scottish Lollards, dim ancestors perhaps of Cameronian martyrs, sprang up to study them in Ayrshire and the West. As late as 1523, on the eve of a greater Reformation, Bishop Tunstall complained to Erasmus of "the great band of Wycliffite heretics."[4] The Oxford Reformer's memory was never forgotten in his own country. His doctrines found a new celebrity and force abroad. Jerome of Prague brought back Wycliffe's books from England to the proud little Slavonic kingdom which had given a Queen to Richard II. Bohemian pilgrims came to Lutterworth, made transcripts of his writings,

[1] References to the King's intervention and the struggle over Richard Courtenay's re-election to the Chancellorship will be found in *Cotton MS. Faustina*, C. VII (129b–130b, 165b–167a, and 171).

[2] Not only was Arundel's Visitation carried through, but early in 1414—not 1413—Repington, now Bishop of Lincoln, announced his intention of enquiring into heresy in the University, and was met by no protest. The Chancellor's reply is interesting as giving a list of resident graduates, over sixty altogether, including twelve Regent and eighteen Non-Regent Masters, and nine Doctors of Divinity, of whom three were Friars and three were monks (Twyne, II, 13–14). But the list may be incomplete. (See Lyte, 295–6 and Rashdall, II, 436, n.) But it is not clear that Arundel's Visitation had all the results which he desired. About 1435 we find the Pope calling on the King to suppress heresy in the University, as the Archbishop, the Bishop of Lincoln and the Chancellor and Proctors are apathetic in the matter, and the King deprecating this serious view (B.M. *Royal MS.* 10, B. IX, 183b and 184). For the King's action in 1411, repudiating the exemption from ecclesiastical jurisdiction granted by Boniface IX, see *Cal. Pap. Letts.* (VI, 302–4), *Cott. MS. Faust.* C. VII (131a *sq.*), and Shadwell (*Enactments in Parliament*, I, 7–14).

[3] "Latitabant." Wood quotes a report to this effect made by the University to Edward IV (*Ann.* I, 630).

[4] See Trevelyan (349 and 352–3).

and took home chippings from his tomb.[1] John Hus wrote out some of Wycliffe's philosophical treatises with his own hand. And from the lips of Hus Wycliffe's daring plea for liberty and reformation rang through Europe and challenged authority afresh. The Council of Constance condemned Hus to martyrdom and ordered the dead bones of Wycliffe to be burned. But the light from their funeral fires was not extinguished. It was yet to set England and Germany aflame.

[1] On Bohemian students at Oxford see Mr. Robert F. Young's article in the *English Hist. Review* (January 1923, pp. 72–84). Beam Hall—Aula Bœmii—was supposed by some to be an old residence of Bohemian students. (See Wood, *City*, I, 184, and *Epist. Acad.* 601.) But Wood prefers Biham Hall and a different derivation. And so does Mr. W. D. Caröe in his book on *Tom Tower* (6, n.).

CHAPTER VII

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY COLLEGES EXETER, ORIEL, QUEEN'S, NEW COLLEGE AND CANTERBURY

BETWEEN the days of Duns Scotus and the death of Wycliffe several new Colleges were founded in Oxford, one of which, crowned with the beauty of five centuries, still retains that simple name. Walter of Stapeldon, Bishop of Exeter, was a loyal Devonian and an Oxford Canonist of repute.[1] He played a great part as churchman and statesman in the difficult days of Edward II. As he rose in the world, he gave generously to public purposes the wealth which he acquired. He spent lavishly in rebuilding his Cathedral. He left funds for founding grammar-schools at Exeter and Ashburton, to train boys for University life. He made many bequests to help poor scholars. He collected a fine library at his London house near Temple Bar, which "the giddy multitude" incontinently sacked. He proved a faithful Minister to an unhappy King, and when his master fell he paid the penalty, and was seized by the mob and beheaded in Cheapside. But in 1314, in the days of his greatness, he devoted certain small revenues in Cornwall to establishing in Oxford a Hall for students from the West Country which he loved.[2] As the years went on, other property was added, and within the Bishop's lifetime the little community was well launched on its career.

At "Stapeldonhalle" there were to be twelve ordinary Scholars or Fellows on the foundation, eight from Devonshire and four from Cornwall. They were to be Arts students studying philosophy, and were to qualify by a good general education for work in Church or State. The Bishop's sympathies evidently lay with the Seculars rather than the monks. One additional

[1] Dean Rashdall (II, 491) thinks that he may have studied at Bologna or some Southern University, and points out that to some extent Exeter at first represented, like Balliol, the early, simple type of College found in Paris.

[2] Apparently his brother, Sir Richard Stapeldon, joined in the gift. Their plans began in 1312. The original statutes are dated 24 April, 1316. But the Bishop bought Hart Hall and Arthur Hall, for the purposes of his College, in 1314, and the King's license dates from that year.

Scholar only, appointed by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, was to study Theology or Canon Law, and to serve the College as Chaplain. The first home of these Scholars in Oxford was near Smith Gate, where they occupied two little houses which the Bishop had bought, Hart Hall and Arthur Hall beside it, on the site of the Hertford College of the future But from there they were very soon moved to larger quarters further West. Hart Hall was let to other students and the rent applied to the maintenance of the new House. In the North part of the parish of St. Mildred, between the North wall of the town and the lane to which Brasenose was to give its name, the Bishop acquired new possessions, partly by purchase and partly by gift from a West country friend—St. Stephen's Hall, "an ancient place consecrated to learning," two other little properties rented from the Abbess of Godstow, and other tenements in Oxford later on. In 1322 he added to the College endowments the Rectory of Long Wittenham on the slopes of Sinodun Hill. And presently further purchases in Oxford, Fragnon Hall, where the Bodleian now interposes, Sheld Hall and Culverd Hall and others on the West, Scot Hall and Bedford Hall and others to the South, made the Fellows masters, as the fourteenth century proceeded, of most of the ground between the North end of Schools Street and "the Turl." [1] About 1404 an entrance from Turl Street was made by Bishop Stafford, but the West gate and the West front were not built for another two hundred years. The chief entrance to the College was at first on the North. There in

[1] Mr. C. W. Boase gives a plan of these sites (Pl. iv) in his *Registrum Collegii Exoniensis* (ed. 1894), which, with its great store of details and its list of Commoners (Part II), is invaluable for the history of the College. The earlier edition of 1879 contains some important Latin documents. Mr. W. K. Stride's more recent College history also gives a useful list of the MS. and other authorities on the subject. I am constantly indebted to both writers. The *Second Report of the Hist. MSS. Comm.* (127–30) should be consulted. Of College documents, which the Rector kindly allowed me to examine, the most interesting are the *Computi Rectoris* from the earliest years—a folio volume running from 1566 to 1639 is in the Rector's keeping—the Bursars' Books and Caution Books, both dating from the early years of the seventeenth century, and above all the College *Registers*, the two earliest volumes of which run from 1539 to 1619 and from 1619 to 1737. A seventeenth-century volume dated 1631 contains transcripts of important Elizabethan documents and of some early deeds and charters. The handsome *Book of Benefactors* dates from the beginning of the eighteenth century. There is more than one copy of the early Statutes, but the originals are not forthcoming. Wood of course has a notice of the College history in his *Colleges*, and notes on the site (*City*, I, 113 *sq.*): but these latter must not be too implicitly accepted. Nor do Mr. Boase's conjectures (360 *sq.*) dispose of all the difficulties in regard to site and buildings. "The Turl" was known by that name about 1590, but had probably no regular name before that (Salter, *Historic Names of Streets of Oxford*, 18).

1432 William Palmer, the Rector, once a schoolboy of Launceston, built a tower and gateway opening into the lane under the town wall.[1] And there, though later builders have swept away so many old memorials, Palmer's Tower substantially survives.

The Scholars of Stapeldon Hall were poor men, chosen for their poverty, their aptitude and conduct. They received tenpence a week for Commons. They received also clothes, rooms and ten shillings a year. But their clothes or liveries were expected to last for three years. The Rector and the priest were given twenty shillings each. The servants' wages were on the same unambitious scale—five shillings a term for the manciple, one for the barber and two for the cook. They were a young community. They retained their Fellowships only till they had qualified and lectured as Masters in Arts, that is, allowing ample time for all the processes, for thirteen or fourteen years at the outside.[2] They lost them if they succeeded to benefices or acquired an income of sixty shillings a year, or if they stayed away five months out of the twelve, or refused to take the office of Rector. The Rector must have been a young man—his post apparently was not greatly in demand—and by an unusually democratic arrangement he was elected or re-elected yearly by the Fellows. He kept the keys and the purse. He ruled the College and managed its business. He lived at first in rooms over the main gate. He and his colleagues had certain funds allowed them, for seeing to the College property, for visits and festivities, for long journeys down to Devonshire, for payments to the Exeter carrier, who sometimes brought up presents from the West. There were curious old customs, still surviving in the sixteenth century,[3] in which the boots and clothing of the Fellows played a prominent part. They must not wear shirts "with lappets hanging down like promontories," nor courtiers' plaits about the neck. Bachelors must have long gowns reaching to the knees. They must come early to matins and vespers before the bell stopped. They must not be too familiar with Masters, but must respect their high degree. Scholars, who were not Bachelors, were to walk about "within the Academy" with uncovered

[1] This lane bore different names at different dates and in different parts—e.g. Somnore Lane, the King's Way, and Exeter Lane. Rector's Row, afterwards called Chapel Row, dated from the same year. It was a block of buildings, East and West of the tower, facing Somnore Lane. The West part became the Rector's Lodgings.

[2] The Statutes contemplated a student taking possibly six years for B.A., four or five more for M.A., two for lectures as Necessary Regent, and one final year before his Fellowship ceased. (Boase, *Ex. Regist.*, 1894, xxxi–ii.) It was a liberal calculation.

[3] See Boase (*Ex. Regist.*, 1894, lxxiii.–iv, and for the Latin the edition of 1879).

heads. All Scholars were expected to attend lectures and to hold constant disputations. They must eschew noisiness and idle stories and bad manners in the House of God. They must abstain from pilfering at the buttery. They must feed those in prison once a week. It was a homely and simple little community, with no dangerous temptations to luxury or wealth.[1] The Bishop of Exeter watched over its welfare, interfered in its quarrels, and insisted on its rules. He also protested sharply if the Fellows filled up a vacancy with a scholar from the diocese of Salisbury. The name of Exeter College gradually displaced the old name of the Founder, and early in the fifteenth century the Pope confirmed the change. In 1384 Bishop Brantingham ordered the rule for the annual election of the Rector to be altered: the office was to be continuous so long as its holder was not proved to be negligent or unfit.[2] "Statutes, like their makers," said the Bishop pithily and wisely, "require change, as experience shows."[3]

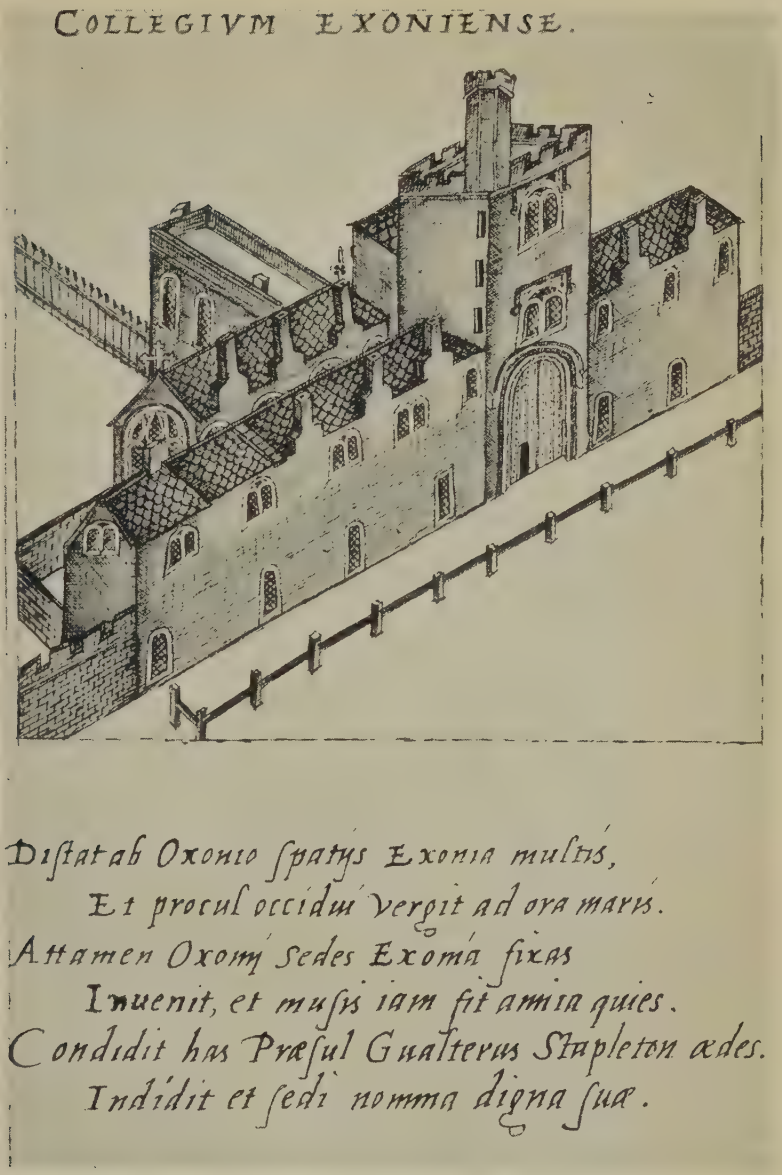
The College buildings grew up gradually, and in very early days the Chapel was begun. The Rector of St. Mildred's Church[4] required an assurance that it should not prejudice his rights. In 1321 a license to build the Chapel was granted, and in 1326, in the last year of his greatness, Bishop Stapeldon had leave to consecrate the high altar. It stood to the South-east of the spot where Palmer's tower was afterwards to rise. It was raised above the ground, with chambers under it, and the Fellows sat near the door. Old fourteenth-century records remain of purchases of wine and incense and wax-candles, of payments for repairs and other charges—eight pence for a workman who mended the windows, two pence for breakfast for a priest and singing clerk, sixteen pence for an iron chain to secure a book

[1] In 1535–6 the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* estimates the College revenues at only £83 2*s*. Elizabethan endowments are said to have brought them up to £600 before that century closed (Boase, *Ex. Regist.*, lxxvi and xcvi). But this must be an over-statement. £200 or a little less would probably be nearer the mark (Stride, *Exeter College*, 43).

[2] Boase (*Ex. Regist.* lx). But it seems doubtful how far the order took effect, for in 1566 John Neale was chosen as Perpetual Rector, after having been apparently elected Rector in six successive years (*Ib.* 68 and Stride, 47, n.).

[3] The earliest existing copy of the Statutes, long after Stapeldon's day, was used for the text printed in 1855; but they were not included in the *Statutes of the Colleges* issued by the Commission. They were printed again by Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph in his *Register of Walter de Stapeldon Bishop of Exeter* (303–10).

[4] St. Mildred's Church is rightly placed by Mr. Boase (*Ex. Regist.*, Plate IV) South of Brasenose Lane, on the site of part of Lincoln College. Mr. Boase's Register is full of valuable details in regard to the College buildings, and Mr. Stride's volume of 1900 has a special chapter on that subject (Ch. VII) from the late Rector's pen.



EXETER COLLEGE IN 1566
(Bereblock)

by Rabanus, three half-pence for a cord for the Chapel bell. Early in the fifteenth century Bishop Stafford of Exeter, besides other generous benefactions, gave a chalice and books for divine service, and re-built the porch and covered it with lead. Later on fresh benefactors, William Palmer and John Westlake, presented windows which Wood has described. This Chapel lasted for three hundred years. But in 1624 another Chapel was built further to the West, and George Hakewill, Fellow and Rector, although he had "two sonnes of his own to be provided for," contributed twelve hundred pounds towards its cost. The old Chapel was turned into a Library and lingered on for some generations. Its successor, a double Chapel notable for its fine arched roof and paintings, and for the "three little white stones" commemorating the children of Dr. Prideaux, the great Rector of his day,[1] has now given place in turn to a third building designed upon a more ambitious scale,[2] and the masonry hewn in the seventeenth century has gone to fill up the deep foundations rendered necessary by the nearness of the old town ditch.

Exeter had a very early College Library, which, Wood tells us, fell into ruin in the reign of Edward III. There are records of contributions to it in the fourteenth century by Bishop Grandison, Bishop Brantingham and Bishop Rede.[3] In 1375 three shillings and fourpence were paid for thatching its roof. But about 1383 a new Library was built, at right-angles to the old Chapel, "on the East side," says Wood, "of the upper Court that now is." Homely little details of the building charges—payments for stone, for timber, and for workmen's wages, for cheese for labourers, for breakfast for the white-washers—are preserved in the records of the College. This building, enlarged by Bishop Stafford, continued in use for some two centuries and a half. But in 1624 or 1625 the books were moved to the old Chapel, where they nearly suffered destruction from a fire in 1709. The College authorities had overlooked the danger of keeping a "Hole for Ashes" beside the main room where their manuscripts were stored. The eighteenth century

[1] They were baptised, it seems, in St. Michael's Church, not buried there, as Mr. Boase (89) suggests. (See Peshall, *Antient and Present State of the City of Oxford* (27)). Mr. Vallance (*Old Colleges*, 26) gives an interesting picture of Hakewill's Chapel.

[2] About 1859. Sir Gilbert Scott's Chapel was once described by Prof. Freeman as one of "the most glorious" buildings in modern England (*Proceedings of Oxford Architectural Soc.*, N.S., I, 171–2). Others have been more impressed by its disproportion to the buildings round it and the space at its command. But its history belongs to a later day.

[3] William Rede, Bishop of Chichester, 1368–85, a very good friend to Merton, found means to benefit other Colleges too. He must not be confounded with Robert Reade the Dominican, who was Bishop of Chichester, 1397–1415.

was to provide another Library, and the nineteenth century another building yet, looking down on the great chestnut which bends its boughs to touch the College opposite whenever Brasenose has to yield to Exeter upon the river.[1] Among the early treasures of the College are included, besides the Tullys and Aristotles and Schoolmen, the Bibles and Service Books of bygone days, two copies of Tyndale's New Testament, two rare volumes printed at Tavistock in the reign of Henry VIII, and a famous Psalter dating back to Creçy, which became the family Bible of the Tudor Queens, and which is still our sole authority for the date of the birth of "the noble king Harry the vii."[2]

Many other buildings are mentioned in the College documents. Dr. Prideaux's survey, taken in 1631, gives some interesting details. A Hall was built in the fourteenth century, not far from the North gate, West of the old Library, and running South, more or less parallel with it.[3] It was "half-covered" by Bishop Stafford, who succeeded to his diocese before that century closed. Stafford proved a generous patron to the College—he has been called its second Founder—and he spent over two hundred marks upon its buildings. When the Hall got the rest of its roofing is not so clear. But there are early notices of charges for its upkeep, for table-cloths and napkins, for towels for the wash-basin, for candles and torches, for tankards and spoons. The original kitchen stood near it, and also the new one built soon after 1483.[4] The old Hall could never "conveniently intertayne the Company," but it seems to have served the College until 1618, when Sir John Acland, as became a West country magnate, gave eight hundred pounds for a new one, with a great beer cellar underneath. With its open roof and its louvre it is conspicuous in Loggan's plan. The kitchen was left standing "in the midst of the College very disgracefully" until 1632, and we hear of blind streets and ugly corners in the College precincts, "full of Bones Filth and Nettles." Before Henry VIII's death a little block of buildings sprang up at the South-west corner where Turl Street joins Brasenose Lane. Fifty or sixty years later, in 1597, Bentley's Nest was built over the fourteenth-century Library, timber buildings, "wooden

[1] This tradition, which only iconoclasts will question, has some sanction from Mr. Boase, as such (*Ex. Regist.* clxix and clxiv).

[2] *Ib.* (clxv–ix).

[3] It can be seen in Agas' view, and is just visible in Bereblock's. In Loggan's it has disappeared. (Mr. Boase gives, Pl. III, an enlarged copy of Agas' view.)

[4] We are told that John Phylypp (Rector, 1464–70) gave money for it in that year (*Ib.* 42). He is also said to have subscribed to a new Hall. But Wood is surely right in thinking that the fourteenth-century Hall lasted till 1618 (*Colleges*, 112).

Stuffe," more picturesque perhaps than commodious to live in. But on the other hand the "Firmnesse and Magnificence" of Periam's Mansions, which adjoined it,[1] set in the seventeenth century a new standard for the College rooms. John Periam, the son of an Exeter merchant, and brother-in-law of the lady whose benefits Balliol recalls, proved a worthy benefactor. "God rayse us," prays a grateful chronicler, "many such to follow his example." He was connected with Dr. Prideaux, the famous Rector, who left behind him buildings of his own.

The reign of James I saw important changes. In 1605 a West gate with a tower over it appeared upon the Turl: and in 1671 a fine block of buildings North of this tower was added. In James I's day also Somnore Lane was closed—thanks to the influence with a Scottish King of a Scottish nobleman—"the now Marquesse of Hamilton, some tymes student of our Colledg"; and fresh space was thus given for the extension of the College to the North. Alderman Wright of Oxford built a house on or near the City wall. This passed to the College, and before many years were over Dr. Prideaux is said to have added a third storey to this building and to have given it his own name.[2] By the end of the seventeenth century, while some of the older buildings had decayed or vanished, the main quadrangle had grown up. Acland's Hall was on the South side towards Brasenose Lane. Hakewill's Chapel was on the North side, and the Jacobean gateway and other buildings on the West. Dr. Prideaux in his Survey gives many details of the Rector's Lodgings, between the Chapel and Palmer's tower, beginning with the cellar and describing all the rooms, the "Waynescote Parler," the Rector's Bedchamber, the "Waynscoted great dyning Roome," the hall and several "Studyes," up to the Treasury, reserved for the use of the College, and the Cock-loft at the top.[3] He speaks also of the outbuildings lying in the space between the North front and the old town ditch, of the Tower house once standing in boggy ground "between the butts," of the stable built by Dr. Holland, and converted apparently into rooms by Dr. Prideaux, of the three little gardens "without the Rector's Back side, ranging along by the Cittye Wall." We hear of a Mount with a dial on it, of a Bowling Alley, afterwards included in the Rector's garden, of an ancient tennis-court and of an ancient conduit,

[1] In the South-east corner of the quadrangle, next to Acland's Hall.

[2] I cannot find this in Loggan's view: Mr. Stride's history speaks of it (194) as hidden by the Chapel. But Mr. Boase's plans (Pl. IV and p. 360) seem to place it further North, and in that case it ought to show in Loggan's picture. (See also Stride, 182 and 190.)

[3] For Dr. Prideaux's Survey of December 1631, see Boase (*Regist.* 311–20). Both Prideaux, after the date of this Survey, and Dr. Bury in 1671 added materially to the Rector's Lodgings.

which once brought water down from Carfax to a cistern near the Chapel door. But most of these old memorials were destined to vanish with the sweeping, heedless changes of succeeding years.[1]

In early days Stapeldon's Scholars had their troubles, poverty and pestilence, misgovernment and discord. After the Black Death came the Wycliffite movement: the Exeter Fellows gave it strong support. Robert Rygge, the Chancellor who played so large a part in the great controversy, Thomas de Brightwell, who suffered at the hands of Archbishop Courtenay, and Laurence Bedeman or Stevine, Rector in 1379–80, whose "fox-like craft" Bishop Brantingham denounced, were all conspicuous members of the College. Benedict Brent, Fellow and Proctor, though not apparently a Lollard, was as bold as John Byrche in resisting Archbishop Arundel's encroachments, and was sent to the Tower for his audacity.[2] But at Oriel, Queen's and Merton the Wycliffite Fellows of Exeter found friends. Among political personages Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice in 1381, was a member of the College. Prominent among Richard II's supporters, he shared the fate of other advisers of that unhappy King. But under the House of Lancaster many Exeter men found prosperity. Two, it is said, were with Henry V at Agincourt. One, Michael de Tregury, was afterwards Rector of the new University set up at Caen. He lived to be Archbishop of Dublin, where Swift long after discovered his tomb. Two others were respectively physician and confessor to Henry VI. William Palmer, builder of the first College tower, was physician apparently to King Henry's Queen. Walter Lyhert, a miller's son from Lanteglos by Fowey,[3] became Provost of Oriel, and was afterwards famous both as Bishop and as builder. St. Mary's owed its new Chancel to him, when its old walls failed. Sir John Fortescue accompanied Queen Margaret in her exile, and wrote on the laws of England for her ill-fated son. Another Fellow found his way to Jerusalem and celebrated Mass there in 1462. From Henry V and Cardinal Beaufort legacies came to the College. Later on, William Grocyn, returning from Florence, taught Greek in the old Hall. Colet was entertained there. Servants of Wolsey's were probably among its members. Henry VIII enforced his views upon it. But the Catholics of the West, who protested against the violence of the Reformation, found

[1] The information collected by Mr. Boase is well worth study—though there are still points on which it is difficult to be exact.

[2] He was elected Rector shortly afterwards. Middleworth (see pp. 223 and 274) was not the only Exeter man who passed on to Queen's, and who was associated with Wycliffe and his opinions. But all Exeter men were not on that side.

[3] Dr. Jessop would trace his descent from a citizen of Norwich (*D.N.B.*).

Exeter College in 1675
(Loggan)

sympathisers within its walls. John Moreman, the well-known Vicar of Menheniot, whom Edward VI's Council sent to the Tower, and whose cause the Cornish insurgents defended, was a member of Exeter and had been Principal of Hart Hall.[1] Even under Elizabeth Catholic influences persisted. John Neale, the first "perpetual" Rector, was ejected in 1570 for refusing to conform. All but four members of the College were said to be "secret or open Roman affectionaries." Exeter men swelled the ranks of the Jesuits, and helped to found the College at Douai, even to supply a conspirator for the Gunpowder Plot. The old order in Oxford did not die without a struggle, and the old order has often found defenders in the West.

But with Elizabeth, who had Stapeldon blood in her veins, a new order began. Rectors with new views were appointed. Exeter men were conspicuous when the Queen visited Oxford; and in 1566, on her first visit, John Bereblock, the Dean, prepared for her a set of valuable drawings of the Colleges of that day.

> "Far from the Oxford schools lies Exeter
> Hard by the western ocean's distant marge,
> Yet next the Oxford schools there waits for her
> A nook secluded in the Muses' charge.
> 'Twas Bishop Stapeldon, rememb'ring whence he came,
> Founded this Devon house and called it by his name."[2]

And under Elizabeth a veteran Tudor statesman founded afresh the prosperity of the College. Sir William Petre was as successful as his great contemporary Cecil in retaining office in revolutionary times. The son of a wealthy Devonshire tanner, he studied at Exeter, became a Fellow of All Souls and tutor to the half-brother of Anne Boleyn. Introduced at Court, he won the favour of Cromwell, and worked hard and profitably at putting the monasteries down. He became a Secretary of State under Henry VIII. He was equally prominent under Somerset and under Somerset's supplanters. He helped to arrange the succession of Lady Jane Grey. He lost no time in declaring for Queen Mary. He joined in welcoming Cardinal Pole to England, but he induced the Pope to confirm him in his own monastic spoils. At the right moment he became the servant of Elizabeth, and he died full of possessions and honours. An

[1] The Injunctions of Edward's Commissioners in 1549 are inserted at the beginning of the earliest College *Register*, and some entries smudged and deleted in 1547 may refer to theological troubles.

[2] T. Neale, the Hebrew Reader, wrote Latin verses to describe Bereblock's drawings. The verses on Exeter, put into the mouth of Lord Leicester, the Chancellor, are translated in Mr. Stride's book (48–9). T. Neale must not be confused with John Neale, the Rector first elected in 1560 and ejected ten years later.

able, moderate, far-sighted man, "of approved wisdom and exquisite learning," with no cast-iron political principles, and yet, says Strype, "without spot that I could find except change of religion," Petre had perhaps some reason for bewailing to Cecil that men went fishing in the world "for gain and wicked mammon." He seems to have clung to the old Church. He certainly clung to many of her possessions. But at least as regards his old College he used his wealth both generously and well. He bought Rectories and lands from the Queen and bestowed them on his old Society. He more than doubled the revenues of the College.[1] Eight new Fellowships were founded, for students drawn from the many counties in which the Petre family had property.[2] In March 1566 the Queen granted the College a charter of incorporation, and empowered the Bishop of Exeter, as Visitor, to draw up new Statutes with Petre's assent.

The Elizabethan Statutes date from a new age, but they recall many customs long familiar.[3] The Rector, a Master of Arts, was to live on the spot, and to be at least thirty years old. A Sub-Rector and Dean were appointed to assist him. His permanence and dignity, if not his affluence, were now assured. The old practice of disputation was re-affirmed and encouraged. Logic lectures were to begin at six in the morning, logic disputations to follow for two hours every day. The time was to be reckoned by a water-clock. Philosophers and theologians had of course their disputations also. Fellows elected before taking their Bachelor's degree were not to take it till three years after their election. Masters of Arts, after completing their necessary Regency, were to have ten years for the Bachelor's degree in Divinity and to take their Doctorate in eight years more.[4] Independent means, of small amount, preferment of a certain value, marriage or non-residence, vacated a Fellowship. One Fellow was allowed with wise liberality later to travel abroad for four years to study Physic or Civil Law. Commons were fixed at twelve pence a week and eighteen pence for weeks of festival. The Rector had twenty shillings for stipend, the Chaplain twenty-six shillings and eight pence, the Fellows ten

[1] The new endowment was valued at £111 7*s.* 11½*d.* yearly (Stride, 43, n.).

[2] In the South and East of England. This helped to break down the West Country and Catholic tradition.

[3] Mr. Boase (lxxxix *sq.*) gives many details. Petre's Statutes were partly based on those of Trinity. But I should hesitate to say with Mr. Stride (43) that either Petre's or Sir Thomas Pope's "show the influence of the new learning and the new faith in almost every line."

[4] An Exeter student, it seems, might thus take at least 27 years for his D.D.

shillings each.[1] The Dean was paid for presenting men for degrees, and received eight pence a quarter from the Commoners and Battelers who attended his lectures on logic. Dress was regulated, gambling and unruly sports prohibited—though cards were allowed on certain festal days. Dogs, ferrets, rabbits, hawks, were all proscribed. The Bible was to be read during meals in Hall; after that conversation in a learned language was permitted. Gates were to be locked at a quarter past nine at night, and the keys carried to the Rector's bed-room. There were rules for dealing with the College property, for limiting the length of leases, for the guidance of the Visitor, for removing a Rector or a Fellow. The Statutes were to be read aloud twice a year in the Chapel, and any Fellow lost a fortnight's commons if on those occasions he stayed away. One of Petre's objects was, no doubt, to remind the Fellows of a discipline which the course of many generations had relaxed.

Several of the new Fellows nominated by Sir William Petre, "unnaturall sons," as a later Rector called them, became Romanist missionaries in England or abroad. But by the end of the century Protestant influences, supported in high quarters, had triumphed. Thomas Glasier from Christ Church was appointed Rector, on the strong recommendation of Sir John Petre, in 1578, and by the same influence, backed perhaps by Royal pressure, Thomas Holland, who had been connected with Oriel and Balliol, was brought in in 1592.[2] Holland, already Regius Professor of Divinity, was "an Apollos mighty in the Scriptures," afterwards one of the translators of the Bible, and he had grown up in the new ideas. These able rulers re-organised the College. In the seventeenth century it was one of the most important in Oxford. Holland was credited with training "many famous bishops and doctors," and there was no lack of great West Country names. Sir John Eliot matriculated at Exeter in 1607. Pym, a little earlier, had an Exeter man for his tutor, though he went to Broadgates Hall himself. It is worth note that Eliot, Pym and Hampden all went up to Oxford at fifteen. Edward Hyde tried in vain for a Fellowship at Exeter. William Noye, of Ship-Money fame, "Attornatus Domini Regis"—which he translated only too aptly as "one that must serve the King's turn"—and William Strode, one of

[1] But as early as 1535–6 the Rector and Chaplain each received, it seems, about £4 a year from the College, and the Fellows about £3 10*s.* each; and in 1592 the Rectorship is said to have been worth £70 (Boase, lxxvi and xcvi). In 1649, on the other hand, it was valued at only £45 (*Ib.* cxxii).

[2] Holland had been Exhibitioner of Oriel and Chaplain and Reader at Balliol. His election was delayed until a rival candidate, Nicholas Mercer, had resigned his claim (Boase, 83–4).

the Five Members, were both educated in the College. So, if he be the gentleman's son from Devonshire who matriculated in March 1601,[1] was John Ford, not the least illustrious of the dramatists of his day. And so were many other notable West Country men [2]—Grenvilles and Arundels, Champernownes and Carews—who, when the war came, held by the King. Sir Bevil Grenville showed himself in arms not unworthy of the ancestry behind him:

> "Thy grandsire fills the seas and thou the land."

But at Oxford, as he told his son, he "fell upon the sweet delights of reading poetry and history," and he found himself "infinitely defective" afterwards in his knowledge of other things. His son, unhappily, took no warning, and was content to be a loyal but unlettered Dean.

In 1612 the College numbered over two hundred members,[3] including a long list of Commoners besides servitors and poor scholars.[4] John Prideaux was elected Rector in that year. He was the son of a humble Devonshire yeoman, and had travelled up to Oxford in a pair of leather breeches which, tradition said, he kept beside his rochet in later days. He had entered the College as a "Scoutsboy" in 1596, and may have joined the labours of a scullion to the studies of a scholar. Chaplain in turn to James and Charles, he proved as loyal as any man to the rights of Kings. But he could not believe in the divine right of Bishops, and he differed widely from Laud's opinions though he won and kept the Archbishop's respect. His independence did not prevent King Charles from making him a Bishop. He

[1] See *Register of University* (ed. Clark, II, ii, 246).

[2] But Prideaux drew students from all over England, from Scotland and from the Continent too.

[3] Mr. Stride says (54) that 206 names were on the books: and Twyne (*MS.* XXI, 513) puts the number of students at 188, in the estimate of students in Colleges and Halls which the Vice-Chancellor rendered to Prince Henry in August 1611. Exeter in that list ranks third, its numbers being exceeded only by Christ Church (214) and Magdalen (211). But servants here are not mentioned. Twyne's list of 1612 gives Exeter 134 Commoners, and makes the total higher.

[4] There were also at times Fellow Commoners, rich men who dined at the Fellows' table, and Battallers or Battelers—it is spelt in more ways than one—who ranked below the Commoners but above the Servitors. They were distinguished by different scales for caution-money, rent and commons (Boase, xcvii–viii). Mr. Boase's guess that the word battels means "little bats," i.e. the tallies or notched sticks on which the accounts were kept, is not supported by Dr. Murray (*New Eng. Dict.*), but is worth consideration. De Quincey's derivation (*Autobiography*, II, 47) from "the old monkish" *patella* a plate, is also ingenious. But I think battels in old English simply meant food.

left the University as the Civil War broke out, and shared in the ruin which fell on many loyal Churchmen. His income and supplies ran short. He laughingly complained that he had too great a stomach: he had to eat up his plate, his library, his linen and his pewter. He died in poverty at Bredon, a refugee in the diocese over which he had ruled.[1] But before misfortune came he had made his College a power in Oxford, and a leading force in the Calvinist party which ruled the University before the ascendency of Laud. While Prideaux was Rector, King Charles visited Oxford, and founded certain Channel Island Fellowships to be held at Exeter and elsewhere. The Calvinists of Jersey and Guernsey, it seems, required some training in Anglican ideas. George Hakewill, a well-known Fellow, disputant and orator, and the builder of the seventeenth-century Chapel, succeeded Prideaux as Rector in 1642. But he spent most of his Rectorship in exile from Oxford, and the death of his Sovereign broke his heart. Hakewill had already had a sharp experience of politics, having been imprisoned in 1621 for opposing the Spanish Match. In literature, however, he proved more fortunate. His writings supplied materials for Milton, and even helped to form Dr. Johnson's Olympian style.[2]

Exeter men played their part in the war. One governed St. Michael's Mount for the Parliament. Another held Pendennis Castle for the King. Anthony Ashley Cooper, "the little man with three names," enlisted upon both sides. He was to spend his life fishing in troubled waters, and in 1637 he came up to Exeter to trouble the waters there. He spent money freely. He was generous to poor scholars. He headed a rebellion against the practice of tucking—scraping and torturing freshmen's chins. Ashley's future colleague in the Cabal, Thomas Clifford, was also a Commoner of the College, but was regarded there as a youth "of a roving, shattered brain." Lord Wharton, for all his love of dancing, devoted his grace and beauty to the Puritans. John Blackmore was among the Regicides. Sir Robert Spottiswoode carried the King's commission from Oxford to Montrose, and met his death at the Covenanters' hands. The Duke of Hamilton, whom Cromwell overpowered at Preston, and who died on the scaffold soon after the Sovereign whom he had served with so little skill, a Cary, a Stanhope, a Godolphin, a Trevanion, were among the sufferers for the Royalist cause. Exeter gave money to the King, three hundred and ten pounds, part of which had to be borrowed. She gave her plate,

[1] A medallion was added in 1914 to the other memorials of him in Bredon Church.

[2] See Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (ed. G. Birbeck Hill, I, 219–20).

with ill-concealed reluctance[1]; it was against the "plain, literal and grammatical sense" of her Statutes. But the King graciously offered to dispense with any penalty which such a breach of the Statutes might involve. Besides, if his Majesty were "destroyed in this rebellion," the College was unlikely to survive. She paid her quota for the King's foot-soldiers, at the rate of four shillings a week for each.[2] One of the Fellows, Henry Tozer, the Sub-Rector, was conspicuous for his Royalism, and held out with courage against the Parliamentary Visitation of 1648. He carried the majority of the College with him, though a substantial minority was willing to submit. A considerable number of Fellows and others were expelled by the Visitors,[3] and new members appointed in their stead. Hakewill was left undisturbed till his death a year later, but then John Conant was nominated Rector, and a fresh period of prosperity for the College began.

The new Rector was soon a great figure in Oxford. An admirable scholar, he knew Hebrew and Syriac as well as Arabic and Chaldee. He disputed publicly in the Schools in Greek. *Conanti nihil difficile,* Dr. Prideaux had said of him, when he came up as a poor Somersetshire schoolboy some twenty years before. In 1647 he had resigned his Fellowship from conscientious scruples. As a Presbyterian he differed on some points from the Independents, but Cromwell recognised in him a high example of Puritan idealism tempered by common-sense. As a College Head of marked discretion and ability, who watched in person over the studies of his scholars, saw to their expenses, cared for their morals, encouraged worth wherever he found it, and exerted himself even to see the College servants taught, Conant drew pupils from all parts to the College and made it the most popular in the University of his day. He was equally successful as Professor of Divinity, as Vice-Chancellor, as Visitor and adviser of the Government. His character and moderation won him

[1] Boase (cxv. n.). For the correspondence see the College *Register* (II, ff. 30–32) and other documents in the Archives. The receipt given by the Royal Mint was for £246 5*s.* 1*d.*

[2] "We do assure you in word of a King, that this charge shall lie on you but one month" (*Ib.*, f. 34, under date of 27 June, 1643).

[3] Mr. Boase (cxvii) says that the Visitors in 1648 expelled 10 Fellows and 18 other members of the College, and he names 12 who submitted. Prof. Burrows' Tables (*Reg. of Visitors*, 499–501) give 14 expulsions. It is difficult to say how many took effect. For the questions put to Henry Tozer, and for the answers given to the Visitors in May 1648, see Burrows (13–14 and 60–1). Out of 24 interrogated then 11 submitted. The College *Register* at this time is not very full or informing, and it indicates no startling changes in 1660. Langbaine (*Foundation of the Universitie*) gives the total College numbers as 230 in 1651—larger than those of any other College.

friends on all sides. He joined in the movement which produced the Restoration, but he could not retain the Rectorship in the new order of things. Ultimately he conformed to the Church of England, and worked on steadily for many years after bidding good-bye to Oxford. Wherever he went affection followed him, though he cared little for preferment or wealth.[1] His successors at Exeter, unhappily, were of a different type, and the College rapidly deteriorated under them. Joseph Maynard was so notorious a drunkard that even a Bishop of the Restoration had to ask him to withdraw. But this weakness, which Charles II described as "his infirm and valetudinary condition," was not regarded as disqualifying him for a stall at Exeter and a Cornish living. And Arthur Bury, called "Blackberry" because he was a little black man, to distinguish him from three others of the name, and made Rector in 1666 on the personal recommendation of the King, proved so quarrelsome and overbearing that he had to be removed in turn by Bishop Trelawney, after he had set the whole College by the ears.[2] No wonder that Wood complained that Conant's College had become rude, uncivil and debauched.

Space will not suffice for many more details of the College history, full of colour as they often are. But the fifteenth-century Principal of Mildred Hall who had to go to compurgation on a charge of incontinence, is worth a word of notice, if no more.[3] So is the Puritan Chaplain of James I, who could not stand his Majesty's strong language, but who did not hesitate to denounce his clerical colleagues as soul-murderers himself.[4] So is the anonymous Fellow whose great bottle of beer was smuggled into College as a copy of Bellarmine—whence any "bottle with a great belly was called a Bellarmine to this day." So are Thomas Chaffyn the Royalist delinquent, who had been Chaplain to Shakespeare's Earl of Pembroke, and Nathaniel Norrington, another seventeenth-century controversialist, whose tomb, it is said, furnished a hearthstone for the College kitchen, and George Hall, a Royalist Bishop of Chester, who left the College a Cornish estate and a gold cup, and, not least, Joseph Glanvill,[5]

[1] Conant's *Life*, by his son, was edited by the Rev. W. Stanton in 1823.

[2] For "Colmer's case," and other details of Bury's stormy Rectorship, which belong to rather later days, see Mr. Stride's history of the College (72–9), and the old Register (II, ff. 82 *sq.*).

[3] Boase (40).

[4] *Ib.* (ciii–iv).

[5] Glanvill apparently came up to Exeter in 1652 and took his B.A. in 1655, but moved to Lincoln later. There is an obvious misprint in one of the early dates given by Mr. Leslie Stephen (*D.N.B.*). But the references there quoted, and of course the article itself, are of value. The references to Mr. Boase's *Exeter Register* are to the edition of 1879.

the original philosopher, who in his *Vanity of Dogmatizing* denounced the old methods of the Oxford Schools, who defended witchcraft, advocated science, and first told the story of the Scholar Gipsy, on which a later son of Oxford was to found a noble poem. Tales of these and many others are collected in the records published by a distinguished member of the College. From the day of its foundation Exeter held its own. It struggled through its early poverty, lived down vicissitudes and failings, and has now for six full centuries in Oxford maintained its ancient and honourable name.

Some ten years after the foundation of Exeter, Oriel College started on its life. In April 1324 Adam de Brome, Rector of St. Mary's, a "beloved clerk" and almoner to the King, in other words a prosperous and influential ecclesiastic, secured the Royal license to found a little Society of Scholars "in sacred theology and the art of dialectic." He seems to have assigned to them Tackley's Inn[1] in the High Street for a residence, and Perilous Hall in Horsemonger Street with some other small property for their support. But in January 1326 Edward II, "a learned prince and in the time he lived an excellent poet," received the surrender of these possessions, and established the House of the Blessed Mary at Oxford to more practical effect. The King added to its endowments the advowson of St. Mary's, and placed Adam de Brome at its head. Statutes, modelled largely upon those of Merton, provided for a Provost and ten Scholars of Bachelor standing, to be nominated in the first place by their chief.[2] But after the first the Scholars were to be elected. They were to choose their own Provost. They were to study Arts and Philosophy until allowed to pass on to Theology or Law. But this does not seem to have prevented medical researches. Before full admission they had to endure a year's

[1] This is presumably the "unum messuagium" mentioned in the King's license. Whether any Scholars lived there in 1325, and whether the earliest Oriel Scholars lived there or at St. Mary's Rectory, after the King presented it in 1326, is not quite certain. Tackley's Inn stood where 106, High Street stands now. It was afterwards Bulkeley Hall (Ogle, *Royal Letts.* 99, n.), and its refectory apparently existed in Wood's time. Its fine cellar and some other fragments still exist (Hurst, *Oxf. Topography*, 178).

[2] Mr. D. W. Rannie gives a careful account of the original Statutes and of the foundation of the College in the first chapter of his history of *Oriel College*. The first Royal Charter was dated December 20, 1324, and the second, the more important, January 21, 1326. The earliest Statutes, also dated January 21, 1326, were withheld from publication by the Commissioners in 1853, but were privately printed two years later. The King's license speaks of "quoddam collegium scholarium in diversis scientiis studientium."

probation. Their selection was, by a rather notable provision, free from all restrictions as to locality or Founder's kin. A Dean, unique at Oriel in authority and elected by the Scholars, was to assist the Provost, and to replace him when required. The Scholars were allowed twelve pence a week for commons: the Provost, though he drew other small allowances, shared their fare. Their numbers might be increased as revenues permitted, and leave was given for the College to acquire property up to the value of sixty pounds a year. Their relations with St. Mary's were carefully defined. They were bound to provide four Chaplains for the daily service of the Church, and most of them were expected to attend it in surplices on Sundays. In the rules for accounts and for scrutinies and in several other particulars the first Statutes of the new College were content to follow the Merton precedent of 1274.

But in days when thrones were falling, Royal patronage was an uncertain thing. Adam de Brome thought it wise to secure for his new Society the protection of the powerful Bishop of Lincoln, in case its Royal protector failed. Henry Burghersh, a worldly and ambitious prelate, one of the "Baal sacerdotes, alumni Jesabellæ," had already taken up the cause of the Queen. In May 1326 the Statutes were re-issued in a form which gave the Bishop large powers of control, and which differed materially in some points from the regulations of a few months before.[1]

[1] These Statutes were confirmed by the Bishop on June 11, 1326. (See the originals in the College Archives.) They were printed first by Hearne in 1729 in the Appendix to his edition of Trokelowe's *Annals of Edward II* (295 *sq.*), and were reprinted by the Commissioners in 1853 (*Stats. of Colls.* I), together with the additions of 1329, and various later ordinances. There are earlier charters from the Bishop, dated March 13 and April 26, 1326, approving the admission of Adam de Brome and the impropriation of St. Mary's Church. I have to thank Mr. Lyon, the Treasurer, for allowing me to see these and other College documents, which are for the most part very well preserved and often have beautiful seals attached: and I have to thank Mr. G. C. Richards also for kind help. The original license from the King is in the Archives, dated April 20, 1324—the date April 28 in Mr. Rannie's book (4) is a misprint. So is the testified copy of the Royal Charter of December 20, 1324—from the original once in the Tower of London—reciting the foundation charter of Adam de Brome dated a fortnight earlier. So are the Royal Charter of January 21, 1326, and the original Statutes of that date. Dr. Shadwell's article in *The Colleges of Oxford* (87 *sq.*) gives some account of the materials for the College history. His unpublished catalogue of muniments and his *Registrum Orielense* give more details. And he has left transcripts of part of the Dean's Register, which begins in the fifteenth century, and of the Treasurers' accounts which begin in 1409—which I hope may soon be published. There are many details of College rents and expenses—the latter not always as interesting as one might expect, though the entry "Soluta Pro Potationibus" is often repeated. Mr. Riley (*Second Report Hist. MSS. Comm.* 137) praises the *computi* for 1409–15 as the best written

The Bishop was now to be the Visitor of the College in place of the Crown. He, and not the Royal Chancellor, was to have the right to confirm and to remove the Provost. The Provost with the consent of the Scholars was to appoint the Dean. The rules in regard to study were varied. The Canonists were limited to three and must study Civil Law first. Any additional Scholars were to study dialectic, before proceeding to theology. A common seal for the College was provided, to be kept by two discreet and trustworthy Scholars, who also acted as Treasurers or Bursars, and joined the Provost in rendering an annual account of the receipts and expenses of the House. The Scholars were to be consulted on questions of importance, and were to co-operate with the Provost in making fresh Statutes, subject to the Bishop's assent. And the Bishop was given the power to interpret and correct the Statutes in any case of obscurity or doubt.

Three years later, before the end of 1329, when the price of corn rose high, and when additional property had come in, the Provost and Fellows took advantage of their power to make additional Statutes. The Provost was allowed to be chosen outside the ranks of existing Fellows[1]; to hold a benefice, to keep a separate table, and to draw for stipend as much as ten marks a year. The Dean was to have ten shillings yearly, the two Fellows acting as Bursars and the one who collected the autumn tithes of Littlemore five shillings each. The Fellows were each to receive pittances, of five shillings at Christmas and Easter, and of forty pence at Whitsuntide. Commons were to be increased to fifteen pence a week so long as bread was so dear. The manciple was to be paid a mark, the cook half a mark, the barber ten shillings.[2] There were new provisions also for the settlement of disputes within the College, for weekly disputations, for the yearly inspection and division of the College books.[3] Bishop and King approved these regulations. The Statutes, though modified from time to time by later ordinances,[4] took

and most intelligible accounts of that date known to him. There is an older College Register dating from 1397 in the British Museum (*Lansdowne*, 386), consisting chiefly of notes on College properties.

[1] Dum tamen idem sic electus socius juratus ejusdem domus prius extiterit (*Stats. of Colls.* I, Oriel, 14). Scholars and Fellows in these Statutes are of course the same.

[2] There are discrepancies about these figures. The Statutes printed in 1853 allot 5*s.* a year to each Bursar and tithe-collector: Mr. Rannie makes it 10*s.* (p. 15). The printed Statutes make the barber's pay 10*s.*, Mr. Rannie 10*d.* Hearne's version of the Statutes (*App. to Trokelowe*, 310) confirms the figures given in the text.

[3] Each Fellow in turn chose a book for a year (*Stats.*, Oriel, 14–15).

[4] Ordinances by various Bishops, from Bishop Burghersh in the fourteenth century, down to Bishop Longland in the sixteenth, are printed in the *Statutes of Colleges* (I, Oriel, 18–40), and Hearne, in his edition of Trokelowe, carries them down to 1612.

their final form, and in effect the code of Bishop Burghersh governed the College for four hundred years, until in the eighteenth century the Court of Common Pleas made the surprising discovery that the original Statutes of January 1326 were still in force. In 1331 Pope John XXII confirmed the little corporation. Its seal, with Adam de Brome in a posture of devotion, still survives. And College tradition, though meticulous antiquarians may doubt it, still treasures the Founder's cup presented by an unkingly if poetical King.[1]

Bishop Burghersh, whatever his opinions, proved a useful friend. Early in the reign of Edward III the College possessions were increased. The advowson of Coleby in Lincolnshire was secured.[2] The Hospital of St. Bartholomew outside Oxford, where the hill climbs up to Cowley, was annexed to the College, with all its property in or near the town. But the townsmen seem to have resented the arrangement, and for two hundred years they disputed the charges payable for almsmen there.[3] The Provost of Oriel, already Rector of St. Mary's, became Warden of the Hospital as well. And the house founded by Henry I as a refuge for lepers became the resort of Oriel Fellows in search of purer air. Other property in Oxford, houses, shops and gardens South of St. Mary's Rectory—Tackley's Inn lay a little further West—and other holdings outside Oxford, came in. Moyses Hall in St. Aldate's parish and Baner Hall in St. Mary Magdalen's were acquired under the will of Adam de Brome, to the last a generous friend of the College. Above all an important tenement named La Oriole, at the corner of Shidyerd Street and St. John Street,[4] once the property of Queen Eleanor of Provence, was secured before the end of 1329. It became the headquarters of the Society, and its name soon afterwards displaced the older titles of the Blessed Mary's House or the King's Hall.[5] As the century proceeded, the College acquired

[1] See *The Colleges of Oxford* (89 n.).

[2] Partly through Adam de Brome, who had presented the advowson of Aberford in Yorkshire in 1324.

[3] The College seems to have paid what it was bound to pay for the maintenance and clothing of the almsmen; but the town was unwilling to pay its share, in spite of the King's commands. Litigation began in 1390, but there was trouble much earlier. See Rannie (22–3) and Ogle (*Royal Letts.* 46).

[4] Now Oriel Street and Merton Street. Mr. Hurst (*Oxf. Topog.* 195–6) gives a sketch of the College site. He prefers the name "Le Oryole." See also Rannie (62–5). St. Mary's Rectory stood close to the corner of Oriel Street and High Street, but shops grew up on the High Street front. The ground and tenements South and East of it, towards Merton Street and Grove Street, were acquired mostly in the fourteenth century.

[5] "Aula Regalis" was a name used in the fifteenth century (Burrows, *Worthies of All Souls*, 25). So was "the Hall or College of the Blessed Mary of Oryell at Oxford" (Rannie, 50).

most of the ground between La Oriole and the High Street, stretching Eastward to Grope Lane.[1] In the old Rectory St. Mary Hall developed, distinct from the College but under its control. The Fellows' revenues grew and their allowances were augmented. In 1397 a Register of title-deeds and charters was required. A few years later the Treasurers' accounts, known later as "The Style," begin. And in the sixteenth century the Dean's Register was regularly kept. Disappointing as these records are in their domestic details, which if set out with more fullness might have proved delightful reading, they give clues to the resources and progress of the House. It appears that early in the fifteenth century the net income of the College was something under ninety pounds a year.[2]

The little Society had its inevitable struggles, irregularities in the conduct of its Fellows, disputed elections to its Headship, and outbreaks of faction after the fashion of the times. In 1349 turbulent Southerners, led by John Wylliott of Merton, attacked Provost Hawkesworth when elected Chancellor, at St. Mary's Church.[3] Hawkesworth retorted by producing a Bull, issued some years earlier by Pope John XXII, forbidding "illicit conventicles" in the church or churchyard. There were troubles over the doctrines of Wycliffe, and fierce contests for the Provostship in the years following Wycliffe's death. There was trouble over Archbishop Arundel's high-handed acts of power. Arundel himself was the most distinguished of the early Commoners attached to the Society, and in his old College he found foemen worthy of his steel. John Byrche, the intrepid Proctor of 1411, who held St. Mary's against the Archbishop, was an Oriel man.[4] So was William Symon, his successor, and as strong an opponent of Archi-episcopal encroachments. So were other Fellows even more mutinous and lawless, like Thomas Wilton, a truculent champion of the North, who slew a scholar in the Chancellor's lodgings and woke up the Provost to challenge him to fight, or John Rote, the Dean, the "root" of all the

[1] Now Grove Street (Rannie, 62–5).

[2] Drawn principally from rents in Oxford, from the tithe of the three churches at Aberford, Coleby and Littlemore, and from offerings in St. Mary's (*Colls. of Oxford*, 100).

[3] Oriel favoured the North. Mr. Rannie claims (30) for Hawkesworth a "substantial victory." His death, however, immediately afterwards probably cleared the way for Wylliott. Hawkesworth's immediate successors, Daventre and Colyntre, were followed by seven other Provosts between 1387 and 1427, of whom Mr. Rannie (Chap. III) gives a careful account. For Hawkesworth's connection with Queen's College and Balliol see later (p. 269, n.).

[4] Though Wood assigns him to University College. For the struggle with Arundel see *ante* (pp. 238–9). The record of Archbishop Arundel's Visitation in the College Archives has been used by Mr. Rannie.

Oriel College in 1566
(Bereblock)

evil, who bade the Devil break the Archbishop's neck. Flat rebellion, if not flat Lollardy, for a time made Oriel its home. And Reginald Pecock carried from Oriel into a wider world, where he won preferment, fame and persecution, a bold appeal to reason as the ground of faith, which even Lollards might not have disavowed.

But these storms passed. Provost Corffe, indeed, elected in the year of Agincourt, devoted himself to the Council of Constance, where Wycliffe's heresies were finally condemned. But other notable Provosts in the fifteenth century raised the College to a high level of success. John Carpenter and Walter Lyhert both rose to Bishoprics under Henry VI, both combined the Headship with other preferments, and both, Carpenter especially, were generous to their old College. Benefactions flowed in. Manors were bequeathed or purchased. The College endowments rapidly increased. Within a hundred years eight new Fellowships were added to the original ten, most of them limited to particular districts, though the unrestricted freedom of the earlier ones remained. John Frank, who under the House of Lancaster was both an Archdeacon and a Master of the Rolls, gave four of these new Fellowships. Bishop Carpenter founded another, for candidates from his diocese of Worcester. Bishop Smyth, whose fame is linked with Brasenose, helped in the sixteenth century to found a sixth. And Dr. Richard Dudley, once Principal of St. Mary Hall, added two more in 1525. The new Fellowships required alterations in the Statutes,[1] and the new revenues permitted certain additions to the pay and perquisites of members of the College.[2] Exhibitions were established also. Carpenter, with Lyhert's co-operation, founded six Exhibitions, charged on the lands of St. Anthony's Hospital in London, of which he had been Master. Dudley founded six more Exhibitions in 1529. The Exhibitioners were for a long while lodged at St. Mary Hall, and as a class they never rose to importance in the College.[3] They seem never to have attained to the rank of junior Scholars—Scholars in the modern sense—or to have had any such claim to succeed to Fellowships later as was enjoyed by some of the younger members of other foundations.[4] Commoners gradually appeared. The

[1] See the Bishops' Ordinances (*Stats. of Colls.* I, Oriel, 21 *sq.*).

[2] E.g. five virgates of cloth each every other year were allowed to the Provost and fifteen Senior Fellows—and are apparently allowed still (Rannie, 70).

[3] Mr. Rannie (57) classes them with "servientes or batellarii." But even these had their distinctions, and the Exhibitioners might perhaps have objected to being identified with either.

[4] "Only for a very brief period in the sixteenth century is there any appearance of *Scholastici* under training to be *Scholares*" (Rannie, 72–3). They appeared for a time between 1534 and 1560; but why they died out at Oriel is not clear.

Commensales were young men of wealth and family, like Thomas Arundel, who shared the table of the Fellows. The *Extranei* and *Communarii*, Strangers and Commoners who lodged in the College, were at first generally men of academic standing, but they developed into the undergraduate community of later times.[1] The most famous of these guests, to whom the College in the fifteenth century gave quarters and a life-long welcome, was Thomas Gascoigne, theologian, controversialist and Chancellor, a familiar and a stimulating personage in the Oxford of that day.

The Wars of the Roses left the College prosperous, but Tudor administrators noted that laxity had crept in. Bishop Longland had to remind the Provost and Fellows of their duties. More care of the College was needed, more regular residence. Order, obedience, proper conduct, proper dress must be enforced. Bachelors doing wrong must be corrected. Strangers must not be brought so freely[2] into the sleeping-places. Disputations must not be neglected. The new love of the classics must not oust the older learning. The old obligation to study theology must be maintained. In matters of high policy the College may have felt difficulty about obeying the King. One former Fellow indeed, Edward Powell—and he was not the only one—stood by the Church he was bred in, pleaded for the rights of Queen Catharine, and bravely suffered death. But the worst trials of the Reformation passed Oriel by. Provost Smyth, elected under King Edward,[3] kept his place under Mary and Elizabeth. William Allen, Fellow of Oriel and Principal of St. Mary Hall, took his unbending Catholicism abroad[4] to Douai, and secured the honours of a Cardinal at Rome. Provost Blencowe in his long reign saved money for the College buildings, and saw the Elizabethan changes which swept students into

[1] The great increase of Commoners begins under Elizabeth, when all students are brought into Colleges or Halls. Occasional *Commensales* are found much earlier, and *Extranei* lodging in the College also. See Shadwell (*Registrum Orielense*, Preface, v to x) and Rannie (37 and 72–6). Gutch, in his enumeration of the Oxford Colleges in 1612, allots thirty Commoners to Oriel (*Collectanea Curiosa*, I, 196 *sq.*), following Twyne's figures (*MS.* XXI, 515). Twyne makes the total numbers of the College at that date 79. Langbaine (*Found. of Univ. of Oxf.*) makes the total 106 in 1651.

[2] "Nec tam passim extraneos in cubicula sua inducant." For Bishop Longland's Injunctions of 1531 and 1545 see the *Statutes of Colleges* (I, Oriel, 35–40).

[3] In 1550, though the King's Council had put forward William Turner, famous as botanist and Protestant preacher. Smyth's successor, Marbeck, was brought in irregularly from Christ Church, but only held office for a year. The College disliked the Edwardian changes.

[4] Mr. Rannie does not seem to mention Cardinal Allen. But he must have been between 1550 and 1565 a conspicuous member of the College. His tutor, Morgan Phillips and other leading Romanists were there.

Colleges and broke down still further the old independence of the Halls. A steady flow of Commoners began. They soon exceeded the Fellows in number, and increased the pressure on the accommodation of the College. St. Mary Hall increased as well. Under Leicester's Chancellorship the Hall was separated from the College to which it had been from the first so closely attached.[1] But Oriel continued to supply it with Principals for many years to come.

Provost Blencowe ruled over the College from 1574 to 1618. William Lewis, Francis Bacon's Chaplain, afterwards Secretary to the ill-fated Buckingham, succeeded for three years only as a very young man,[2] and his admirable skill in writing begging-letters proved of value in collecting funds for the new buildings. John Tolson, who had been an Exhibitioner in 1590 and who spent over half a century in the College, was Provost from 1621 to 1644. He lived long enough to see the new buildings completed and the College finances ruined by the war. Rents fell short. Timber had to be felled, commons reduced, and Fellowships left vacant. Royalist guests were quartered on the College. Oriel is said to have given her plate to the King with joy, but it is to be feared that the joy was soon turned into mourning. *Præ miseria temporum* the autumnal audits had to be postponed. John Saunders succeeded in critical days, but he died in office nine years later. From the Provost and Dean downwards the Fellows were largely Cavaliers. And the Parliamentary Visitation in 1648 dealt faithfully with them. They fenced with the Visitors' questions and tried to avoid direct submission. But the majority of them seem to have lost their places.[3] The crisis passed and the new-comers were absorbed. Robert Say, the Dean, quietly succeeded to the Provostship in 1653, and held it in spite of all vicissitudes for nearly forty years. Court corruption had its counterpart in the Oxford of the Restoration. One member of the College burdened it with debt. There was bribery in the election of Fellows—the "Devil of buying and selling," lamented Dean Fell. Say's high-handed method of pushing a nominee of his own into a Fellowship led to a sharp

[1] Shidyerd Street took the name of St. Mary Lane from about 1545 or earlier until 1772, before it became Oriel Lane (Salter, *Names of Oxford Streets*, 19).

[2] To confirm Lewis' appointment the Lord Chancellor's authority was called in (as well as the Bishop's), thus reverting to the intention of the original Statutes of January 1326 (Rannie, 96).

[3] Mr. Rannie estimates that only 5 Fellows were finally removed, of whom 2 were soon restored (105). But I should put the number of expulsions higher. Prof. Burrows thinks (*Register*, 536–7 and 571) that 10 or 12 members of the College were expelled. (See also Burrows, cxxv and 65–6.)

quarrel. The Bishop of Lincoln, as Visitor, had to interfere. A Commission of inquiry was appointed, which insisted that the majority of Fellows should have a voice in all elections, and that a new Fellow, once elected, should be admitted without delay. Say tried to appeal to the King, but he was compelled to yield, for all his "Hectoring." His action was the beginning of troubles which produced a law-suit later. His successor, the last Provost of the seventeenth century, had been Chaplain to King William, and bitter Tories could find little merit in the man. They even alleged that he was chosen "at Mother Shepherd's at Heddington" by a majority of the Fellows with whom he used to drink.

Distinguished names, great names, touch the College history in Tudor and Stuart times. There is good ground for believing that the "W. Rawley," who figures in the list for 1572, was the superb adventurer and statesman whose name shone like a star in the succeeding age. Traditions repeated by Aubrey[1] tell us that Ralegh at Oxford had "a kind of pigg-eie" and was full of pride, that he talked with a broad Devonshire accent, and appropriated some one else's gown after the recognised manner of a buccaneer. Henry Unton, a descendant of the Protector Somerset, served at Zutphen with Sir Philip Sidney and before Rouen with Henry of Navarre. Sir Robert Harley, a sturdy Puritan of the Long Parliament, was an Oriel Fellow-Commoner in Elizabethan days. Prynne, a fiercer Puritan, was born on College property, and was like his father a tenant of the College. He never outgrew his affection for it. He left to its Library "my Ocham upon the Sentences" and "one of each sort of my owne printed bookes." Richard Brathwaite, "Dapper Dick," a poet and romancer of widely different sentiments, did not hesitate to mock at Puritan precision in verse which delighted the opposite party.[2] Others, like Hannibal Baskerville, the solitary eccentric, who so cherished wandering beggars that he put up a special bell for them at his back door,[3]

[1] *Brief Lives* (II, 177 *sq.*). For the biographies of *The Provosts and Fellows of Oriel* valuable material has been collected by Mr. G. C. Richards and Dr. Shadwell in a volume which, as I write, is passing through the press.

[2] See *Barnabæ Itinerarium* or *Barnabee's Journal* (ed. Haslewood and Hazlitt, 1876).

[3] Baskerville is better known as a student of Brasenose (Wood, *Life*, I, 270). Mr. Rannie mentions quite properly among Exhibitioners and members of Oriel (Chap. V) several distinguished men who were more closely connected afterwards with other Colleges. Early students moved about so freely that it is not always easy to decide under which heading they should be put. For instance, John Rouse began at Balliol and Scroggs moved on to Pembroke. Roger Mainwaring, the Royalist divine, and John Birkenhead, the Royalist pamphleteer, both joined Oriel but

John Rouse, Bodley's Librarian and Milton's friend, Scroggs, the unscrupulous Chief Justice of the Popish Plot, Holt a Chief Justice in a better era, who " sat in triumph over and contempt of vice," have their places among the men of notoriety or reputation who all added to the fame of the College.

Among the buildings, of which La Oriole was for long the chief, the Library has points of special interest. The College books are mentioned in the early Statutes, and provision is made for their use and inspection. Bishop Cobham of Worcester, who died in the same year as Edward II, bequeathed his books to the University, and a room was built to receive them over the Congregation House at St. Mary's Church. But the Bishop died in debt, before the room was finished. Adam de Brome bought the books from his executors and bestowed them on his own College; and there they remained till 1337, when the University authorities forcibly carried them away. The College, which had rights over St. Mary's, retorted by trying to bar the University out of the new building there, and for the better part of a century the dispute continued, while the College quietly accumulated another library for itself. Donations and bequests came in. Early Provosts, Adam de Brome and William de Daventre, both, it seems, gave largely. Bishop Rede left ten books, to be firmly chained. A catalogue, dating from 1375,[1] shows that theology was well represented. Aquinas and Scotus, Aristotle, Priscian, Justinian, figured among the inevitable authors. But none of the classical writers found a place. In course of time the University secured possession of the Old Congregation House at St. Mary's, and in 1444 the College determined that its collection could no longer be kept in chests. A Library was built, to which Thomas Gascoigne seems to have subscribed, on the East side of the original quadrangle. Fifteenth-century Provosts contributed to it. One interesting manuscript has the autograph of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester; it was John Capgrave's present to him. And the famous " St. Jerome," dated 1468, upholds almost aggressively the honour of the early Oxford Press.[2] In the rebuilding of the seventeenth century the Library found a home in the new quadrangle on its Northern

passed to All Souls. Gerard Langbaine, the well-known Provost of Queen's, held a Dudley Exhibition though he was a member of Queen's College. These Exhibitions were closely connected with Queen's, and do not seem to have always involved residence at Oriel (Magrath, *The Queen's College*, II, 2).

[1] Dr. Shadwell printed this catalogue in *Collectanea* (I, 57 *sq.*). It probably dates from 1375, not 1349. But the books mentioned in it have disappeared, and Bishop Cobham's books were apparently never recovered.

[2] See later, Chap. VIII. On the Oriel books and MSS. see Mr. Rannie's notes (230–3).

side. The eighteenth century was to substitute another and more formidable structure, endeared to later generations by the famous Common Rooms with their memorials below.

In the first quadrangle grouped about La Oriole, always the main site of the College, the first Chapel was licensed in 1373.[1] Richard Earl of Arundel, warrior and statesman, and the Archbishop, his son, contributed generously to its completion in the years that followed. The arms of Fitzalan were blazoned with those of Lancaster and Mortimer and others on its ancient glass. Under Henry VIII a new Hall was built in this quadrangle, to replace an older chamber where tradition said that a Mayor of Oxford had been hanged. But both were swept away in the great rebuilding begun in 1619, with funds bequeathed by Provost Blencowe or collected by Provost Lewis' persuasive pen. The South and West sides of the original court, facing St. John Street and Shidyerd Street, were taken down and replaced. A few years later, about 1636, fresh contributions were collected, and the North and East sides were rebuilt with the same success,[2] constituting a new quadrangle, " the neatest and most uniform as any in Oxon." The College quarry at Headington supplied the quickly crumbling stone. A new Chapel and Hall rose opposite the gateway. Figures of Edward II and James I,[3] surmounted by the Virgin, crowned the beautiful portico between. There were new chambers on three sides of the quadrangle and the Provost's Lodgings on the North. By 1642 the work was regarded as finished, and the new Chapel was opened for service on the eve of the Civil War. An archway on the North led into the College garden, where, early in the century which followed, fresh benefactors contributed new wings for a second court. Further North again lay the old, irregular buildings of St. Mary Hall, a separate community but the most ancient home of the College.[4] Finally, outside the city, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, set amid its meadows, was rebuilt in the difficult days of 1651, and the screen then placed in its venerable Chapel still bears the date and the initials of the College, which Wood's lively prejudice mistook for Oliver Cromwell's, cut in his honour by " the saints " he led.

[1] Bereblock's plan shows it on the South side of the quadrangle, where, no doubt, it stood.

[2] The East side was probably pushed further back. The new Chapel covered the site of St. Martin's Hall at the South-east corner, which was probably beyond the limits of the first quadrangle and was not acquired till the sixteenth century began (Rannie, 65 and 100).

[3] It is hard to think that this figure represents Charles I. The rebuilding began under King James. But I admit the point is doubtful.

[4] The Hall paid rent for most of its buildings to the College—amounting to £3 in the latter years of the nineteenth century (Rashdall II, 762).

Oriel College in 1675
(Loggan)

The " Hall of the Scholars of the Queen " in Oxford received the Royal license in January 1341.[1] Robert of Eglesfield, Chaplain to Queen Philippa, a Cumberland man of gentle blood, who may possibly in earlier days have represented his county in Parliament, determined to found a College at Oxford, under the special patronage of English Queens, for the cultivation of theology and the benefit of the Church. He bestowed on it the manor of Renwick in Cumberland and certain tenements and garden ground in Oxford near St. Peter's in the East. These included a small property, which he had purchased from University College in May 1340, fronting on the lane which now separates New College from Queen's; and here, in the North-west corner of the College precincts, where the laboratory, the stables and the garden afterwards grew up, Eglesfield's earliest Scholars must have looked for a home.[2] But they very soon found a

[1] The words " collegiate hall," *quandam aulam collegialem*, are used in the license (*Stats. of Colls.* I, Queen's, 4).

[2] Temple Hall, which some have thought the first site of the College, lay a little further to the North-west, where the garden of the Warden of New College runs. It was purchased by Eglesfield in December 1340, and he also bought several plots of ground to the North and East of the College site, which were sold later to William of Wykeham. Mr. H. E. Salter has contributed a clear and valuable note on this subject (Appendix C) to the first volume of Dr. Magrath's recently published history of *The Queen's College*. I need not say that I am repeatedly indebted to these volumes, which with their ample notes and references represent many years' study of the subject, as I am also to the Provost's kindness in answering questions and to his earlier writings. These volumes really supersede the earlier sketches and references in Wood (*Colleges*), Ingram (*Memorials*, I), Chalmers (*University of Oxford*, I), the Second and Fourth Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission, and elsewhere. In Appendix A Dr. Magrath gives a full account of the materials for the College history. In Appendix D he prints the earliest surviving Long Roll, College accounts for 1348. The College Archives were classified and calendared in the eighteenth century by E. R. Mores, who also made collections for its history, six volumes of which, preserved in the Bodleian, are described by Dr. Magrath. The College Registers contain notes on a variety of subjects, records of elections, copies of documents and summaries of accounts. But the most interesting materials perhaps are the College *Computi*, the Long Rolls containing the accounts, which begin in 1348. Eight volumes of transcripts from these, containing the accounts, with very few omissions, from 1348 to 1470, have been made by Mr. C. L. Stainer and indexed. Earlier transcripts also exist of the *Computi* from 1592 to 1790: but those from 1470 to 1592 have not yet been transcribed. Dr. Magrath's quotations from these accounts in his notes give a special interest to his history, and to his care the admirable arrangement of the College documents is chiefly due. The Provost allowed me to see several of these documents, including some early Long Rolls, *Registers G* and *H*, which bear witness to the energies of Provosts like Robinson, Langbaine and others, the Elizabethan *Queens College Book*, confirming the College property, the *Entrance Book*, begun about 1634, and the *Liber Albus Benefactorum* dating from about the end of the seventeenth century. But in a case where the work done has been

permanent residence in a house adjoining this upon the East, which William of Muskham, the Founder's friend, acquired for them in 1341. Muskham's purchase, inhabited at one time by the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, had a wide gateway facing St. Peter's Church. It corresponded roughly with the present North Quadrangle. And a few shops to the South-east of it, opposite Edmund or St. Edmund Hall, on the spot where the main entrance of the College was to rise, extended its possessions towards the High Street, which before long they would inevitably reach. Muskham was only one of several friends whose gifts were greatly needed to carry out Eglesfield's ambitious plans. Three knightly benefactors of Edward III's day contributed materially, and the widow of a fourth.[1] Queen Philippa, who is often spoken of as Foundress, whom Eglesfield did his best to associate with the College, and whose famous wooden image is still preserved among its treasures, contributed still more. She secured the Pope's approval for the establishment of the Society, for the appropriation of churches, and for the building of a Chapel. She made a grant for the sustenance of the Scholars, when other sustenance perhaps was running low. And she probably induced the King to bestow on it its most valuable endowment, the Wardenship of St. Julian's Hospital or God's House in Southampton, founded long before by Gervase the Rich, and destined long afterwards to add materially to the riches of the College.[2]

Eglesfield seems to have made his home within the walls of his foundation, and to have acted as its Provost while he lived. His Statutes indeed nominated Richard de Retteford as the first Provost, together with twelve other Fellows whose names are given, and half of whom may have been Merton men. But only four of the original nominees, and Retteford is not among them, are found in 1348 in the first record of those enjoying the benefits of the College. Richard of Retteford is mentioned as a Fellow of Balliol in 1325 and as a Fellow of "University Hall" in 1343. He was connected in turn with the dioceses of York and of Hereford. And it is doubtful if he ever undertook the duties of Provost. Eglesfield was certainly acting in 1348, and on his death, in 1349, William Muskham apparently replaced him,[3]

so recent and so full, I have not thought it necessary to go beyond the quotations which Dr. Magrath's history contains.

[1] Sir Robert Achard, Sir John de Handlo, Sir John de Stowford, and Isabel the widow of Sir Robert Parvyng, a distinguished judge. (See Dr. Magrath's notes to his history, I, 10, 16, 17, 23, and his *Liber Obituarius Aulæ Reginæ*, 91, 83, 66, 88.)

[2] On God's House see Dr. Magrath's history (I, 18–21, and 23–4).

[3] On the early Fellows see Magrath's history (I, Chap. IV). Muskham's story is not free from obscurity, but there is no doubt about his

to be succeeded by John Hotham a year later. The little community had a struggle to exist. The Provost's place was of no great value, and there were hardly ever half-a-dozen Fellows gathered round him in those early years. It was not till the end of the fifteenth century that their number began to rise above seven.[1] Eglesfield spent his last years among them, impoverished perhaps by his own liberality. Various little charges—pennies for his oblations upon feast-days and half-pennies for parchment for writing his letters—were paid by the College on his behalf. When he died, they made a "great burning for him," using eleven pounds of wax and spending fourpence-three-farthings upon wine. His famous horn, for which the wine may have been needed, survived the sacrifices of the Civil War and still remains the loving-cup of the College.[2]

The Statutes, drawn up by the Founder, had a character and elaboration of their own. They depended comparatively little on the precedents of Merton. Religion and charity mingled largely with Eglesfield's design, prayers for the souls of others and alms for the poor of the town: and he must have taken a whimsical pleasure in some of its details. The Provost and twelve Scholars or Fellows, like our Lord and the Apostles in mediæval paintings, were to sit on three sides of the high table only, a custom which they followed until recent years. All the original Fellows were Masters,[3] and all Fellows were expected to take priest's Orders. But besides theologians there might

services to the College (*Ib.* 99–101, and *Liber Obit.* 5, 13, 56, 67–9). Of the thirteen Fellows named in the Statutes only Hawkesworth, Cundale, Polmorva and Colingham reappear in 1348, in the Long Roll which Dr. Magrath prints (I, App. D). These four, two Chaplains and one Poor Boy, were then drawing commons. Hawkesworth's story presents some difficulties. Connected first, it seems, with Balliol, he was a Fellow of Oriel in August 1341 and Provost of Oriel from November 1348 to April 1349. But he must have been for a time Fellow of Queen's, and was certainly drawing commons there between March and September 1348 (*Ib.* I, 91, 94–5, 333–8, and II, 413).

[1] Magrath (I, 97, n.). From the Long Rolls it appears that the number of Fellows rose to 8 or 9 at the end of the fifteenth century, and to 11 in 1534–5; that in the sixteenth century they fluctuated a good deal, falling to 4 under Queen Mary, and rising higher generally under Elizabeth; that in 1590 they rose to 12—possibly for the first time; and that after 1600 they did not often fall below that figure.

[2] Skelton (*Oxonia*, I) has a picture of the horn, which has generally passed as the Founder's. So has Dr. Magrath, with some interesting notes (I, xviii and 22). It has been mistaken for a trumpet and accused of speaking "pure Athenian."

[3] It was to be "aulam quandam collegiarem Magistrorum, capellanorum, theologorum et aliorum scholarium ad ordinem sacerdotii promovendorum" (*Statts. of Colls.* I, Queen's, 6). I quote from the Statutes printed in 1853. Dr. Magrath (I, Chap. II) describes them fully, with more detail than I can give.

be a limited number of law students destined to incept in Canon Law. The theologians were allowed eighteen years to complete their studies, the Canonists, it seems, thirteen. They forfeited their Fellowships by grave misconduct, by entering religion, by neglecting their studies, and by acquiring an independent income of ten marks a year. Natives of Cumberland and Westmorland, poor, waste, unlettered districts, and specially the Founder's kinsmen, were to enjoy a certain preference. So also places where the College had livings or lands.[1] In theory open to all the world, it was largely in fact a North Country foundation, with the Archbishop of York for its Visitor; but Southerners were not to be shut out. Robed in blood-red, in memory of Christ's Passion, the Fellows were to live in some comfort and style. Ten marks a year were allotted for the clothing and maintenance of each, of which eighteen pence a week, or if necessary two shillings, were set apart for commons. The Provost, the ruler and manager of the College, was given five marks of additional income, which might rise, as the numbers and revenues grew, to as much as forty pounds a year.[2] He was to have his own servant or clerk. He might, if he could afford it, have a separate table and live outside the College. The Visitor, who confirmed him, had power to remove him. But a Provost deposed for old age or infirmity had a claim to a pension and to quarters in the precincts. There was a similar provision for incapacitated Fellows. Eglesfield intended his Scholars to be liberally treated, and by the middle of the fifteenth century it seems that they could sometimes save money if they chose.[3] Thrice in the year, when circumstances permitted, surplus revenues were to be divided among them.[4] And at the same time a solemn inquiry was to be held into matters of discipline and conduct. The provision for servants was liberal: indeed

[1] Eglesfield certainly contemplated the admission of Scholars outside Cumberland and Westmorland: and a decree of Richard II's reign provided that elections from these two counties or from Founder's kin should be balanced by elections from places where the College held property or from members of the University. But the practice of confining elections to the two counties, with its inevitable consequences, prevailed. The whole subject was vigorously discussed in 1854, when John Barrow pleaded for the closed system in *The Case of Queen's College, Oxford*, and William Thomson, afterwards Archbishop, retorted in *An Open College best for all*. It was difficult to press the claim for special endowments for unlettered districts in counties where Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge and De Quincey had made their home.

[2] That was to be the maximum, when there were forty Fellows.

[3] See the will quoted by Mr. Anstey (*Mun. Acad.* 592 *sq.*).

[4] "Portionem insuper, ultra communam" (*Stats.*, Queen's, 17). Presumably this means a portion beyond the 10 marks allowed for each, as well as beyond the 2*s.* allotted for commons.

the whole scheme was far too liberal for the funds in hand. The College was to have its butler, its cook, its kitchen-boy, its gardener, its barber and its baker, its brewery and mill, and a night-watchman, to remind it of the time to rest and the time to labour, who nevertheless failed to prevent an exceptional number of fires. "A larger multitude of servants" was to be forthcoming if required. The Fellows were summoned to dinner by a trumpet. French might be talked as well as Latin at meals: Court fashions perhaps were popular with an old Court Chaplain. And a sum of forty pounds was to be set apart each year for the purchase of victuals and fuel. But excess in food and drink was forbidden; so was the haunting of taverns, the keeping of hawks and hounds, dangerous games like dice and chess which led to gambling, and musical instruments which provoked levity and interfered with work. Woe to those who played among the birds of the air, or who gave to dogs the bread of the sons of men! The stabling of horses in the College was condemned. The Founder thought no detail too insignificant to settle for his College—the colour of the Fellows' and the Chaplains' garments, the weight of their loaves, the entertainment of their visitors, and even the washing of their heads.

At Queen's the ecclesiastical element was unusually strong. Besides the Fellows, who were bound to take priest's Orders, the Founder contemplated a staff of thirteen Chaplains,[1] whose duties and allowances were carefully defined.[2] One was to be Dean of the Chapel with control over the rest. Two were to be Precentors, the fourth was to be Sacrist, the fifth a Bible Reader, the sixth the almoner, and the seventh the Treasurer's clerk. Two Fellows were elected to act as Treasurer and Chamberlain —we might call them senior and junior Bursars—who were responsible with the Provost for the College seal and property, for its muniments and its accounts; while a third officer, the Steward of the Hall, was elected weekly to superintend the service and the cost of meals. But more distinctive were the Poor Boys, elected on much the same basis as the Fellows, who were intended by the Founder to increase till they equalled in number the seventy-two disciples, and some of whom were admitted before they were fourteen. For them a regular course of education was devised, the most systematic Arts teaching

[1] But it is doubtful if they ever exceeded two (Barrow, *Case of Queen's Coll.* 9).

[2] They received 12 pence a week for commons and 28 shillings a year for clothes and expenses, besides small payments for special duties. Masses and prayers for benefactors were prescribed in detail (*Statutes*, Queen's, 26 *sq.*).

as yet contemplated within College walls. They were to learn grammar, philosophy and logic from two teachers specially assigned. They were to serve as choir-boys and to be taught chanting by two clerks acting under the Chaplains. They were to converse only in Latin or French. They were to dispute with the Fellows at dinner and supper, to answer posers before they earned their food. At times, though rarely, they might be called upon to wait in Hall. If they became Masters of Arts they could compete for Fellowships.[1] Robert of Eglesfield perhaps meditated what William of Wykeham soon after accomplished, linking a community of schoolboys with his College. The Boys' commons were fixed on a low scale.[2] Their dress was a matter of special interest: the Founder evidently delighted in such questions. Their tabards[3] gave rise to the famous class of Taberdars. But even the Poor Boys did not complete the Founder's plan. Thirteen poor men and women, the halt, the blind, the deaf and dumb, were to be fed daily in the College Hall, and broth, brewed according to Eglesfield's directions, was to be given away at the College gate.

Eglesfield drew a large and elaborate plan. But the College circumstances were far from permitting—they have in fact never permitted—its realisation in detail. The numbers on the foundation remained comparatively small. But additional classes of students soon grew up within the College. The Statutes offered little encouragement to strangers; but almost from the beginning, it seems, there were lodgers or pensioners paying rent for rooms, of whom one at least bore Wycliffe's name. Almost from the beginning legends speak of visitors still more illustrious, of Edward the Black Prince and wild Prince Hal.[4]

[1] Dr. Rashdall (II, 497) thinks they had "no positive claim or even preference." But the wording of the Statutes (Queen's, 31) surely implies that some preference was given them.

[2] Eight pence a week, besides alms—small payments perhaps for attending services in memory of dead benefactors (*Stats.*, Queen's, 30, and Magrath, I, 48).

[3] "Indumenta corporis cum collobiis protensis ad medium tibiæ" (*Stats.*, Queen's, 31, and Magrath, I, 47–8). The name Taberdar may not have been much used before the seventeenth century, but gradually it was reserved for a senior class. It came to be applied to B.As. only: the requirement to this effect laid down in 1821 only re-stated, surely, what had been an older custom. Eighteenth-century entries in the College records suggest that the position of the Poor Boys and Taberdars was modified from time to time. The nineteenth century dispensed with residence for Taberdars. (See, among other references in Dr. Magrath's volumes, I, 138, n., and II, 112, 138, 147–8.) But it should be remembered that these early terms and descriptions of students were often more or less fluid and loosely applied.

[4] The question of Prince Henry is dealt with later. It is not of course impossible that the Black Prince should have visited Queen's as a boy,

From an early date servitors existed.[1] Commoners and Battelers appeared. In 1552 we hear of twenty-one undergraduates, with two Bachelors and ten Masters. But some twelve years later the College list includes thirty Commoners, besides the Provost, the Chaplain, the ten Fellows, and a dozen Taberdars, servitors and Poor Boys.[2] Half a century later, if Twyne's figures may be trusted, the Commoners have increased to a surprising extent.[3] Fellow-Commoners, Gentlemen-Commoners or Upper-Commoners came up also, rich young gentlemen who opened their purses to secure from poorer students such services as fags might give at school. Some had servitors assigned to them at College, to do their "little businesses" for them. Some brought up tutors or attendants who joined the College as servitors. William Lancaster, the Provost who rebuilt the College in the days of Queen Anne, first came up with John Lowther, an Upper-Commoner of 1670, and matriculated "as batler" there. Sir Joseph Williamson, one of the great benefactors of the seventeenth century, entered as a Batteler in 1650, became a Taberdar in 1653, and a Fellow four years later.[4] The Queen's Statutes are the earliest to speak of studies, corners portioned off the sleeping-chamber which two or three Fellows shared, little compartments, perhaps five to six feet square, furnished at times with desks and seats and shelves. The Queen's customs have always had an interest of their own. For festivals there were special regulations. A boar's head, adorned with banners, became a traditional Christmas dish. On New Year's Day the Bursar presented each member with a needle

before he went abroad in 1345: we have no College accounts to refer to before 1348. But there is no evidence for the tradition at all, and the alleged portrait introduced long after was said at one time to reproduce the features of an Oxford butcher boy. Walter Burley, once of Merton, is the Prince's traditional tutor. But Edward may well have been interested in the College.

[1] Roland or Rowland Byres, Provost in 1426, first appears in 1407 among the *servientes* (Magrath, I, 138). Walter Bell, his predecessor, began as a Poor Boy in the same year, and was a Taberdar in 1413–14 and Provost in 1421.

[2] *Ib.* (181–2, and 194).

[3] The reference in Twyne is XXI, 514. This gives Queen's 194 Commoners, and brings up the total numbers of the College at that date to 267, exceeding Magdalen (246) and Christ Church (240) which come next. No other College in this list has nearly so many Commoners, though Brasenose is credited with 145 and Exeter with 134. Dr. Magrath (I, 237, and 358) accepts this list. Twyne adds up his figures wrongly, but his statement in regard to Commoners is clear. On the other hand his list of 1611 (p. 513) allots only 150 students to Queen's, and students ought to include Commoners. I doubt the figure 194. In 1651 Langbaine makes the College total 160 (*Found. of Univ.* 7).

[4] See Magrath (II, 39 and 43–4).

and thread—a play upon the Founder's name[1]—with the words "Take this and be thrifty." The advice, little needed in the Middle Ages, may be more necessary now. If Eglesfield was only too generous in his solicitude for others, his sons have been better able to allow to his foundation an adequate proportion of the luxuries of life.

Among early Provosts William of Muskham, although a shadowy figure in the College history, contributed materially to its foundation. But the Black Death raged in Oxford as elsewhere, and for some years pestilence and poverty threatened the little Society's existence. Henry Whitfield had a longer reign. But it ended in a curious quarrel, connected, it may be, with the methods of election in College rather than the prevalence of Wycliffite opinions. Whitfield and three Fellows who supported him are said to have been expelled.[2] The defeated party seized the College keys and seal and papers.[3] An appeal to the Visitor was followed by an appeal to the Crown. King Edward died and King Richard intervened. But Whitfield subsided into an Archdeaconry and seems to have borne no grudge against his old colleagues. In 1363, before these troubles overtook him, the Provost had travelled to Avignon on College business. The details of the journey are still found in the College accounts. He had to buy his outfit in London. His gown and his large cape cost twenty-five florins. His boots cost three or four shillings. His horse and saddle, which he sold, brought four and twenty shillings in. His lawyers naturally cost him a good deal more. His journey back from Calais to Oxford cost only seven shillings: but he took as many weeks to reach Avignon in going out.[4] It was in Whitfield's day that the great John Wycliffe came to Queen's to find a lodging.[5] Middleworth, ejected probably

[1] The *Aiguille* and *Fil* represented Eglesfield—a less happy allusion than the eagle on the cover of the famous horn. Holinshed's story that Henry V once in early days went to Court in a blue satin gown full of holes from which threads and needles dangled, is supposed to be one of the proofs that "he was an academician of Queen's" (Chalmers, *Hist. of University of Oxford*, I, 192–3).

[2] In 1379 (Magrath, I, 106, n.): but the accuracy of the entry is doubtful. Whitfield's three supporters, Frank, Lydford and Trevellis, may have been, like two others mentioned with them, Middleworth and Trevisa, West Countrymen. It may have been a dispute over the election of a Provost: there is nothing definite to connect it with Wycliffe. See also *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1379 (258, 420 and 470).

[3] There are references to this incident in *The Stonor Papers* (Camden Soc. I, 12–13).

[4] See *Second Report Hist. MSS. Comm.* (140), Rogers (*Hist. of Prices*, I, 136–7) and Magrath (I, 105).

[5] For the entries in the Long Rolls referring to a Wycliffe in 1363–4, 1365–6, 1371–2, 1374–5 and 1380–1, see Dr. Magrath's full notes (II, 112). The most important, with the Christian name, is the entry among the

with him from Canterbury College, became a Fellow there. Selby, also expelled from Canterbury, had rooms there.[1] Nicholas Hereford, who took part in translating the Bible, was a Queen's man and conspicuous among the Reformer's adherents, and the College, no doubt, provided others, though it provided some critics of the new doctrines too.

Thomas Carlisle, the fifth or sixth Provost,[2] ruled from 1377 to 1404, and entertained still more conspicuous guests. The Earl of Northumberland, who was Hotspur's father, Archbishop Arundel of Canterbury and the Bishops of Salisbury, Lincoln and Carlisle, appear in the Long Rolls among the visitors received with varying degrees of hospitality. The College accounts show sixpence spent on wine and bread for the Earl of Northumberland, and tenpence on wine for the Bishop of Carlisle. But when Henry Beaufort appeared as Bishop of Lincoln three shillings and sixpence was not thought too much for wine, and the College once gave a supper in his honour at which evidently no expense was spared.[3] Royal Dukes also were made welcome. Thomas of Gloucester, Edward III's youngest son, destined to die so mysterious a death, was entertained in 1392, and John of Gaunt, his elder brother, in 1393. The Lancastrian tradition had already begun. A certain "Bewforth," who is generally identified with Henry Beaufort the Bishop and the half-brother of Henry IV, had a room in College and a servitor to attend him in 1391, and "beuforth" was a guest for whom wine was provided in 1395–6. A few years later Beaufort was Bishop of Lincoln and Chancellor of the University.[4] In 1403 he became Chancellor of England, and in the next year Bishop of Winchester. Long afterwards he was a Cardinal as well. He is said to have had charge of the education of his famous nephew, and out of his relations with Henry and with Oxford there grew the tradition that he brought the young Prince as a boy to Queen's. John Rous, a chronicler of little value, who died nearly a century later, stated that Henry V had studied at Queen's College, under the care of his uncle Henry Beaufort, who was then Chancellor of Oxford,[5] and had occupied a room over the entrance-gate. The College, as in duty bound, adopted the story, set up a proud inscription

"Pensiones" in 1374–5—"Item pro camera magistri Johannis Wiclife XXs." See also *ante* (pp. 221–3).

[1] See Magrath (I, 115–16).

[2] The sixth, if Retteford, Eglesfield and Muskham are all counted as Provosts.

[3] Magrath (I, 133, n.).

[4] Beaufort was certainly Chancellor in December 1397, when a commission of the peace was granted to him (*Pat. Roll*, 21 Ric. II, i, m. 24[d]).

[5] See the passage in Rous (*Hist. Regum Angliæ*, ed. Hearne, 207). Dr. Magrath quotes it (I, 117, n.).

on the walls of the chamber, and reproduced it in a window of the Library when the old gate-house was taken down.[1]

" In Perpetuam Rei Memoriam.
Imperator Britanniæ,
Triumphator Galliæ,
Hostium Victor et Sui,
Henricus V
Parvi Hujus Cubiculi
Olim Magnus Incola."

But even for a tradition so attractive it is difficult to find much foundation in fact. Of Henry's strong interest in Oxford and in Oxford men there is no doubt. But the records of his life which we possess make it difficult to see when he could have stayed for any time at Queen's, and no contemporary biographer refers to the story. He was a boy of five or six when the Duke of Lancaster was received by the College in 1393. He was a boy of ten when Beaufort was made Chancellor. He was only eleven when King Richard carried him off to Ireland in May 1399. It is not impossible that he should have visited the College in his boyhood, and even have slept in the room over the gate. But it is difficult to believe that such a visit would have escaped all mention in the College records, and it is still more difficult to account for the omission if Henry ever came there after he was Prince of Wales.

In the fifteenth century the pretensions of Archbishop Arundel gave trouble at Queen's as elsewhere. He claimed not only the right of visiting the University, but special rights of visitation over Queen's, and it was only after a struggle that the privileges of the Archbishop of York prevailed.[2] In 1413 it was thought well to secure the confirmation of the College Statutes by the Pope. There were visitations also of the plague. There were worthy but inconspicuous Provosts—Walter Bell, who had once been a Poor Boy, Rowland Byres who had once been a servitor, Thomas Eglesfield a relative of the Founder, John Pereson, who gave the College land and plate, including " a nut harnessed with silver and with a cover of silver and gilt." [3] Henry Bost, who succeeded in 1483, was more important. He was already Provost of Eton, and he may have brought good

[1] See Wood (*Colleges*, 153) and Ingram (*Memorials*, I, Queen's College, 15). The tradition about Henry V at Queen's is not of course an impossible absurdity like the legends about King Alfred and University College. But the evidence for it, when examined, is very slight. I have taken the traditional date, August 1387, for Henry's birth.

[2] In the end Arundel yielded, but saved to himself " the visitation of the scholars dwelling in the College, according to the judgment and decrees of King Richard and the present King." (See *Collectanea*, III, Pt. II, 152–3.)

[3] For the full list of fifteenth-century Provosts, see Magrath (Chap. V).

QUEEN'S COLLEGE IN 1566
(Bereblock)

out of evil by becoming confessor to Jane Shore. In Edward IV's day Eton, too closely associated with Henry VI, had to surrender the Priory of Monk Sherborne for the benefit of the College, and in Richard III's day a property of some value bequeathed by a Westminster tailor came in.[1] Thomas Langton, thrice a Bishop and almost an Archbishop,[2] was made Provost in 1487, and was the first of his family to enrich the College. Christopher Bainbridge, afterwards Archbishop and Cardinal, was elected Provost in 1496, poisoned romantically at the instigation of an episcopal rival while serving as Ambassador to Henry VIII, and buried in a magnificent sepulchre at Rome. During these early years benefactions came in steadily, and among others Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, maintained the Lancastrian tradition by leaving the College a chest of a hundred pounds. The Long Rolls contain many interesting details bearing on the College life. We have charges for "savenaps" or bibs, for "schynkyl," shingle, for the repair of the Chancel, a Library charge of five shillings for the Subtle Doctor upon Porphyry, entries of sevenpence for rushes, of threepence for moss to bind the walls, of sevenpence for one labourer to prune the vines, of elevenpence for another to pull up nettles. We learn that Provost Bell lived in an upper chamber at the end of the Hall, that three shillings and fourpence were spent rather significantly on arrows about the time when Archbishop Arundel was causing trouble.[3] And there is no lack of information about the expenditure in entertainment of the College guests.

The records of the sixteenth century are not much more eventful, in spite of the changes in the world outside. Provosts Rigg and Pantre and Denys, who saw Henry VIII and his three children ascend the throne in turn, seem to have been but little affected by the troubles of the day. Denys indeed was accused of defending Lady Jane Grey's title; but he contrived to hold his place from 1541 to 1559, though the changes under Queen Mary, if not under King Edward, must have had their influence on the College. The early years of the century saw great improvements in the College buildings. There is one significant entry in the Long Roll of 1535–6, a charge of twenty shillings and fourpence for expenses in the kitchen for "the Visitors of our lord the king, namely doctors Tragonwell and Layton." But the College was for the most part absorbed in its own business, in the expulsion of a Fellow named Tyffyn, which led to the

[1] The donor was William Charden. Part of the site is now covered by the St. James' Park Station of the District Railway (*Ib.* I, 151).

[2] He was elected Archbishop of Canterbury in January 1501, but died before the appointment took effect.

[3] Magrath (I, 135).

intervention of the Visitor in 1542, in the seditious practices of another Fellow named Ralph Rudd, who had made himself Principal " of a hall called Edmund Hall, wherein neither learning nor lesson is frequented." Queen's contributed four Fellows to the new foundation of Trinity, and bore its share of the expenses occasioned by the Visitation of Cardinal Pole. Elizabethan changes produced a rapid succession of Provosts between 1559 and 1565.[1] Provost Hodgson may have resigned " for religion sake " in 1561. But he must have been a party to the payment of four shillings and eightpence " pro destruendo altaria " a year or two before.[2] John Boste, who was expelled later on for his opinions, and died as a Catholic martyr in 1594,[3] was not the only Romanist to leave the College. Provost Francis, Queen Elizabeth's physician, a medical man from Christ Church, may have owed his unpopularity in part to his Protestant opinions. But the stubborn opposition, which soon led to his withdrawal, may have been due as much to the interference of the Queen. Provost Shaw, his successor, had no religious difficulties, only drink and mismanagement, to account for his disgrace. There is not much to note before the accession of the two great Provosts with whom the century ends. But benefactions still came in, and numbers were increasing. Nicholas Myles, Vicar of St. Bride's, in London, an old Fellow who was subsequently murdered, left the College a manor, and provided a Lecturer in Sophistry and Dialectic at a stipend of twenty-six shillings and eightpence a year. William Fetteplace, a name well known in Oxford, bequeathed some lands in Berkshire. And Archbishop Grindal founded one Fellowship and two Scholarships in connection with the School which he established at St. Bees. The College ordered the Archbishop's portrait to be painted, at a cost of thirteen shillings and fourpence, in return.

With Henry Robinson, elected Provost in 1581, and Henry Airay who succeeded him eighteen years later, as Elisha succeeded to Elijah, the College entered on a great period of its career. Robinson, a former Taberdar, had been Principal of Edmund Hall since 1576, and showed himself from the first a man of character and power.

" Invenit destructum, reliquit extructum et instructum."

He enforced the Statutes and regularised the practices of the College. He restored to it the emoluments from copyholds and

[1] Hodgson elected in 1559, Francis in 1561, Shaw in 1563 and Scot in 1565. The Long Rolls are occasionally missing in the Tudor period, as in earlier years.

[2] Magrath (I, 186).

[3] The date 1596 (*Ib.* 198) seems to be too late.

heriots, from reliefs and fines, which previous Provosts had treated as their own. He secured Letters Patent for the incorporation of the College and a new Charter to make certain of its property and rights.[1] He saw to repairs and improvements. He rebuilt God's House at Southampton. Fellows and Commoners increased. College Lecturers in Greek and Rhetoric appeared. Registers were established and an Entrance Book begun.[2] Robinson was called on to give help outside the College, in revising the University Statutes, in the selection of authorised preachers. He was a notable figure in Oxford, and when he passed on to the Bishopric of Carlisle he was fortunately succeeded by another capable Provost. Henry Airay, once a Poor Boy, devoted his life to the College interests. He continued the building operations. He fought for and maintained the right of Queen's to nominate the Principals of Edmund Hall. On James I's accession he went to Court to make sure of the patronage of the new Queen: there had been no Queen-Consort in England since Henry VIII's persistent efforts to fill the place. But Airay was best known in Oxford as a preacher and as the leader of the Calvinist party. As Vice-Chancellor he called Laud to account for a sermon at St. Mary's in 1606. His views and character made his College very popular for a time. Before he died in 1616, it is said to have been the largest in Oxford, and to have had nearly two hundred Commoners on its books.

Another North Country man, Barnabas Potter, succeeded Airay, though Archbishop Abbot proposed some one else. He too had been Principal of Edmund Hall, and he too became Bishop of Carlisle. He had daughters to whom Herrick addressed verses. He had a nephew Christopher, who became a Court Chaplain and Provost of Queen's, like himself. Barnabas Potter's reign was prosperous and uneventful. Christopher succeeded in 1626 at a quiet time, and soon had the satisfaction of obtaining from the King, "chiefly through the intercession of Queen Mary the Patroness of the College," the advowsons of six livings in Hampshire.[3] One of four contemporaries, known as Potter the Wise, Potter the Grave, Potter the Fool and Potter the Knave, Christopher took pains to promote religious teaching. But his Court connections may have helped to draw him away

[1] "Queens College book, i.e. the sign manual of the confirmation of the lands and liberties of the College by Q. Eliz. 26 regn." (See Magrath, 215, n.)

[2] *Ib.* (App. A).

[3] Under Christopher Potter also the College determined in 1634–5 that no member of the Foundation should proceed B.A. till he was of five years' standing, nor M.A. till he had been four years B.A. It also re-asserted its right to nominate Principals of Edmund Hall (Magrath, I, 249–50 and 253–4).

from the Puritan party. He became a strong supporter of Laud, and when the clouds gathered he "suffered much for the King's cause." In 1640 he came into conflict with the Puritans, and was summoned before the Long Parliament. In 1642 he sent to the King four hundred pounds for himself and eight hundred for the College. Parliament ordered his arrest. The College plate went to the Royal Mint.[1] Queen's men had to pay for the King's soldiers, and to work on the fortifications with the rest: they complained that the Magdalen men did not do their share. Richard Rawlinson, one of the youngest Fellows, drew up a remarkable plan for the fortification of the city. Other Queen's men like Sir John Stawell, who raised five regiments for Charles, and Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh, who was taken prisoner and beheaded, were inevitably drawn into the great struggle. Sir Edward Hungerford was a General on the Parliamentary side. On Potter's death, in 1646, another conspicuous Royalist, Gerard Langbaine, succeeded—a distinguished scholar, a friend of Ussher and of Selden,[2] who had acted as Keeper of the Archives with admirable results since 1644. It was a depressing time for Cavaliers. Langbaine had to face the Parliamentary Commissioners in 1648, but he was allowed to keep his place.[3] The answers to the Visitors made by some of the Fellows excelled in circumlocution. They found it strangely "abstruse, ambiguous and difficult" to decide what the powers of Parliament might be. But in spite of the attitude and the record of the College, the number of expulsions seems in the end to have been unusually small. Langbaine must have shown both ability and discretion. The Puritan traditions of an older day and influential friends like Selden may have helped to protect the College.

Langbaine soon made his peace with the authorities and regained control of his College. He was invited to join in proposals for University reform. He defended the rights of the University against the city. He was ready, if needed, to defend them even against the Visitors of Cromwell. His firm, judicious

[1] A great store of white plate and "guilt," valued in the Royal receipt at £591 1*s.* 9*d.* (*Ib.* 260). The College claims against the King amounted in all to £1,600. A bequest of £500 from Henry Wilson of Underley was handed over to the King.

[2] And even, it is said, of Ben Jonson (*D.N.B.*).

[3] It is not clear that Langbaine submitted, as Prof. Burrows thought. But he kept his place, as did several other Fellows at first threatened with expulsion. In the end the expulsions were singularly few, even less, it seems, than the seven suggested by Burrows—the smallest number which he gives for any College. Compare his *Register of Visitors* (74–9, 542–5 and 571) with the details given by Dr. Magrath in his Ninth Chapter. In 1660 also the same conciliatory spirit seems to have prevailed.

conduct served his colleagues well, and he was, no doubt, willing enough to support the efforts of the Puritan rulers to restore work and discipline, to enforce morality and worship in the Colleges at large. Barlow, who replaced Langbaine in 1658, was equally successful. He had been Bodley's Librarian since 1652. He shared Langbaine's learning and his Royalist opinions. He excelled him in the gift of making friends with those in power. Anthony Wood, though he owed something to Barlow's kindness, found it difficult to pardon his facility in this respect, and there is little doubt that Langbaine was a stronger man. But Barlow played a leading part in the Oxford of the Restoration: always useful and acceptable, he had too many friends to be ignored. The College prospered under his rule. Well-known names appeared upon its lists. Joseph Williamson, who had come up from Westminster School and entered as a Batteler in 1650, mounted, with the help of Sir Edward Nicholas and Arlington, to a great place in the State: William of Orange could hardly listen with patience to his despatches, but Pepys judged him to be "a pretty knowing man": and he proved not only a generous benefactor but a powerful friend of the College. Lady Hungerford, the widow of the Parliamentary General, bequeathed a thousand pounds for Exhibitions. Charles II and his wife visited Queen's, and their portraits were set up on the walls, together with pictures of Henry V and Cardinal Beaufort. Barlow became Bishop of Lincoln in 1675, but he rarely visited his episcopal city. He wrote freely and on many subjects. His plea for toleration was probably sincere. But in the days of the Popish plot he was conspicuous in denouncing Papists and in arguing that the Pope was Anti-Christ. Charles II's death altered his opinions. He made himself notorious by his subservience to James, and in 1688 he had some anxious moments before declaring his devotion to King William.

Timothy Halton, elected Provost in 1677—Barlow did not resign immediately on being made a Bishop—kept up the North Country tradition. He filled office after office in the College—varied, it seems, by a brief experience of diplomacy with Williamson abroad—and he lived to reign over it for twenty-seven years. He was a vigorous ruler, an active Vice-Chancellor, who was not afraid to protest against the mischief done by His Majesty's players in Oxford, or to enter taverns in person and punish the scholars found there. One so discovered, Henry Fleming, certainly no tavern-haunter, may be taken as a type of a Queen's student in Halton's day.[1] The son of a North Country squire,

[1] The Rydal papers, edited by Dr. Magrath (*The Flemings in Oxford*, O.H.S.), are full of information about life and expenses at Queen's in the seventeenth century. Of Daniel Fleming, who was there 1650–1652, we

he came up in 1678 with "designs on the foundation," entered as a Batteler and paid comparatively low fees. His battels for the quarter varied: but he paid five pounds for caution-money, ten shillings a quarter for "tutorage," six and eightpence for his bed-chamber and study, two and sixpence to the barber, two shillings each to bedmaker and laundress. He shared a room with another student, and he had to do a little furnishing on his own account. After a year or so he became a Poor Child. His studies included logic, ethics, arithmetic, Euclid, Greek, Latin and Hebrew. He wrote "collections," made verses, took his part in declamations and disputations. He took his Bachelor's degree and was elected "Tabiter" in 1682, but the cost of the treats he had to give was very small.[1] After that he devoted himself largely to theology, to qualify for the living of Grasmere which was in his father's gift. Halton, if on one occasion severe to Henry Fleming, seems to have been a liberal and successful Provost. His noble Library began the rebuilding of the College, which his successor, William Lancaster, was to carry out.

Many names of interest and celebrity are to be found upon the books of Queen's. Richard Pace, Colet's successor at St. Paul's, may have been sent to Queen's by Thomas Langton, before he went abroad with Cardinal Bainbridge, and learned to serve Wolsey and Henry VIII. Robert Langton, the old Provost's nephew, was a conspicuous benefactor of the College. Bernard Gilpin, the "Apostle of the North," was a Fellow in the middle of the sixteenth century. Sir John Davies, a high-handed lawyer by profession but a poet of note even in Shakespeare's day, matriculated in 1585. Sir Henry Wotton came on in the following year from New College, and wrote a play while an undergraduate at Queen's. Thomas West, first Governor of Virginia, who gave his name to Delaware Bay, and Sir Thomas Overbury whose sinister tragedy shocked the worthless Court of James I, were members of the College before the sixteenth century closed. Three figures famous among their Oxford contemporaries may also count with the Elizabethans—John Rainolds, Hooker's tutor, who migrated from Corpus, but returned there as President in 1598, Thomas Jackson, who was President of Corpus later, and Henry Wilkinson the elder, best known in Puritan times. Great names of the North Country,

do not hear much, but of his son Henry there are many details. (See, among other references, Vol. I, 250–5, 258, 262, 288–9, 304, 306, 313–15; Vol. II, 15–16, 27–9, 73–4, 80–2, etc.)

[1] It should be added that a Commoner's expenses, for battels especially, would probably be higher than Henry Fleming's. Henry Brougham, for instance, about 1657–8 paid more. But the difference is not great (*Ib.* I, 107–8, and Magrath's history, II, 31–2).

Lowther and Eden, Musgrave and Fleming, appear in the records of the seventeenth century, beside other names well known in English history like Lucy, Digby, Coventry, Lenthall, Acton, Fetteplace. John Bankes, a great Chief Justice, and Edward Nicholas, a faithful Minister of Charles I, came up when King James was on the throne: the State Papers still preserve for us Latin verses which young Nicholas sent to his father from Oxford and letters which his sister Susan wrote to him at Queen's.[1] Sir Thomas Myddelton was a successful Parliamentary General. "Eternity" Tipping—he rashly wrote a discourse on the subject—was one of the Parliamentary Visitors after the War. Michael Hudson, King Charles' plain-dealing Chaplain, who died for his master, was almost a figure of romance. Thomas Crosfield, elected a Fellow under Christopher Potter, has left in manuscript in the College Library a valuable diary of the stirring times he saw. John Owen, famous even as an undergraduate for his character and learning, proved a great Vice-Chancellor under Cromwell. Thomas Lamplugh, a very different figure in the Oxford of the Restoration, rose, by methods which Wood stigmatised as cringing, to the Archbishopric of York: and Rushworth won a place in history by the Collections he compiled. Bridgeman and Michel are seventeenth-century names connected with valuable benefactions to the College later. Lancelot Addison, a Batteler in 1651, gained notoriety as *Terræ Filius* by a speech which he had to retract upon his knees[2]: and Joseph Addison followed his father at Queen's before passing on to Magdalen where his memory lives. Thomas Hyde and "Rabbi" Smith were both book-lovers and distinguished Orientalists. Edward Norris, Member for Oxford, and Henry Compton, Bishop of London, were among the first in the great Revolution to declare for William of Orange. Sir Robert Southwell, five times President of the Royal Society, was not only a successful official but William Petty's and John Evelyn's friend. Edmund Halley was an eminent astronomer, who printed and perhaps suggested the *Principia* of Newton. Wycherley, whose wit gilded the brazen manners of the Restoration, lived in the Provost's Lodgings, "philosophiæ studiosus," for a time: and even Haines the actor, for whom he wrote parts, and whom Pepys praised as an incomparable dancer, may find mention in the long list of Queen's men, beside the statesmen, lawyers, doctors, controversialists, divines.

[1] *Cal. State Papers, Domestic* (1612, 164), and Magrath (I, 236).

[2] He apologised for "pudenda illa obscænitate"—it may have been an attack on Puritanism—in a Congregation of July 1658, according to Wood's account (*Life*, I, 256). Lancelot Addison may have owed his Deanery at Lichfield afterwards to the influence of Sir Joseph Williamson, and to the same source Joseph Addison may have owed his name.

Before the close of the fourteenth century the site of the College was well defined. The outlying grounds stretching North and East to the town wall, which Eglesfield had secured but which were of little value after the plague of 1349, had passed into the possession of William of Wykeham. But the College property extended Southwards from the large house bought by Muskham opposite St. Peter's Church, and included a line of shops upon the High Street.[1] The garden ground behind these shops became available for building, as the old dwellings adapted first for College purposes fell out of use, and here, not far from the South-east corner of the property, the Chapel was begun about 1364. The Vicar of St. Peter's in the East had to be paid for the parishioners he lost, and to this day the payment is maintained. The College accounts preserve many details of the expenditure. We have the names and wages of several of the workmen: the masons' labourers received in summer ninepence halfpenny and in winter elevenpence a week, the masons themselves a good deal more. There are entries for stone and glass and straw and nails, for wine and oil, for vestments and for candles, for service-books, for rushes on the floor. We hear nothing of "organs" before 1429. The Chapel was licensed and practically finished about 1382, but it was not formally consecrated and completed for nearly forty years more. The same period apparently saw a Library built, also on the South side but a good deal further West. Bishop Rede of Chichester, a generous friend to many College Libraries, contributed from 1372 onwards to its fabric as well as to its shelves. A window with an effigy of Robert Bix, a Fellow of Wycliffe's day who left the College silver spoons, was noted by Wood in the Library later, though originally, it seems, intended for the Chapel.[2] The Long Rolls of the latter years of the century have entries in regard to bindings, chains and fittings. St. Thomas, Duns, Bradwardine, Gregory, Augustine were among the grave manuscripts which the Fellows read.[3] Provost Whelpdale bequeathed books in 1423. Archbishop Grindal and Christopher Potter contributed later. A catalogue of 1663 proved to be rich in

[1] As well as a few shops fronting East upon the lane. The property at the corner of the lane and the High Street was secured in 1497. The College possessions gradually spread West along the High Street: the most Westerly, "Drowda Hall," for over six centuries the property of University College, was not acquired till 1908. (See Mr. Salter's Appendix C to the first volume of Dr. Magrath's history.)

[2] See Magrath (I, 72 and 110, n.). I am all through constantly indebted to the many details quoted by Dr. Magrath in his full notes from the College accounts.

[3] *Ib.* (I, 80 and 126–9, and II, App. H). But Duns of course was not Erigena nor a Fellow of Merton.

manuscripts, though not in early printed works. A new Hall, on the West side of the growing quadrangle, was still being built when the fourteenth century closed. Muskham is said to have contributed to it,[1] but he died many years before it was ready for use. By that time also the " ancient kitchen " was removed, and kitchen implements were being freely purchased. Both a summer and a winter buttery existed. The great gateway had arisen opposite Edmund Hall, on the site of the shops acquired in Eglesfield's lifetime.[2] It must be remembered that the original College had no buildings on the High Street, but faced East and was entered from the lane. Chambers grew up beside the gateway and elsewhere : a Chamber Roll of 1418 speaks of them in various parts of the College. The Provost's quarters were South of the Hall.[3] A fuel-house, a hen-house, a stable, a well, and remains, no doubt, of other old tenements and gardens, added to the picturesque variety which the eighteenth century resolved to sweep away.

Benefactions and the needs of the College added to these early buildings as time went on. Provost Langton built new chambers North of the gatehouse. His nephew, Robert Langton, built in Wolsey's days a spacious Ante-Chapel, West of the old Chapel, which more than doubled its size, and which, joining the corner of the Provost's Lodgings, shut off the Library into a little court of its own. Robert Langton also introduced fine glass. This is preserved in part in the present Chapel windows,[4] and when the troubles of the seventeenth century were approaching, Abraham van Linge set himself to rival or eclipse it. Langton's generosity also helped to beautify the Choir, the Library and the Provost's chambers.[5] Wolsey's arms found a place in

[1] Money may have been collected for many years (*Ib.* I, 81). Muskham's gift of 160 marks seems to have been intended for something more than repairs to the original dining-room.

[2] There are details about a gate in the Long Roll of 1348 (Magrath, I, 342).

[3] On the West side of the quadrangle. " Camera supra parluram cum parlura et studio et solario, per annum XLs. debet hoc anno nihil quia inhabitatur per prepositum " (Magrath, I, 84, n.). The Library lay further to the South and West, and must have been partly hidden by the Lodgings. See Loggan's print : Bereblock's drawing is rather misleading.

[4] *Ib.* (II, App. G). Van Linge's work has also been re-set in the present Chapel. It was probably all in the old Ante-Chapel in at least seven windows, dated 1635. (See Grinling, *Ancient Stained Glass*, Oxf. Architect. Soc., N.S., IV, 111 *sq.*)

[5] It was to Robert Langton that the bay-window on pillars, shown in the corner of the quadrangle in Loggan's print, was due, and not, as Wood thought, to the Provost. It bore the Langton coat of arms, which is now over the door of the passage leading from the Provost's garden into the street (Magrath, I, 166–7). For Langton's brass and others see Vallance (*Old Colleges*, App. I).

Langton's windows, and possibly Wolsey's Italian workmen may have helped to lay the Chapel tiles. Two or three generations later, under Provost Robinson and Provost Airay, more building was required. Work was done on the roofs of the Hall and the Lodgings. In 1602 a "novum cubiculum" appears in the accounts. Other entries speak of the cost of the "new structure." Seats were needed for the Fellows' garden. The wood-yard and the cellar were repaired. Under Charles I there was again more building: we hear of "nova ædificia" in 1628. Walls were raised and demolished about the ball-court and the gardens. Muskham's original house, no doubt, had long vanished. The North side of the quadrangle and the enclosures beyond it must have taken their shape. After the Restoration Provost Barlow, restoring the old order in the Chapel, added some stained glass. He set up pictures of Henry V and Cardinal Beaufort in the room over the porter's lodge, and he probably procured the pictures of Charles II and his Queen, for the carriage of which three shillings were paid. He may conceivably have kept an eagle in the College—if he could reconcile it with the spirit of the Statutes: five shillings and threepence was spent on work to shut it up.[1]

At any rate in Barlow's day Sir Joseph Williamson began his benefactions. A silver trumpet to summon the Fellows to dinner—Barlow thought that, to summon men on ordinary occasions "to a mess of pottage and twopenny commons," the old brass trumpet was enough[2]—a silver basin to hold the boar's head at Christmas, a beautiful silver porringer for the Provost's use at the high table, and even silver-handled knives, were added to the College treasures. In 1672 Williamson spent some seventeen hundred pounds on a new building which, extending Northwards from the North-east corner of the old quadrangle, formed the East side of another court. This is fresh and conspicuous in Loggan's picture, and alone of the buildings which Loggan represented now survives.[3] Later still Williamson bequeathed his books and his rich heraldic manuscripts to the College, and six thousand pounds which formed the nucleus of the fund for rebuilding it all. And it may be that Williamson's example encouraged Provost Halton in his large designs. Wren and Hawksmoor were taken into council. Great schemes for improvements began to appear. In May 1692 the foundation-stone was laid of a magnificent new Library, North-west of the old

[1] "Operculum fabricanti ad concludendam aquilam domini prepositi 5*s.* 03*d.*"—a curious entry, if, as on other grounds seems probable, the eagle was of wood. (See Magrath, II, 38, n.) But one must allow for College humour.

[2] *Ib.* (46, n.).

[3] But its appearance has been a good deal altered since.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE IN 1675
(Loggan)

quadrangle.[1] The ancient buildings, though Hawksmoor pleaded for their workmanship, were doomed. Mediæval Queen's was suddenly to vanish, but the tale of its destruction and replacement belongs to the story of a later time.

The greatest of the fourteenth-century Colleges, and the greatest founded till then in Oxford, was the last. Few figures are more typical of mediæval England, of its fine purposes, its practical achievement, its shortcomings mingled with noble effort and ideals, than that of the celebrated Bishop, who built himself in Winchester and Oxford memorials with which few monuments of Kings can compare. Humbly born and simply educated,[2] William of Wykeham was appointed in 1356 clerk of works to the Crown. He was put in charge of Edward III's great building plans at Windsor, and soon made his value felt as a master of business, if not as a master of architectural design. Rewarded with ecclesiastical preferments, he became the most conspicuous pluralist of his day. His abilities won the King's favour so quickly that in 1365 Froissart declared that "all thyng was done by him and without him nothinge done." [3] He was no less fortunate in securing the friendship of the Black Prince. The Great Seal and the splendid Bishopric of Winchester crowned an important and lucrative career.[4] And even his political failures, the revolt of Parliament against ecclesiastical misgovernment, the strictures of Wycliffe and the hostility of John of Gaunt, could not for long deprive him of power. Under Richard II he was again raised to the Chancellorship, and played a prominent if reluctant part in the dangerous counsels of the King. Henry IV's usurpation left him unmolested, not the most forcible, but alike in his strength and in his weakness the most representative, ecclesiastic of his age.

"In verbis verax, prece fervens, strenuus actu
Judicio justus, consilioque potens." [5]

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[1] The account of this Library falls beyond the limit of these two volumes. I hope to return to it later.

[2] His father was a poor freeman of Wickham in Hampshire. His mother seems to have had some gentle blood. The Bishop was very likely trained as a notary. Apart from brief and early manuscripts, valuable accounts of the Bishop's life and work are given in the biographies by Bishop Lowth and G. H. Moberly, in Walcott's *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, in A. F. Leach's *History of Winchester College*, in the first chapter of Dr. Rashdall's and Mr. Rait's history of the College, and in *D.N.B.*

[3] *Chronicle* (ed. Henley, 1901, II, 252).

[4] Mr. Leach puts Wykeham's income from the Bishopric of Winchester at £60,000 when translated into modern values, apart from his other resources (*History of Winchester*, 59).

[5] See the fifteenth-century life quoted as "Heath's MS." by Moberly (301), and written probably by Robert Heete.

It was in November 1379 that William of Wykeham issued his charter for a College of seventy "poor and indigent scholar clerks," to form with their Warden the new "Seinte Marie College of Wynchestre in Oxenford."[1] Oriel was an earlier College of St. Mary, founded half a century before. Already the Bishop had purchased for his Scholars a good deal of property in the town, mostly in St. Peter's parish and in the desolate empty space near the town wall.[2] A certain number of old Halls and tenements, a Maiden Hall and a Chimney Hall among them, occupied the site. But a great part of it was garden ground, and some of it was waste land with an unsavoury reputation, where, in the words of a fifteenth-century Chancellor, "filth, rotten corpses and intestines of corpses and almost all the refuse of the University were thrown,"[3] where thieves and malefactors sheltered, and where, it may be, a plague pit had been dug. The town owned part and made the Bishop pay a heavy price for it.[4] Other owners, St. John's Hospital, St. Frideswide's, Oseney, Godstow, Littlemore, Queen's College, proved easier probably to deal with. The purchases began in 1369. Papal Bulls securing privileges for the future College began in 1371. The Bishop's influence was strong and his great wealth made endowment easy. Lands in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Essex and Norfolk came in—including an Essex church which had long been the property of the Hospital of St. Bernard in the Alps. The Bishop's vigour carried through his plans. Even before 1376, when a political crisis overtook him and forced him to break up his household and to send his Oxford Scholars away, he had established students both at Winchester and at Oxford.[5] Some of the Oxford lads lodged at Hart Hall, where the earliest Scholars of Exeter had

[1] Wood (*Colleges*, 181). The Royal license to found the College and hold land in mortmain is dated June 30, 1379. But Wykeham had scholars in Oxford before that.

[2] One of his early purchases, however, was New Inn Hall, on the other side of the town (Rashdall and Rait, 27).

[3] See Magrath (I, 339, n.).

[4] £80, though the jury found it was worth only 10*s.* a year (Ogle, *Royal Letters*, 334–9; see also 75–8). It was set down as 3 roods. But Mr. Salter points out that mediæval measurements exaggerate and would make the site of New College over 10 acres instead of less than 5. Mr. Salter gives a clear account of the property acquired in 1370 by the Bishop from Queen's College, stretching West from Hammer Hall, which stood on part of the site of the present cloisters and North of Temple Hall. The latter, or its site, was also secured by the Bishop in 1392. (See Magrath, *Queen's College*, I, App. C.)

[5] A School at Winchester existed long before Wykeham's day, and Wykeham had students there before 1376 apparently. (See Moberly's *Life*, 108, and Leach's *Hist. of Winchester*, 63 and 67.)

lodged before. In March 1380 the foundation-stone of the new College buildings was laid. In April 1387, Wykeham's Scholars moved from their temporary quarters, and singing a solemn litany took possession of their stately home. And though already, as the Bishop lamented, there had arisen among them contentious spirits, who "erected their necks on high" and suggested "odious comparisons of nobility to ignobility, of science to science, of faculty to faculty, of country to country," there must have been in their minds a comfortable conviction that no other Oxford College, not even Queen's with its large design or Merton with its wealth and beauty, could in scale or in splendour compete with their own.

The Statutes, based to some extent on those of Merton, but far more elaborate and detailed,[1] were revised by the Founder more than once. It was not till the year 1400 that they took their final shape. The new College of St. Mary at Oxford was to include a Warden and seventy Scholars or Fellows, ten priests or Chaplains, three stipendiary clerks, and sixteen boy choristers to serve in the choir. Founder's kin had preferential claims to Fellowships,[2] and the inhabitants of certain districts where the College had possessions. But the distinctive feature of William of Wykeham's great establishment was that he provided another College for younger boys at Winchester, from whom his Oxford Fellows were to be drawn. Instead of the limited arrangements for teaching younger students which Walter of Merton and Robert of Eglesfield had planned, William of Wykeham arranged for the boys who profited by his munificence to be educated in a great grammar school at Winchester first, to secure there the grounding in Latin which was often so inadequate and yet so essential for University students, and after that to spend two years on probation at New College before obtaining the full status of perpetual Fellows.[3] Of the seventy chosen—poor, indigent scholars[4] between fifteen and twenty years old, of good manners, conversation and condition, sufficiently instructed in grammar, and able and anxious to learn—no fewer than twenty were to study Civil or Canon Law. Any deficiency in this number Arts students of less than three years' standing must supply.[5]

[1] In the *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford* (1853, Vol. I) the Merton Statutes of 1274 occupy 15 pages, those of New College 116.

[2] Founder's kin, among other privileges, escaped the period of probation and could be elected up to the age of 30 (*Statutes*, Rubs. 2 and 6).

[3] The Founder probably expected even perpetual Fellows to pass on in time to benefices or employments, or else to a College living. (See Rashdall's and Rait's *New College*, 51–2.) But they stayed on at New College longer than at Merton, it seems.

[4] An income exceeding 5 marks disqualified for election, or one exceeding 20 marks in the case of Founder's kin (Rub. 2).

[5] Rubric 8.

Two Fellows might study astronomy, and two others medicine. But medical study in Oxford was still precarious, and the Founder required his medical students, if the University provided no Regent in the subject, to turn to the study of theology instead. For the rest, after a full Arts training, theology was to be the paramount aim. Vacancies among the Fellows were filled by an annual examination held at Winchester by the Warden and two Fellows, who at the same time inspected the School.

New College was founded by a Conservative Churchman, who was unusually alive to the needs of education, but who was also a deep believer in ceremonial religion and in the value of intercession for the dead. To pray for the soul of the Founder was no less a duty than to train men for service in the Church or in the world. Daily prayers for College benefactors, daily masses in the College Chapel, weekly processions round the College cloister, were provided for with elaborate detail.[1] Ecclesiastical observances had increased since the days of Walter de Merton. The rule of daily attendance in College Chapels had begun. But the rules for encouraging learning were more original and almost as complete. Five Deans were to supervise studies.[2] Frequent disputations in Hall and Chapel were required. A new and valuable provision, the real beginning of the Oxford tutorial system, put all the younger students at New College under the charge of tutors[3] whose services the College paid. A hundred shillings a year were set aside for the purpose. All Fellows were expected to take degrees[4] and Orders: in the case of poor students the College contributed towards the cost of degrees.[5]

[1] Yet we hear of only one sermon a year (Rub. 43), and there is no provision for the religious instruction of boys who were intended to be priests.

[2] And with some other of the senior Fellows they apparently carried through an examination for the Bachelor's degree (Rub. 26).

[3] "Informatorum" (Rub. 28), who supplied the personal teaching which young students needed.

[4] But they were not allowed, as a rule, to apply for Graces to dispense with the conditions for a degree. Out of this a curious abuse arose. When such Graces came to be asked for as a matter of course, New College men, who did not seek them, were thought to be specially exempted from the necessity of asking for them. And when University examinations came in, New College men, who had their own examination, claimed to be exempted from these too. The theory had unfortunate effects on New College education. (For this interesting suggestion of Dean Rashdall's, see his *Universities*, II, 507–8, and *New Coll.* 153–5.) King's College, Cambridge, claimed the same privilege (Peacock, *Observations on Cambridge Statutes*, App. A).

[5] These allowances, varying from 13*s.* 4*d.* for Responsions and Determination, to 26*s.* 8*d.* for Inception, are said to be "pro vestibus, furruris, et aliis eorum necessariis in hoc casu," and later "pro necessariis suis sumptibus et expensis quæ circa præmissa ipsos facere oportebit" (Rub. 27).

A high standard of effort and discipline was enjoined upon them. A great ecclesiastical and academic corporation was to preserve the old traditions but to meet the new needs of the time.

Hand in hand with a certain grandeur of conception went minute regulations for the Fellows' daily life. The Founder's Statutes are exceptionally long. The allowance of a shilling a week for commons might rise to one and sixpence if the price of corn went very high. A Steward of the Hall was appointed each week among the Fellows to superintend the purchases of food. Liveries were provided, varying in pattern and degree: junior Fellows came in for old suits after four years' wear. Eccentricities in dress, peaked shoes, red and green hose, long hair and beards, were severely discouraged. Fees or salaries were allotted for special services to certain Fellows.[1] Quarrels were to be settled—the Founder was very much alive to the possibilities of quarrelling—by the Vice-Warden, Deans and others: Warden and Visitor were only called in for difficulties of a graver kind.[2] The Bishop of Winchester was appointed Visitor, but his powers were closely limited by the Statutes.[3] Latin conversation was enjoined. The Bible was read during dinner. Only on great days would the Scholars gather round the fireplace to indulge in songs or poetry, to discuss "the chronicles of kingdoms or the wonders of this world."[4] There was to be no habit of lingering in Hall after meals. Guests must not interfere with studies: no stranger must pass a night in the College. Strife, scurrility and base talk were prohibited, unseemly sports, illicit games, inordinate leapings and wrestlings and tumults and noise.[5] Books were provided in the Library, some to be circulated, some to be chained. New College Scholars rose early. They had to walk out two and two together, if they walked abroad. Three or four of them shared a chamber, but each had a bed and a

[1] The Vice-Warden received 53*s.* 4*d.* a year, each of the five Deans and also each of the three Bursars 13*s.* 4*d.*, each Tutor 5*s.*, each Fellow in Priest's Orders doing duty in the Chapel a sum not exceeding 40*s.*, each of the ten Chaplains 4 marks, with an additional mark for the one who acted as Sacristan, each of the three Chapel clerks 20*s.* There were also small fees for members of the College who attended memorial services for the dead. (See Rubs. 13, 14, 28, 30, 43, 45, 49.)

[2] But minor offences might be punished by the Warden (Rub. 34).

[3] And a Papal Bull of 1398 exempted the College from all other prelatical jurisdiction (*New Coll.* 32–3).

[4] Dr. Boas thinks (*University Drama in Tudor Age*, 10), no doubt, rightly, that Wykeham sanctioned the festival of the Boy Bishop. "Permittimus quod pueri vesperas, matutinas et alia divina officia, legendo et cantando dicere et exequi valeant, secundum usum et consuetudinem ecclesiæ Sarum" (Rub. 42).

[5] Hawks and hounds and dice and chess are specially forbidden, and "that most vile and horrible game" of shaving beards on the eve of Inception (Rub. 25).

study of his own.[1] Chaplains, clerks and choristers lived less spaciously under the Hall. Occupants of upper rooms were bidden to be careful of what they spilled on the heads of those below.[2] The choristers made the beds and helped to wait at meal-times. Male servants were insisted on: even a male laundress was preferred. A servant was provided to carry the Fellows' books to the Schools, and every Doctor was allowed a servant of his own.

Customs grew up with the Statutes and soon became as venerable as they. Down to the nineteenth century the porter woke the members of the College by striking with a "wakening mallet" on their doors, and two choir-boys summoned them to dinner by a long-drawn cry in a delightful jargon, which started at the College gate,

"Tempus est vocàndi à manger, O Seigneurs."[3]

The Warden was from the first a dignified official, well qualified to maintain the state of his office. He was required to be over thirty. He was elected for life by the whole body of Fellows. He had a Vice-Warden to assist him besides Deans and Bursars

[1] The Statutes speak of chambers, "et loca studiorum in iisdem cameris" (Rub. 52). There were to be three Fellows or Scholars in each upper and four in each lower chamber, with one discreet senior in charge. The windows of the small studies can still be seen on the South front of the main quadrangle, beside the larger windows of the chambers. On the early studies at Cambridge and Oxford, and their development later, see Willis-Clark (III, 297–327). The plan of the seventeenth-century court of New College shows central chambers with four small rooms partitioned off. To light these corners properly windows on two or three sides were desirable; and this, if not a modern improvement, may conceivably have been a survival of an early idea, which encouraged the building of chambers in detached blocks with separate staircases, lit on two or three sides. The earliest quadrangles were built in bits. But the regular four-sided quadrangle would of course defeat this object. It is not easy to say why complete quadrangles continued to be built with separate stairs for each few sets of rooms. It was not the monastic plan. A high authority, Sir Thomas Jackson, has suggested to me that College builders may have deliberately avoided the conventual plan of cells opening from a continuous cloister, and that the separate staircases may have been borrowed from the old Halls, which might have been made out of two or three houses standing in a row. But I do not think the old Halls were made out of rows of small houses. They were generally, it seems, substantial houses taken over from well-to-do residents in the town. The early plan, however, of building in detached blocks, as need required or money was forthcoming, had obvious advantages; and it may be that this method became so well established, that, when complete quadrangles were built, the same system was maintained.

[2] The Statutes contemplate the Fellows washing at any rate their heads, their hands and their feet (Rub. 52). And Wykeham evidently contemplated fires in some chambers (Vallance, *Old Colleges*, xi).

[3] See *The Colleges of Oxford* (Dr. Rashdall's article, 169–70).

and the College Staff. But these officials, elected annually,[1] were assistants only. The Warden's authority over the College, even in matters of business, was supreme, and only on questions of very special importance did he require the consent of a majority of the Fellows. He presided over the solemn Scrutinies or inquiries into conduct which were held in the Chapel three times a year. He lived like an Abbot in a house of his own, with his own cook and his own establishment. He was expected, like the Head of an Abbey, to show hospitality to guests. He enjoyed a stipend of forty pounds yearly, whereas the Warden of Merton drew only fifty marks and the Master of Balliol a good deal less than that. He had six horses at his disposal. He dressed like a dignitary of the Church. He was allowed to hold other preferments: Wykeham was not the man to put pluralism down. Indeed to an angry critic of later days the Warden of New College seemed to be the very type and model of a "proud, strutting Head of a House."[2]

Even more imposing were the buildings which William of Wykeham planned and carried through. They had from the first a completeness which none of the earlier Colleges attained so soon, and in some respects they became the model for the College system of the future. Eighteen generations have passed over them. Scores of brief generations of students have learned and fought and played within their walls. But the ancient quadrangle of the great new College stands to-day, for all its time-worn beauty, in most essentials as it left its Founder's hands. On the West side were the principal gate and the Warden's Lodgings. Wykeham's tower-gateway set the fashion for the College gateways which followed, just as his regular, closed quadrangle, his Hall and Chapel ranged together on one side of it, and his Ante-Chapel, transepts without a nave,[3] set Oxford fashions for centuries to come. On the East and South sides were rooms for scholars, now raised by an additional storey higher than at first. On the North were the noble Chapel and Hall, with low chambers underneath them. Over the Hall staircase was a tower for College muniments and treasures. Outside the main quadrangle were the bake-house and the brewery, and to the North the great bell-tower. Close by the

[1] The Bursars were elected by the Warden, Deans and six other Senior Fellows, the Vice-Warden by the Warden and thirteen seniors, the Deans by the Warden, Vice-Warden and thirteen other Senior Fellows, who may perhaps be regarded as the ordinary executive of the Society. The Jurists' rights in elections were specially insisted on (Rubs. 49, 13 and 14).

[2] Ayliffe (*University of Oxford*, Preface).

[3] At New College the omission of the nave was part of the design. At Merton a nave was intended, but finally abandoned.

Chapel was a graceful Cloister,[1] a burying-place for members of the College, and a new encroachment on the rights of Oxford parish priests. Beyond the Hall was a garden, defended by the old town bastions, to supply food and later on recreation for the Fellows. At the East end a gate in the town wall led into the Slype, the slip of ground outside it. Another gate, close to the Church of St. Peter, was opened only when special ceremonials or necessities required.[2]

The Chapel, unique among the Chapels of Oxford, recalled and challenged the great Chapel at Merton. Its form, a choir and transepts only, became the favourite form for Oxford College Chapels. Its stately reredos, in place of an East window, its ancient screen gates which are used to-day, its rich stained glass, its ornament and sculpture, its glow of colouring on walls and windows, lent it a splendour which many may regret. An organ was set up in 1458 in a loft supported by wooden pillars. The glass condemned by Edward VI's Visitors was spared till the College should be rich enough to replace it. But under Elizabeth it was taken down, the fine work of the reredos was sacrificed, and the East end was covered with a plaster wall. Laud's day saw some revival of old glories. But after the surrender to the Puritans the organ was destroyed, and the gilding and painting probably suffered again. The Restoration brought back the desire for colour and for ceremonial music. At the East end a "frame of wainscot" was erected. Painting and gilding reappeared. The idea of restoring the fine old reredos does not seem to have occurred to anyone. But a new altar-piece, representing "the Concave of a Semi-Rotunda in the Ionic Order," pleased the early eighteenth century with its "wonderful Effect." A new organ was set up, "sweet and musical," of which parts still survive. The old glass, saved from the rancours of the Reformation, still shines in the windows of the Ante-Chapel in tones which even Reynolds' followers could not match.[3] Of the monuments on which Wood loved to linger some beautiful

[1] It is difficult to see how the choir-school found space to exist between the East cloister and the West wall of the Chapel (Wood, *Life*, I, 49). No wonder that it was found "a very inconvenient situation"; Ingram adds that about 1694 one of the Masters obtained leave to instruct his scholars in the old Congregation House at St. Mary's (*Mems.*, New Coll., 21–2). Yet Wood's statement seems precise and he was taught there. There is just space for a small and narrow room. It may have been short-lived: I can find no trace of it in Chaundler's pictures of New College (*Chaundler MS.*, Roxburghe Club).

[2] Once in three years, for instance, when the Mayor and Bailiffs came to inspect the fortifications (*Statutes*, Rub. 65).

[3] Thomas Jervais of course painted the great window for which Reynolds made cartoons. On New College glass see Mr. Grinling's paper (*Oxf. Architect. Soc.*, N.S., IV, 111 *sq.*).

New College in 1566
(Bereblock)

brasses remain.[1] But most of the brasses in the Cloister were "sacrilegiously conveyed away" when the King's ammunition was stored there in the barbarous days of civil war.

The Hall, the oldest in Oxford if Merton's claims be disallowed, was completed in 1386.[2] It was enriched with panelling under the Tudors—by Archbishop Warham, if the tradition be true. The ancient blazons still decorate the windows. The arms of Wykeham, Warham and Gardiner mingle with devices prouder yet. A portrait of the Founder, with his two Colleges on either hand, bears the inscription:

"Qui condis dextra, condis collegia læva,
Nemo tuarum unam vicit utraque manu.
Manners makyth Man."

The Library, at the East End of the quadrangle, was a part of Wykeham's scheme. It soon overflowed into more rooms than one. The Founder gave it two hundred and forty manuscripts.[3] Archbishop Cranley gave it others. Later benefactors helped to enrich it. Warham's books and Pole's books found their way there.[4] Five hundred printed volumes came in 1617 from Bishop Lake. Other large donations followed, and from gifts and fines and degree-money an annual income was built up. The law-books were housed originally over the Chequer or Bursary. But later on, when a third storey had been added to the quadrangle, they were removed to the Manuscript Library above, and in the days of the Popish Plot the old Law Library was converted into a Common Room, where the Fellows could discuss in leisurely security the scares and follies of the world outside. The Chequer below this chamber was also appropriated to the seniors' use, and in due time the junior members of the

[1] On the New College brasses see Vallance (*Old Colleges*, App. I). Mr. Vallance speaks (38) critically of some of the glass in the Chapel.

[2] Official measurements of 1903 make it 83 ft. long, 41½ ft. wide and 69 ft. high. Dean Rashdall and Mr. Rait (*New Coll.* 81, n.) and Mr. Prickard (*New College*, in College Monographs, 28) give rather different figures. Mine are given me by the College Bursary.

[3] Of which only twenty-seven remain (*New Coll.* App. K). Mr. Leach has printed a list of the books given by Wykeham (*Collectanea*, III, 213–44), and he points out their heavy cost, estimated in modern money—rising to something like £53 for Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* or for Albert the Great *On Vegetables*, and even higher in certain cases. Comparatively cheap books like Cicero's *Rhetoric* and Boethius' *Arithmetic* were worth, at the same estimate, £4 or £5 of our money.

[4] See Dr. M. R. James (*The MSS. at Lambeth*, 11). Bishop Rede of Chichester, who is credited with gifts to several College Libraries, is known to have given books to New College, and so is Bishop Walter Skirlaw of Durham (*Hist. MSS. Comm. 2nd Report*, 135, and *New Coll.* 250): they died respectively in 1385 and 1406. Rede's gift of "50 precious books of Theology and canon law" is recorded in his will in Twyne (XXIV, 107).

College secured in the new quadrangle a Common Room for themselves.[1] Externally the introduction of attics in the reign of Queen Elizabeth was the first interference with William of Wykeham's design.[2] But the attic windows were not allowed to show inside the quadrangle, and it was not till a hundred years later that a third storey definitely appeared. The walls of the quadrangle were carried up for the purpose, and new square windows inserted throughout. Encouraged by these depredations, and no doubt needing more space, the College decided in 1682 to begin a new quadrangle on the garden side. And in course of time the gardens beyond it, once reserved for kitchen uses, became a place of refreshment and delight, with their sixteenth-century mound, their seventeenth-century hedges, their eighteenth-century iron screen, and behind them a background which belongs to all the centuries, stamped with the beauty which only time can give.

The great days of the Schoolmen were over when Wykeham's Scholars entered into their inheritance. It was lawyers and ecclesiastics rather than philosophers that the new College set itself to train. Two Archbishops, Chichele and Cranley, are among the earliest Fellows whose presence is recorded in the Hall. Chichele lived to found another College. Cranley was Warden in 1389[3]—he had previously been Warden of the College at Winchester—was Chancellor of Oxford and Chancellor of Ireland, and Archbishop of Dublin for some twenty years. While at Oxford he was an important figure in the University. He lies before the altar of the Chapel of his College, but his fine brass is in the Ante-Chapel now. Wycliffism took no strong hold of Wykeham's Scholars, though one or two of them were burned as heretics under Henry VI. The type represented by Cranley and Chichele, and by Bishop Bekynton of Bath and Wells, the Secretary and Minister of Henry VI, who has left his monument in his Cathedral city, was the type which Wykeham may have

[1] After 1682. It claims to be the oldest junior Common Room in Oxford.

[2] Mr. A. O. Prickard's little Monograph on *New College, Oxford*, illustrated by Mr. E. H. New, has an interesting description of the College buildings.

[3] He is third in the list of Wardens given by Rashdall and Rait (232–3). Richard de Toneworth and Nicholas de Wykeham are there given as the first and second Wardens under date 1377 and 1379. I know of no evidence that Nicholas Wykeham was Warden in 1374 or 1375, though Rashdall and Rait suggest (37) that the letter given in Lowth's *Life of Wykeham* (App. X), and mentioning N. Wykeham as Warden, was written at that date. But Mr. Leach (*Winchester College*, 67), to whom they refer, dates it 1388. Some of the statements made about Cranley also (*New College*, 91) seem to be inexact. Few of the early College Wardens were conspicuous men.

wished to mould, statesmen conspicuous both in politics and in the Church whose high places they adorned. Bekynton with his influence and his great reputation proved a valuable ally. He secured a suppressed Priory and several manors for the College. And under his friend and correspondent Thomas Chaundler,[1] who was Warden from 1454 to 1475, the educational tradition was well maintained. Chaundler was perhaps a little fulsome towards Bekynton. But he became a leader in the University. He opened a new field of distinction to his College. He made it one of the earliest homes of the New Learning. He wrote, it has been said, the best Latin prose of his generation, and under him the Latin taught at New College was the best Latin of the day. The Greek taught there by the Italian scholar Vitelli was the first Greek taught in the Oxford of the Renaissance. The scholarship learned there by Grocyn, the son of one of the College tenants and afterwards the holder of a College living, placed him among the famous teachers of his time. And though the lead in the new movement passed to Magdalen, New College still kept its reputation up, and Warham, one of the last representatives of the old order in England, represented also the learning which Colet and Erasmus loved.

But it was the old order, redeemed by education, for which New College stood. Through the Middle Ages it went on its way, studying, dreaming, dozing, entertaining, producing sometimes prelates or officials, enjoying great preferments in the Church. In 1418 the "Ambassadors of our Lord the Pope" were made welcome with wine and spiced bread and beer. The Ambassador of Burgundy came in 1426. There was talk of a visit from Henry VI. There was a feast for Bishop Waynflete later. The College gave a famous Headmaster to Winchester and Eton; it gave Eton also a Provost who saved it from spoliation by Edward IV.[2] It gave a Lord Chancellor, Bishop Russell, to Richard III. It gave Magdalen a President, who is credited with some share in negotiating the marriage of Catharine of Arragon, which was to have such astonishing results. It gave more than one Bishop to the Bench, including an Archbishop of Dublin, a contemporary of Wolsey, who bore the old Oxford name of Inge. Few of the mediæval Wardens rose to fame.

[1] Chaundeler seems on the whole to be the spelling preferred in *Registrum Aaa.* But Chaundler, Chandler, Chandeler are variants. There are no rules for mediæval spelling, and even the distinguished authors of the little history of *New College* spell Bishop Bekynton's name in more ways than one. For Chaundler's writings on Wykeham and on other subjects see the beautifully illustrated *Chaundler MS.* which Dr. James has edited for the Roxburghe Club.

[2] The Headmaster was William Horman, author of school-books and a friend of William Lily; the Provost William Westbury (*New Coll.* 98–9).

But John Young, elected in 1521, was not only Warden, but apparently an Archdeacon, a Dean, a titular Bishop, and Master of the Rolls at the same time. And in the days of the Reformation Warden London, another unblushing pluralist, proved an unblushing time-server as well. Beginning life as "the rankest Papistical Pharisee," he fell with a heavy hand on the early Oxford Reformers, and is said to have starved one of them to death "in the steeple." The dying man summoned strength to tell his friends that he could take no food but a pie of Wardens baked, "and so after his prayers sleapte swheetly in the Lorde."[1] London found it necessary to propitiate Cromwell with presents of gloves and partridges and geldings, and for all his forcible adroitness he had trouble in securing obedience from his Fellows. He became one of Cromwell's Commissioners. He joined in Layton's Visitation. He assisted the spoilers who in "the great quadrant Court" of New College scattered the leaves of Duns Scotus and other "barbarous dreamers" to the winds. London was certainly no fool, and he was also no enthusiast for the Reformation. When Cromwell fell he became the instrument of Gardiner's severities. But it is satisfactory to know that his unscrupulous methods brought him to the pillory and to prison in the end.[2] His successor, Henry Cole, succumbed in the same way, after similar efforts to satisfy both sides. Cole was quite ready to submit to King Edward, and to acquiesce, it seems, in the startling changes proposed by the Visitors of that day, which would have robbed New College of its law-students in order to create a College of lawyers at All Souls. But he became a conspicuous agent of the Marian reaction, and played his part, a most ungenerous part, at Cranmer's death.

Finer spirits, wedded to the old faith and active in the days of Queen Mary, fled into exile when the Reformation finally prevailed. Thomas White, indeed, appointed Warden in 1553, contrived to keep his place for twenty years. But Catholics bred in Wykeham's two Colleges were conspicuous among the exiles gathered at Louvain and Douai. Munden,[3] a Fellow ejected at the Visitation of 1566, became a Jesuit and suffered at Tyburn: Sanders became Professor of Theology at Louvain, and died when acting as Papal representative in Desmond's rebellion in Ireland. John and Nicholas Harpsfield, both vigorous defenders of the old religion, suffered deprivation and imprisonment when their cause went down. Thomas Harding, said to have been

[1] *New Coll.* (101–2). For these and similar details I am constantly indebted to Dr. Rashdall and to Mr. Rait.

[2] *Ib.* (Chap. VI). See also, on London and Cole, later (Vol. II, Chap. XII).

[3] Or Mundyn (*New Coll.* 112 and 129).

nominated in King Edward's day as Warden, but a strong Romanist later, gathered Wykehamist refugees round him abroad. Bishop White of Winchester, an old Fellow of the College, fell into disgrace by reminding Elizabeth, when preaching Mary's funeral sermon, that a live dog was better than a dead lion. Each change of ecclesiastical authority threatened Visitations and expulsions, but for a long while the Catholic element at New College held its own.

In 1566–7, however, Bishop Horne's Visitation took place. It was carried through with systematic thoroughness, and it produced many charges of irregularity and misconduct.[1] Some Fellows, it was suggested, would subscribe to anything. Some were accused of heresy, some of mocking at religion, some of violent tempers and abusive language. There was ample evidence of neglect and disorder in the College. Services were avoided. Latin talk was dropped. Only three of the choristers had ever been taught to sing. The Warden in particular was accused of loose morals and lax administration. He pleaded guilty to charges of taking presents, of maintaining a big household, of keeping dogs in College, of telling his Fellows too freely what he thought about them. But he was quite as ready with serious charges against his accusers, and their good faith was probably quite as doubtful as his own. The crimes alleged were strangely mingled. Wearing a yellow doublet and dancing in suspected places were as much talked of as heresy, adultery and dishonesty of a serious kind. The punishments included compurgation, and may seem as light and uncertain as some of the offences. The Bishop did his best to check these abuses. His Injunctions laboured to enforce the Statutes. Certain members of the College were suspended for refusing to subscribe to the Articles of Religion. The Visitor's chief object probably was to put Popish practices and religious disobedience down. Later Visitations dealt more with points of conduct, with gaming, drinking, fighting, with buying of places, with petty peculations, with the stealing and pawning of books. Bursars took commissions from the tradesmen[2] and claimed the dripping as a perquisite of their own. Bold spirits protested that the Visitations went too far,[3] and Horne's severity was resented by the

[1] Of this Visitation, of those which followed it in 1576, 1585 and 1599, and of the Injunctions which resulted from them, Rashdall and Rait give a careful account (115 *sq.*).

[2] See the account of Bishop Billson's Visitation in 1599 (*New Coll.* 141). The reappearance of monitions in regard to the use of the surplice, which Horne had resorted to before, indicates the growth of Puritan feeling.

[3] E.g. John Underhill, who lived to become a Bishop himself. (See Boase, *Register*, I, 256.)

Fellows. But Horne's successors in the latter years of the century found it necessary to intervene again, to check misconduct, to repress corruption, to prevent the abuse of the benefits which William of Wykeham had bequeathed.

Warden Colepepper, another fortunate pluralist, ruled the College from 1573 to 1599. In his day "the incomparable pair of brethren," Pembroke and Montgomery, the friend of Shakespeare and the patron of Vandyck, are said to have come up as Commoners, aged respectively twelve and eight[1]; Sir Henry Wotton was for a short time a Gentleman-Commoner living outside the College; and the Fiennes family established their doubtful claim to the privileges of Founder's kin.[2] Warden Lake, who left to become an admirable Bishop, was succeeded in 1617 by Robert Pinke, whose long reign was destined to cover a memorable period of Oxford history. Benefactions continued to flow in. Fifteenth and sixteenth century prelates, Bishop Bekynton of Wells, Bishop Russell of Lincoln, Bishop Shirebourne of Chichester, who established "Wiccamical Prebends" there, Cardinal Beaufort and Archbishop Warham, were among the donors who gave gifts or founded Exhibitions for the College. Wardens like Lake and Pinke and Woodward later kept the generous tradition up. The College pride perhaps grew with its possessions; undergraduate Fellows claimed to wear tufts or tassels in their caps and to sit in the Bachelors' seats at St. Mary's.[3] James I paid a brief visit to the College in 1605.[4] He was entertained "with a royal feast and incomparable musick." But His Majesty has been accused of leaving a tradition of drunkenness behind. James summoned to Court and exposed the ingenious impostor Richard Haydock, a Fellow who practised physic by day and claimed to be inspired to preach sermons in his sleep at night. Laud stepped in to reprove excesses like

[1] If they matriculated, as stated (*Reg. of Univ.* ed. Clark, II, ii, 195), in March 1593, William Herbert (Pembroke) was under thirteen, and Philip (Montgomery, and Pembroke also later) was under nine. They died respectively in 1630 and 1650, and it is a mistake to suggest (*New Coll.* 193) that either succeeded in 1661 or served on Cromwell's Council, though the younger served for a short time on the Parliamentary Council of State.

[2] Founder's kin sometimes constituted one-fourth of the Fellows (*Ib.* 157). Among other Elizabethans Sir Henry Sidney has been claimed as a member of the College in his youth: Christopher Johnson, Headmaster, physician and Latin poet, and Thomas James, the learned Librarian of the Bodleian, illustrated the resources of the age.

[3] On this and similar claims, see Rashdall and Rait (155–6).

[4] I know of no authority for the suggestion of these two authors (150) that Queen Elizabeth visited the College in 1566. The total numbers in James I's day, 1612, are put by Twyne (XXI, 514) at 130; he adds up the details wrong, and he mentions no Commoners. Langbaine puts them in 1651 at 135.

long hair and slashed doublets among the younger Fellows, and to suggest that an undue degree of Calvinistic study was responsible for the failure of New College men in after life. But Warden Pinke was a lieutenant on whom the Archbishop could rely. He took part in revising the Statutes. He stood by the Chancellor in his efforts for discipline and reform. When the Civil War came, he was one of the first Heads to risk the displeasure of Parliament and to exert himself to raise troops and defences for the King. He watched the Royalists drill in the quadrangle. He handed over the cloisters for a Royal magazine. A Loyalist of the old school and one of the last devotees of the old Scholastic learning, he did not survive the humiliation of his master. Soon after the Parliament triumphed in Oxford he fell down the steps of his Lodgings and died.[1]

Lord Saye's descent on the College in September 1642 was one of the first operations of the war. He showed no unnecessary roughness to his old College, but he ransacked the Warden's study for compromising papers, as in duty bound. After Edgehill the tower and cloisters were given up to military uses. The choir-school, with little Anthony Wood among its scholars, was transferred to "a dark nasty room." The College plate, all but a few cups and vessels, went to the Royal Mint.[2] The College sympathies, traditionally Conservative, must have been strongly on the King's side; even in 1647 its members made a bonfire on the Prince's birthday and resorted to conspiracy when arms had failed. Its stout walls had their value in the fortifications, and in 1651 the Puritans prepared to defend the tower against Charles II. The Parliamentary Visitors found New College men stubbornly malignant. Out of fifty members interrogated in May

[1] In November 1647. Henry Stringer, and in 1649 George Marshall, succeeded as Warden.

[2] This has been questioned, but there seems to be no doubt about it. (See *New Coll.*, App. D). The authors of the College history give in their Preface a useful account of the materials available, apart from those already quoted here, like the books on Wykeham and his Colleges, the Statutes (printed in 1853 from the Harleian MS. 1343 in the British Museum), and the many references in Wood (*Colleges*, *Athenæ*, *Annals* and *Life*), in the Second Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission, in Ingram (*Memorials*), the State Papers, *D.N.B.*, etc. Among MS. materials in the College must be mentioned the *Register* of past members of the Society, which the late Warden compiled. Seven volumes of *Evidences*, copies of important deeds, were made under Warden Woodward. The *White Book* has interesting notes on early days up to 1456. The *Bursars' Rolls* run from the foundation to 1638, and the *Long Books* follow from 1651 to 1881. The books kept by the Stewards of Hall from 1387 to 1544 give details of commons and guests. I have to thank the Warden for kindly allowing me to see these and to put some questions to him, and Mr. P. E. Matheson for his help.

1648 only one yielded unqualified submission.[1] Some condescended to excuses; but many refused point-blank, and did not conceal their opinion that it would be tantamount to "flatt perjury" to yield. Over fifty recusants were sentenced to expulsion; and though the sentences passed were not always carried out, Dr. Stringer, whose appointment as Warden was a defiance of the Parliament, and a very considerable number of members were condemned. Stringer held on till the autumn of 1649, and his successor, Warden Marshall, found some difficulty in enforcing Puritan ideals. There were tales of deep drinking among the Fellows. There were worse scandals among the Chaplains. There was a marked reluctance even to sconce gentlemen who absented themselves from the long Puritan prayers. The old evil of corrupt resignations, of paying to succeed to places, cropped up again. New College did not alter its ways to conform to the new system, and the return of the old rulers brought no revolutionary change.

Marshall's rule did not survive the Commonwealth. Michael Woodward, who saw the Restoration, reigned as Warden from 1658 to 1675. He too found the times difficult. The Fellows, he said, imposed upon him. Small-pox invaded the College. Bishop Morley's Visitation in 1664 endeavoured to insist upon reform. Like Laud, the Bishop found the College wanting in distinguished men. The old obligation to take Orders was neglected. The old standards of education and discipline were relaxed. The Chapel services had been restored immediately after the King's return: but even in 1654 John Evelyn had reported that New College Chapel retained "its ancient garb." The admission of Commoners, non-foundation members, rare though not unknown before, and difficult to reconcile with the Founder's intentions, was now put on a recognised footing. They were allowed, contrary to the ancient practice, to live inside the College, and this rendered necessary a new quadrangle, for which the well-to-do new-comers might very properly help to pay. Woodward took a genuine interest in his College and left it many legacies. He seems to have been the last Warden for two hundred years who cared to study its documents and history.[2] His successor, Dr. Nicholas, was chiefly known as a Vice-Chancellor who did his duty "hauling taverns." And Henry Beeston, who

[1] There are traces, however, of others submitting. The head cook and barber were among those who yielded, but the under-servants were made of sterner stuff. The exact number of final expulsions is, as usual, hard to ascertain. Prof. Burrows thinks it might have been sixty or seventy, including servants: but I doubt if in the end it was nearly so high. (See his *Register*, 53–60, 195, 527–31, 571 and *passim*; and see also *New College*, 170 *sq.*)

[2] *New College* (188).

New College in 1675
(Loggan)

became Warden in 1679, and who was a member of the famous Philosophical Society, was condemned by Wood as a courtier too ready to run with the times. The same shrewd critic found the College degenerate in learning, " much given to drinking and gaming, and vaine brutish pleasure." It probably needed, as he said, a thorough reformation. Even the Warden's Lodgings would have been exceptionally lively if his three and twenty children had accompanied their father there.[1]

Warden Pinke, among other good deeds, befriended an unfortunate Fellow of the College, who fell into debt and was imprisoned by Parliament, although one of the most learned astronomers of his time. As the contriver of the octodesexcentenary period, Robert Lydiat earned a line from Dr. Johnson and the awed respect of unchronological mankind. It is strange that a College invited to such studies should have devoted so much of its time to producing minor poets. Pinke is said to have offered a chaplaincy at New College to Peter Gunning, a devoted Royalist expelled from Cambridge, who rose to a Bishopric in later days[2]; and Morgan Owen, the builder of the fine porch of St. Mary's, was a Chaplain of New College as well as of Archbishop Laud. Other notabilities of the seventeenth century included Nathaniel Fiennes, who surrendered Bristol to Prince Rupert, a Hyde who became Bishop of Salisbury, a Trenchard who became a Secretary of State, and Sir Edward Herbert, who proved an honest Chief Justice even under the auspices of James II. They included also two of the Seven Bishops, and Sir Richard Holloway, one of their judges.[3] Ken went up to New College before the Restoration, and found it allowable to practise his music and to scatter his charities there. But, as the seventeenth century proceeded, zeal and scholarship visibly declined. " Golden scholars " might still come up from Winchester, but they were apt to deteriorate into " silver Bachelors and leaden Masters " before their course was run. It was not till a much later day that the era of reform began, and that William of Wykeham's noble foundation, with its stateliness in building, its cost and curious workmanship, its comely form of government, not always proof against abuse, and its ample and honourable endowments, became, in a measure never before attained, a " faithful nursery of learned and able men."

[1] " But," Wood adds in September 1683 (*Life*, III, 74), " all are dead except three." In 1689 Lord Ashley declared that there was only one sober Fellow in the College, and he retired in that year (*New Coll.* 189–90).

[2] The authors of *New College* (168–9) mention that Isaac Barrow was also welcomed at New College by Dr. Pinke. But this was the elder Isaac Barrow, the uncle of the famous mathematician and divine.

[3] Sir Richard Holloway's membership of the College is attested by the late Warden's *Register* (f. 189). Turner and Ken were the two bishops.

Canterbury Hall or College also dated from the fourteenth century, and would be entitled to a place between the Colleges of Eglesfield and Wykeham, had not time and the tide of the Reformation swept its fame and its memories away. The monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, had at one time like other Benedictines a lodging "in the common manse of Black Monks in Stokwellestrete." [1] But as early as 1331 they rented, for six marks, a house close to St. Peter's in the East.[2] Three young monks were sent from Canterbury to settle there. They left home with fifty shillings, spent thirty-seven on the journey and arrived with thirteen. The bailiff of the Convent's property at Newington near Oxford was charged to see to their necessities, but was reminded, when one of the students died, that the two survivors did not need as much as the three. The Bishop of Lincoln licensed an Oratory for them. The Convent wrote to them about their studies, sent horses once to fetch them for a festival at Canterbury, kept a watchful eye on their affairs. It is difficult to say how long the little Hall lasted.[3] The Black Death spared the Priory of Christ Church, but it swept away, as Archbishop Islip lamented, far too many trained and learned men. In 1355 the Archbishop reminded the Convent that it had no young students at the University left. In 1359 he asked leave for a monk to return there. In 1361 he went further and secured a Royal license to found a new Hall or House at Oxford for a certain number of scholars both religious and secular.[4] The advowson of Pagham and the manor of Woodford were settled on it. Several little tenements on the North-east border of St. Frideswide's were gradually acquired. In 1363, it seems, the Society took shape.[5] Four monks were among its early

[1] They assigned it to Westminster Abbey in 1371. (See the document in the Chapter records, O. 139.) They may have used it when the settlement in St. Peter's Parish ended, and very probably in earlier days.

[2] "Ubi solebat Dominus Archiepiscopus manere" (*Lit. Cant.* I, 392–3). Archbishop Mepeham, Mr. Salter suggests to me, might have rented it some thirty years before, while keeping terms for his D.D.

[3] It appears, from a letter printed by Dr. Sheppard (*Ib.* II, 266) and dated 1343, to have been in existence in that year. But the evidence is by no means conclusive. And if Muskham bought the house for Queen's College in November 1341—it is identified by its wide gate—the monks probably withdrew soon after.

[4] *Ib.* (II, 332, 386–8 and 409–10). The letters quoted by Dr. Sheppard, mostly from *Register L*, are in the Chapter Library at Canterbury. The Royal license (O. 127 among the Chapter documents) is dated October 20, 1361, but misdated in the catalogue.

[5] See the documents of April, May and June, 1363, printed by Dr. Sheppard (*Lit. Cant.* II, 442–3 and 445–8). The Archbishop speaks in general terms of twelve students. Most authorities date Woodhall's appointment as Warden 1362. But it seems clear from Islip's *Register* at Lambeth (192[b]) that the date should be March 19, 1363.

members, and one of the Christ Church monks, Henry Woodhall or Woodhull, was appointed Warden.[1]

Controversy soon arose between the monks and the seculars in the new College. Islip may have hoped that they would live together on an equal footing. That he originally intended the monks to have a governing voice was freely asserted and freely denied.[2] But his health was failing and his intentions may not always have been clear. Or the monks may have shown themselves too eager to secure control. At any rate in December 1365 the Archbishop removed the monkish Warden and appointed "John de Wyclyve" in his stead.[3] He made the little College into a secular Society. New Fellows, Middleworth, Selby and Benger, replaced the monks. And the Statutes drafted about this time[4] ran upon familiar lines. The Fellows were, as usual, to be chaste and honest, humble, peaceable and poor. There were rules for discipline and study, rules for the Chapel and rules for the Bursar. The Warden, chosen by the Archbishop from three presented to him by the Fellows, was to have ten pounds a year. Some attempt was made to limit entertainments in connection with degrees. There was to be a Library with a Chaplain as librarian, and a Hall with commons on a fairly liberal scale. But moderate abstinence was recommended, because it helped the intellect, as Daniel had found out. Older and younger Fellows were to sleep in the same chamber, to restrain insolence and stimulate high thinking in the young. All alike were to be members of a common family, and if all the family were secular, it was hoped that its members might not disagree. But Islip died in 1366. His successor, Langham, was a Benedictine, and the monks naturally took advantage of this circumstance to reassert their claims. Steps were taken to

[1] Woodhall was an Abingdon monk, a Doctor of Theology, admitted to Christ Church, Canterbury in March 1361. Was he brought there for the purpose? (See *Lit. Cant.* II, 497.)

[2] Mr. Cronin (*John Wycliffe, the Reformer, and Canterbury Hall, Oxford*, reprinted in 1914 from the Transactions of the Roy. Hist. Soc., 3rd Series, Vol. VIII), who argues ably the case for the monks, thinks that Islip intended the four monkish Fellows to govern the College and the eight secular students to be on a subordinate footing. But this assumption is difficult to reconcile with Islip's language or with his action in 1365. And I think Mr. Cronin overstates the power of the Chapter to "dictate" terms to the Archbishop.

[3] On the reasons for identifying him with Wycliffe the Reformer, see *ante* (p. 222).

[4] Wilkins (*Concilia*, III, 52 *sq.*) dates the Statutes 1362–3. They are given in Islip's *Register* at Lambeth (ff. 213^{b}–215^{b}), but without a date. I think Mr. Cronin establishes his point that these Statutes were only a draft prepared after Islip's reorganisation of the College at the end of 1365.

replace the monkish Warden.[1] Wycliffe and his friends appealed to Rome and a lengthy trial followed. In 1370 the Papal arbitrator declared against the seculars. In 1372 the King confirmed the award and incidentally exacted a fine for himself. Wycliffe and the Fellows appointed with him were deprived: they may have left the College already. But before this Archbishop Langham had resigned. The new Archbishop "and all his satraps," said the monks, were bent on protecting the seculars.[2] A spirit of compromise perhaps governed the arrangements and left comparatively little bitterness behind. In 1383 Archbishop Courtenay remodelled the Statutes.[3] He declared the monkish Warden and Fellows to be a part of the original plan. He appointed five poor scholars on a different footing, and laid down careful rules for their guidance. But the supremacy of the regulars was finally assured.

This decision settled the fate of the College. It became definitely a monastic institution, watched over still by the Archbishops,[4] but leaning on the Priory of Christ Church for support. For some generations it held its own in Oxford. Its revenues, estimated by Wood at about sixty-eight pounds on Islip's death, could never have been large. But old inventories kept among the Chapter documents at Canterbury speak of goods and plate and vestments, and give substantial lists of books.[5] The accounts of a long line of Wardens can be studied, beginning in 1382 and continuing till the eve of the Dissolution.[6] At the end of the fourteenth century new buildings were erected, the bills for which are still preserved. Their high-pitched roofs were conspicuous from Merton. Their latticed windows looked across the meadows where Corpus and Christ Church had not yet begun to rise. The ground floor, it is said, was of Headington stone, with heavy timbers and plaster-work above. The great gate led into a three-sided quadrangle,[7] flanked by a garden on its

[1] The result of Langham's action is not very clear. The Christ Church monks apparently nominated Woodhall again with two others for the Archbishop's choice (*Lit. Cant.* II, 417). But a document from Langham's *Register* printed at the end of Lewis' *Life of Wicliffe* suggests that the Archbishop appointed John Redyngates, whom the monks had nominated in 1362–3 but not in 1367.

[2] "Archiepiscopus cunctique satrapi sui fortiter zelant pro secularibus tuendis." This was in October 1369 (*Lit. Cant.* II, 492).

[3] See *Register B* in the Chapter Library (ff. 388^{b}–392^{a}). They are printed in part by Dr. Sheppard (*Lit. Cant.* II, xxx *sq.*).

[4] See, for example, Archbishop Stafford's *Register* at Lambeth (ff. 12^{a}, 29^{a}, 32^{b}).

[5] See Chapter documents (O. 134, 134^{a}, 136 and 151. 47).

[6] *Ib.* (O. 151. 1–48).

[7] Skelton reproduces the gateway (*Oxonia*, II, Pl. 81), and the buildings beside it. No plaster-work is shown there.

open side, with a Chapel and Hall and kitchen and well to complete it, and with more chambers than the Canterbury monks could fill. Students from other monasteries, and other strangers also, were allowed to rent rooms. These picturesque buildings were not swept away entirely for nearly four hundred years. Selling and Linacre probably lodged in them,[1] and a greater than either, Sir Thomas More.[2] But the Reformation, which proved fatal to the Monasteries, proved fatal to a monastic College. Edward Bocking, one of the last of its Wardens, died on the scaffold with the Nun of Kent. The House which the Benedictines had established ended with the system it belonged to. The secular spirit triumphed once again. To-day the heirs of Wolsey's great foundation, visibly secular and superbly young, possess the place where the Black Monks of Canterbury dwelt, and pay their shy and intermittent homage to the old ideals of study and of prayer.[3]

[1] Letters from and to William Selling, at Canterbury College and later at the Priory of Christ Church, are printed by Dr. Sheppard in *Christ Church Letters* (Camden Soc.).

[2] There seems to be no record of Sir Thomas More's connection with the College in the Chapter Library at Canterbury.

[3] The best account of Canterbury College is given by Dr. Sheppard, in the *Literæ Cantuarienses* in the Rolls Series (II, xxv *sq.*; see also various references under "Oxford" in the index in vol. III), and in his *Christ Church Letters* (xii *sq.*). See also Wilkins (*Conc.* III, 52–8); Lewis (*Wicliffe*, 285 *sq.*), where extracts from the documents are given; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (*5th Report*, 450), and Wood (*City*, III, 275 *sq.*), who gives a list of Wardens and details about the site. Stevens' sketch (*Additions to Dugdale*, II, 177–83) is not of great value. The foundation-deeds and other early records are among the MSS. of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury (*8th Report, Hist. MSS. Comm.* 324), and I have to thank Canon Mason and other officials connected with the Chapter Library for allowing me to see them. To Mr. Cronin's suggestions I have already referred, and Messrs. Daniel and Barker's *Worcester College* should be consulted.

CHAPTER VIII

OXFORD IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

THE challenge which Wycliffe and his followers offered to the authority and abuses of the Church, created some prejudice against the Schools of Oxford, and may have helped to bring Cambridge into fashion. But the great age of the mediæval University was over before Wycliffe's ashes were cast into the Swift. The vivid life, the passionate enthusiasm of the earlier days gave place, it may be, to teachers less original, to ambitions less exalted, to complaints about the slowness of preferment, to tame compliance with the evils of the time. The old love of disorder was stimulated by examples on a larger scale outside. Numbers declined. The University wept for her lost students as Rachel for her children, but tears alone would not bring them back. The unpopularity of the Church in the country told against the whole community of clerks. Bishops "lived high in the King's Court." Livings appropriated to Monasteries were sometimes starved. Absentee Rectors neglected their duties, and ill-paid substitutes took their places. "Those that had money had preferments though they were idiots and debauched." [1] Complaints could not be repressed by high-handed acts of authority or by sending Lollards to the stake. The Great Schism in the Papacy shook the foundations of religion. Oxford indeed played her part with other Universities in trying to settle the long scandal. She urged the summoning of a General Council. Incidentally she supplied a third Pope when both existing claimants were condemned. But Alexander V, the only Oxford graduate, it may be, who ever sat in the chair of St. Peter,[2] proved as powerless as Gregory or Benedict to end the rivalries which divided Christendom, and the intervention of Oxford was of little moment beside the activities of the University of Paris. Even the English Nation in Paris, which had refused to bow to Avignon and had steadily maintained its independence, was merged in the community of German students, and before

[1] Wood's trenchant criticisms (*Ann.* I, 615–19) have their foundation in fact.

[2] And his right to sit there was disputed. On the possibility of Peter Philargis having had an Oxford degree, see Tiraboschi (*Storia della letteratura Italiana*, VI, 266 and note).

the middle of the fifteenth century the old name had disappeared.[1] At Caen a new University was established by an English King, and a Fellow of Exeter was sent over to rule it. But Oxford gained no real increase of influence from English victories in France. At home the "damnable" Statute of Provisors had tended to stop the preferment of University men. The Popes, with all their insupportable pretensions, understood better than private patrons the importance of education in candidates for Church appointments. The Universities suffered when it was realised that a degree no longer led so quickly to a living. The Lancastrian Parliaments recognised, like Richard II before them, the need of granting Oxford some measure of relief.[2] And in 1417 the Province of Canterbury adopted stringent regulations for securing benefices to men who had worked their way through a University course, and for reserving benefices of superior value for graduates who had won the superior degrees.[3]

But the evils which Oxford had to complain of as the fifteenth century proceeded were largely due to causes beyond the University's control. The whole nation was suffering from the want of governance, from the exhaustion which followed the splendid and ruinous attempt to conquer France. The Lancastrian kings appealed to public sympathy by their great adventures on the Continent and their constitutional experiments at home. And at first they displayed in no small measure the finer qualities of their race. If Henry IV proved in the end a rather perplexing, disappointing figure, after the romantic story of his early years, if the pressure of difficulties, ill-health and disillusionment changed a gracious, chivalrous, impulsive Prince into a politic, suspicious King, Henry V at least was singularly successful, and became in a rare degree the leader of the nation. All parties bowed before a Sovereign so just in conduct, so lofty in ambition, so wise in counsel, so superb in war. But round the lonely child he left behind him there gathered the accumulated troubles of his age and race, the breakdown of the people's hopes and expectations, the ghosts of the sins of his fathers, and the grim inheritance of disease.

[1] In 1442, says Sir H. M. Lyte (333). But the change had begun before this (Du Boulay, V, 420–1). And in 1439 it seems that only a single Master represented the English or German Nation at Paris (Rashdall, I, 549–50).

[2] In 1403 all graduates were exempted from the Statutes against Provisors. But the complaints went on. (See Lyte, 288–9, *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, 301 and 465, Rymer's *Fœdera*, VIII, 339, *Collectanea*, III, 153, and Twyne, XXIII, 49). The fourteenth century is full of petitions for benefices addressed by the University to the Popes.

[3] Wilkins (*Concilia*, III, 173).

"Woe to thee, O land, when thy King is a child!"

Simple to the verge of foolishness, helpless beyond the record of weak Kings, the heir of the greatest soldier in Europe only asked to spend his days in reading and devotion. As the years advanced and misfortunes crowded round him, friends, subjects and Ministers admitted his unfitness. The great Churchmen who had helped to establish his dynasty passed away. Not a few of them were closely linked with Oxford—Arundel, who had anointed Henry IV with miraculous oil, Chichele, who had flung himself so heartily into Henry V's adventures, Beaufort, the wealthy and politic Cardinal who had loved Henry of Monmouth but could not save his son. Kemp, another Cardinal from Oxford, twice Archbishop and Chancellor, struggled long and honestly to support Henry VI's unsteady throne. Waynflete, Beaufort's successor at Winchester, and like Chichele the Founder of an Oxford College, won their master's confidence and stood by him staunchly in his last and most miserable years. But neither Kemp nor Waynflete could defend the poor King against himself. The Princes of Lancaster passed in turn, pursued by the evil fortunes of their family, and left no heirs. Bedford died, and his strength and sagacity died with him. Gloucester lived some twelve years longer, long enough to win himself a special place in Oxford history, and to show himself too often incapable of either sagacity or strength. Discontent flared into rebellion. Jack Cade marched on London. Jack Sharp, who demanded the confiscation of Church property, had been "dampned to the death before the Duke of Gloucester at Oxenforde" nearly twenty years before. The King's health broke and York became Protector. The Civil War destroyed the House of Lancaster, and taught men that the Yorkist Princes had both cruelty and cunning behind the popular gifts which brought them applause. Before the century ended the wheel went round again. The field of Bosworth closed the thirty years of bloodshed which the first battle of St. Albans had begun. And a new generation, turning with relief to the security offered by the Tudors, began to look beyond the Schools of Oxford for new ideals of learning and of faith.

Henry IV supported Archbishop Arundel's authority in his struggle with the Oxford Masters who defied him, but in general he showed himself the University's friend. He presented it with a large gilt cross. He gave books and money to its Library. He exempted its graduates from the Statute of Provisors. He remitted—all but one penny—the yearly payment of a hundred shillings for the assize of bread and ale. He enlarged the geographical limits of the Chancellor's dominion. He created a University Steward with wide jurisdiction over the University's

members and dependents.[1] He issued commissions to inquire into the misbehaviour of Welsh and Irish students. Adam of Usk, though a Canon Law Lecturer, had headed the Welsh rioters, who drove out the Northerners in 1388 and suffered gross and violent reprisals when the Northerners triumphed in 1389. The Northerners had camped in the streets, plundered the Welsh Halls, and subjected their enemies to indignities on which Wood dwells in peculiar detail[2]; and it is not to be supposed that the Irishmen yielded in liveliness to Englishmen of the North or Welshmen of the South. The King also consulted the University on a point of policy like the restitution of Richard's Queen.[3] He took note even of individual grievances and invited Congregation to discuss them.[4] But Henry IV's son was more fortunate than his father in winning affection at Oxford as elsewhere. It was the Prince, the close friend of the Chancellor Richard Courtenay, who interposed to make terms when Arundel drove the Masters to revolt. It was the younger Henry who did most to enforce order, and who in 1420 bade his "treschiers et bien aimez les Chanceller, regentz, et non regentz" of his University exert themselves to keep the peace. He summoned or attracted many an Oxford Master to follow him to France. His interest in the University lasted all his life. It seems vain indeed for Oxford to claim him as a student. It seems impossible that he should ever have led frolics in her streets. If he dreamed of founding a College there,[5] that dream like others came to nothing. But Chichele's College is a monument to achievements which the world would not forget. All Souls with its chantry for perpetual intercession was the memorial of mediæval Oxford to the Englishmen who died in Henry's wars abroad.

Henry VI gave All Souls its charter, but he was concerned less with Oxford than with his two great Colleges at Eton and at Cambridge. He founded, however, five scholarships in the University for Eton boys. He intervened to protect its morals, to banish incontinent women ten miles from the town, an ordinance which Edward IV, a less shining example of morality, confirmed.[6] He defended the University's orthodoxy even to

[1] For the Charters of 1401 and 1406 see *ante* (p. 171) and *Med. Arch.* (I, 226 *sq.*).

[2] See Adam's *Chronicon* (ed. Thompson, 1904, xi–xiii and the references given there) and Wood (*Ann.* I, 518–21). Adam's accuracy may sometimes be doubted.

[3] In November 1400 (*Fœdera*, VIII, 164).

[4] See the Royal MSS. in the British Museum (10, B IX, 254[a]).

[5] Rous (*Hist. Reg. Angl.*, ed. Hearne, 208) is the only authority for this story. But Gascoigne believed in it and in Henry's design to reform the University (*Loci e Libro Veritatum*, ed. Rogers, 218). Henry may have thought of using the funds of alien priories for a new foundation.

[6] See Lyte (324–5) and *Med. Arch.* (I, 251 and 252 n.).

the Pope.[1] He once tried to nominate a Bedel, and he recommended candidates, sometimes unsuitable candidates, for degrees.[2] But the University again and again expressed its admiration of the Royal virtues [3]: it was only when circumstances changed and Henry's throne was slipping from him, that the poor King had reason to complain of insult. Even then he was still strong enough, in 1459, to have the offenders, two Gentlemen Bedels, deprived of their offices and sent to prison.[4] But academic politicians were deplorably ready to bend before the forces of the time. On Henry's brief restoration, in 1470, they wrote with effusion to congratulate him on recovering his kingdom: it was undoubtedly Divine Providence at work. A few months later they wrote with still greater cordiality to congratulate the Sovereign who had dethroned him, offering their "infinite thanks to a most merciful God." [5] Edward received these protests with indulgence. He confirmed while he ignored Lancastrian Statutes.[6] He spared the property of the Colleges, exempting them from the confiscatory legislation of the time.[7] He endowed a chantry at Windsor and gave the University the right to nominate the Chaplain. He founded or contemplated a lecture in theology. He visited Oxford and spent a night at Magdalen; the Chancellors and Masters went out with "a multitude of lights" to greet so successful and benevolent a Prince. Richard III enjoyed the same assurance of devotion, till Henry of Richmond replaced him on the throne. The Masters prudently got rid of a Chancellor, Lionel Woodville, who was too closely associated with Richard's opponents. The new King also came to stay at Magdalen, and Waynflete, who had been one of the dead Henry's dearest counsellors, found it necessary to offer Richard a welcome. A Sovereign who could appreciate the art of disputation, praise the eloquence of Grocyn and award the disputants a Royal buck apiece, was felt to deserve the University's allegiance, at any rate until he lost his Crown. In 1484 the Masters of the

[1] See B.M. *Royal MS.* 10, B IX (183[b] and 184). This was in 1435. The Pope was alarmed by the authorities' apathy in regard to heresy. The King thought there was little fear of it except perhaps among the younger men.

[2] See the case of Vincent Clement mentioned in the *Bekynton Correspondence* (I, 223).

[3] See *Epist. Acad.* (208–10, 247–8, 353–4, etc.).

[4] *Mun. Acad.* (756).

[5] *Epist. Acad.* (392 and 395).

[6] E.g. in 1461. (See *Med. Arch.* I, 247 *sq.*, and Shadwell, *Enactments in Parlt.* 66, n.)

[7] The various Acts of Resumption. (See Lyte, 330 and n.) Shadwell (*Enactments in Parlt.* 27–76) gives various Acts on this subject from 1449 to 1485, with clauses in favour of Oxford Colleges—Merton, Oriel, All Souls, New College, Magdalen—and of the Minorites.

University rejoiced in Richard's victories with a pleasure which His Majesty could hardly have believed. In 1485 they could not refrain from expressing to Henry VII their delight in his triumph. Richard's conqueror seemed superior to Hannibal and recalled Alexander to academic minds.[1]

But in spite of declining vigour and of brief, complaisant loyalties like these, Oxford was still a voice in Christendom. At Constance, in the early years of the century, Bishop Hallam, once an Oxford Chancellor, took the lead in demanding Church reform. At Basle later on, though the University, when invited to send delegates, grumbled at the cost,[2] Peter Payne, who had once been Principal of Edmund Hall, seized the opportunity to defend the views of Hus and Wycliffe.[3] The University corresponded on ecclesiastical affairs with foreign Princes. It had powerful friends like Chichele and Kemp at Court. And in Oxford itself the fifteenth century, for all its shortcomings, was in some respects an age of growth. New Colleges were founded near St. Mary's. A lovelier building rose beside the Cherwell beyond the East gate of the town. Above all, the University at last secured buildings of its own that were worthy of its fame. From the earliest days St. Mary's Church, whatever changes overtook it, had been the centre of academic life. There the Masters met, their spokesmen were elected, their Chancellors and Commissaries sat.[4] There degrees were given and disputations held. There most of the University's business was transacted and most of its property kept. But St. Mary's, though used by the Masters from time immemorial, never belonged to the University. The Congregation House, built in Edward II's reign by Bishop Cobham, in a little court behind the chancel of the church, was for generations the only building of importance which the University possessed.[5] Neglect has long since fallen on this venerable structure. Its windows have been altered and darkened. Its meetings of Masters have been transferred elsewhere. Its space has been filled with broken fragments from the tower outside—defaced statues of Edward II, of St. Cuthbert, of St. Hugh with his swan; and beside them the mutilated

[1] *Epist. Acad.* (495 and 500–1).

[2] In 1432 the University of Paris asked Oxford to send delegates to Basle, and next year the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Lincoln supported this proposal. The Archbishop was asked to help with the cost in 1432 and 1438 (*Ep. Acad.* 72 and 153). Kemp was appointed an English Ambassador, but did not attend the Council.

[3] But it was as a delegate from Bohemia and not from Oxford, that Payne was present at Basle (*D.N.B.*).

[4] But they sometimes sat also in their own lodgings and elsewhere.

[5] And even its right to this seems at one time to have been disputed by Oriel. (See *Med. Arch.* I, 235–40.)

Virgin from the niche above the porch, whose head the Puritan soldier of the seventeenth century shot off. The old home of the University in the heart of Oxford has in turn been treated as store-room, school-room, lumber-room and cellar. But neither time nor indifference can obliterate its interest or destroy the traditions which its walls enshrine.[1]

But something better than the buildings of St. Mary's or the Schools in Schools Street were required in an age when most of the Universities of Europe were beginning to ask for more spacious quarters. Cobham's Library was growing too small for its inheritance. The Church and the Schools were threatened with decay. The tenements where the earlier Masters had lectured were falling down. In 1439 Abbot Hokenorton of Oseney built a new substantial range of lecture-rooms, which the Abbey let to Masters for their use, and which became the chief Arts Schools of the University—the "new Schools" of that day—till the time of James I.[2] In the years that followed the ancient Law Schools also called for repair.[3] And long before that the Masters were collecting subscriptions for a far more magnificent design. The Divinity School was planned upon a scale quite disproportionate to the University's resources. It took more than a generation to complete it. It took all the funds that persistent importunity could procure. In 1427, when Thomas Chace of Balliol was Chancellor, a site was secured from Balliol lying to the East of Exeter College, at the North end of Schools Street under the town wall.[4] Bishops and other dignitaries, Cathedral Chapters, the great Monastic Orders, in fact all likely patrons, were invited to subscribe. The Benedictines responded with a

[1] Mr. Macray (*Annals of Bodleian*, 3) gives the dimensions of the Congregation House as 45 ft. by 20 ft.; Mr. Vallance (*The Old Colleges of Oxford*) makes it 45 ft. 9 in. by 18 ft. 8 in. A late Vicar of St. Mary's in his account of the church thinks that the lower room was originally 60 ft. long. Sir T. Jackson discusses the statues in his history of the church.

[2] We hear of thirty-two schools in Schools Street in the fifteenth century, to which Determiners were restricted (*Mun. Acad.* 239–41: but the date may be later than 1409). Abbot Hokenorton probably pulled down some old Schools for his new stone building. The new Schools were let to Masters at 13*s.* 4*d.* each, and the Masters sublet them to Determiners (Wood, *Ann.* II, 759–60).

[3] The Canon Law School in St. Edward's parish was clearly University property in the sixteenth century. Dr. Rashdall thinks (II, 463) that both the Canon Law and the Civil Law Schools belonged at one time to individual Doctors. But Mr. Salter identifies the Canon School with a house which the University acquired in 1279. (See his Note on University Tenements, *Med. Arch.* I, 275 *sq.*)

[4] It must have been a stretch of imagination which led the University in 1423 or 1424, when begging from the Bishop of Bath and Wells, to describe the building as "already begun" (*Epist. Acad.* 10).

SCHOLÆ PVBLICÆ.

Imminet huic ſereés bis quinq; ꝑstructa domorũ.
Semita quâ ſtudijs omnibus vna patet.
Sumptus hos fecit Regina Maria, deditq;
Vnde nouas poſsis haſce videre ſcholas.
Eliſabetha ſoror tu digna ſorore Maria,
Pro pietate tua, quas dedit illa, foues.
Gratia ut æqualis iam detur vtriq; ſorori.
Altra quôd has foueat, quôd dedit altra ſcholas.

THE NEW SCHOOLS OF 1439
(Bereblock)

handsome contribution. Archbishop Chichele proved a generous friend. Money flowed in and work was begun. In 1430 a mason, Richard Wynchcombe, was appointed overseer, with a yearly salary of forty shillings, a gown of livery and other allowances. A little later Thomas Elkyn was made master mason at a salary of one mark a year,[1] and William Orchard, the great builder of Magdalen, was called in. Two Masters also, a Northerner and a Southerner, were appointed and feed, to supervise the work. Critics found the first plans too elaborate: modifications were introduced, some carving and ornament dispensed with. But still the cost ran up and the balance available ran down. After Cardinal Beaufort's death in 1447 his executors came to the rescue with a welcome offer of five hundred marks. Graces and indulgences were sought to bring in money. The old rules about admitting monks to degrees were relaxed for a payment of a hundred pounds. Non-resident Masters and Doctors were asked to pay a special tax.[2] Begging, as sturdy as the begging of Erasmus, carried the undertaking through. In 1466 a point was reached when the new School could be furnished. A husbandman of Berkshire bound himself to supply thirty-seven wooden desks, with seats to correspond, before St. Andrew's day.[3]

But the great enterprise was not yet completed. Its stately plan, its fine groined roof, its splendid windows made it one of the noblest buildings in Europe. But half of its glory and all its greatest treasures were to come. If the famous School below owes much to one Prince of the House of Lancaster, the famous Library, which was added above it, owes still more to another. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the youngest brother of Henry V, was the life-long rival of the Cardinal. Beaufort, once the Chancellor of Oxford, and for nearly half a century afterwards a commanding figure in the State, was with all his faults a loyal public servant. Humphrey of Gloucester, for all the eulogies spent on him, for all his gallantry and popular appeal, was both as a man and a statesman selfish and unwise. He ruined his health by his excesses. He helped to ruin his country by his political schemes. His first marriage was an embarrassment to English statesmen. His second was a disgrace. His

[1] *Ib.* (58 and 191–2). Elkyn received 4*s.* a week for work in summer, and 3*s.* 4*d.* in winter. William Orchard, a great Oxford builder, is mentioned in the Proctors' accounts for 1478 (*Med. Arch.* II, 324), and if the initials W. O. on the roof are his initials, he must have been called in to help or supervise (*Ib.* 291).

[2] On these and other details see the Ordinances in *Mun. Acad.* (567 *sq.*), and Lyte (316 *sq.*).

[3] "Triginta septem ambones cum scabellis correspondentibus" (*Mun. Acad.* 716–17). But even then the building was not finished. (See *Med. Arch.* II, 288.)

love of literature, his open purse, and the gratitude of the many writers he befriended, secured for him the name of a gracious and generous Prince. Yet, if truth be told, the "Good Duke" did little good outside the world of letters, and his reputation would have fared ill had he not found favour with churchmen and chroniclers, philosophers and poets. His chief merit, and no mean one, was his taste for books. He drew round him, like any Prince of the Renaissance, a court of scholars whom his liberality inspired. Italians of mark like Aretino and Candido Decembrio had reason, no doubt, to acknowledge his bounty,[1] though it seems that they expected more than they received. Tito Livio,[2] the biographer of Henry V, was called Humphrey's poet and orator. Æneas Sylvius attributed the eloquence of Englishmen largely to his patronage. A learned theologian like Capgrave wrote the Duke's life and flattered his intellect. Scholarly prelates like Abbot Whethamstede, who loved books, his monks said, better than business, and Bishop Pecock, whose ready pen ran him into heresy, were among Duke Humphrey's friends. Poets like Occleve and Lydgate—the latter may possibly have had some Oxford training—led the chorus of appreciation.[3] Balliol tradition claimed Gloucester as a student. The University hailed him as its "most singular protector,"[4] most serene prince, most gracious lord. It appealed to him constantly for endowments and support. It lavished on him a rich vocabulary of adulation. He had brought the Greeks from the grave. He had unsealed the secrets of Africa and Asia. He was to Oxford what Cæsar had been to the Romans, what Hector had been to Troy. And from one who knew Duke Humphrey even better we can learn all that his Usher and Marshal had to tell—how his Grace's hair was combed, his breeches tied, his bath and slippers prepared for him, his table served, his pew in church attended to, and his Royal person cared for in still more intimate and peculiar details.[5]

[1] Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo—Aretinus or Aretino—may have been introduced to the Duke by Zano Castiglione, Bishop of Bayeux. See Vickers (*Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester*, 351 *sq.*), whose view is perhaps rather indulgent to Humphrey. For Candido's correspondence with him see *Eng. Hist. Rev.* for 1904 (xix, 509 *sq.*).

[2] On Titus Livius de Frulovisiis, who came from Ferrara and "indigenated" in England, see *Ib.* for 1910 and 1915 (xxv, 58 *sq.* and xxx, 74 *sq.*).

[3] Lydgate has been thought by some a poet of genius little below Chaucer, and by others "a prosaic and drivelling monk." Occleve's confessions are more interesting than his poems. See Sir S. Lee's article on Lydgate (*D.N.B.*) and estimates of both in Warton's *Hist. of Eng. Poetry* (Sects. XX–XXIII) and *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.* (II, ch. VIII).

[4] It used the same phrase in addressing Bedford, Henry VI and Edward IV.

[5] See John Russell's *Boke of Nurture*, printed in Furnival's *Babees Book*.

The Duke's library, his "bien mondain" [1] was probably the most interesting collection in the country. It was not confined to theologians like Augustine and Ambrose and Albert the Great, to Isidore and Boethius and the text-books of the time. Great Schoolmen indeed like Scotus and Aquinas were missing. Classical books and secular literature took their place. Plato and Aristotle—Candido's translation of the *Republic*, Aretino's translations of the *Politics* and *Ethics*—figured beside Arabian works on astronomy and medicine. Bede was there, and Suetonius and Josephus, and other chronicles of a later day. Ovid's *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses*, Seneca's tragedies, Livy, Cicero and Pliny seemed to strike a newer note. One Greek book—a vocabulary—and manuscripts of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio bore witness to the owner's catholicity of choice. The cobwebs of the Schoolmen were losing their hold on the student: the breezes of the Renaissance were beginning to blow them away. The Duke's physician, Gilbert Kymer, was a familiar figure in Oxford, where he acted as Chancellor for several years. He took a prominent part in building the new School. And tradition has credited him with securing the Duke's treasures for the Library of the University which he loved.[2]

Books in early days were costly treasures, and the first manuscripts which the University possessed were kept, with its other treasures, in St. Mary's Church. Before his death in 1327 Bishop Cobham of Worcester planned a Library to house them over his Congregation House, and drew up detailed instructions for their keeping. He left both books and money for the purpose, but unhappily he left large debts as well. Adam de Brome came to the help of the executors, and paid down a

[1] There seems to be to-day no evidence that the Duke wrote this motto in his books, as Leland thought. But Mr. Gibson has found the motto on an old binding which contains a MS. that once belonged to Kymer (*MS. Laud. misc.* 558).

[2] Lists of the books given by Duke Humphrey are printed in *Mun. Acad.* (758–72) and *Epist. Acad.* (179–83, 204–5, and 232–7). The later lists are more interesting than the first. The *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (I, 131–5) gives an alphabetical list of all the books presented by the Duke in 1439, 1441 and 1444. One of the two books under the heading of Dante was a Latin commentary by Giovanni da Serravalle. Most of the books entered under Petrarch and Boccaccio were probably copies of Latin works by them. I have to thank Dr. H. H. E. Craster for this information, and for his note on the Duke's gifts (*Ib.* III, 45), which I have followed. But Dr. Paget Toynbee has lately pointed out that the *Liber Dantes* in the list of 1444 was a copy of the *Divina Commedia* in the original, the earliest copy on record in this country (*Times Lit. Supp.*, 1920, 256). In an appendix to his life of the Duke (426 *sq.*) Mr. Vickers has collected interesting facts in regard to the later history of the MSS. which Humphrey possessed.

substantial sum, which he thought entitled his College to the books. But after Adam's death the Regent Masters descended on Oriel and carried them off. Even then Oriel, with its rights over St. Mary's, claimed possession or control of the building, and it was not till 1410 that Archbishop Arundel was able to compose the claims of University and College. In 1367, when the University was still fighting for the building, and even inventing deeds to support its claim,[1] the regulations which Bishop Cobham had drawn up for his Library were made public. Some of the manuscripts were sold, to provide a small income for a Chaplain or Librarian to take charge of the rest, and to see that no sacrilegious readers brought pen or ink or knife into the place. But the earliest Library Statute dates from 1412. It assigned as salary to the Chaplain or Librarian five pounds, six and eightpence a year; the six and eightpence was for celebrating masses, the hundred shillings yearly was drawn from the assize of bread and ale. The Librarian had also, like other University servants, his perquisite of robes. Careful rules for the use of the books were laid down. Only graduates and senior students[2] were allowed to read them, and sons of Lords of Parliament, who were privileged people. Precautions were taken against crowds and noise, misconduct and misuse. The names of all books and their donors were to be inscribed "in an elegant and beautiful hand" on a large and conspicuous board hung up in the building. The Library was to be open from nine to eleven in the morning and from one to four in the afternoon. But the Chancellor was allowed to visit it during any hour of daylight; and to distinguished strangers, and to Richard Courtenay who had watched over its completion, the same favour was allowed.[3] In 1432 a singular ordinance for the encouragement of theological students secured for the Library copies of all University sermons preached by Doctors of Divinity and of all the examinatory sermons which Bachelors had to deliver.[4]

Contributions of more permanent value soon began to come in. In 1435 Humphrey of Gloucester gave the University the first of the many memorable gifts which were to transform

[1] The Statute of 1412 speaks of its completion a good deal later, in Richard Courtenay's time—"cujus temporibus et labore est completa domus" (*Mun. Acad.* 266). But it seems clear that the room was used before that, and probably from 1367, when William Courtenay, Richard's uncle, was Chancellor and took the matter up with vigour.

[2] "Graduati tantum et religiosi possessionati post octo annos in philosophia" (*Ib.* 264).

[3] For the Statute of 1412 see *Mun. Acad.* (261 *sq.*). The Librarian's salary remained practically unaltered down to 1856 (Macray, *Ann. of Bodleian*, 5). See also Mr. Gibson's little volume on *Some Oxford Libraries* (Chap. I).

[4] *Mun. Acad.* (307–8).

Cobham's ancient Library into one of the finest collections of the time. A few manuscripts, nine perhaps, given in 1435, were followed by a great donation of a hundred and twenty in 1439,[1] conspicuous for the classical and medical books which they included, and valued at a thousand pounds or more. In February and November 1441, two contributions of seven volumes and ten volumes seem to have been added, and in 1444 another great donation of a hundred and thirty-five exceeded in number and in interest those that had gone before. The Duke spoke later of further contributions. He promised his "Latin books" just before he died: and the Masters again and again appealed to his representatives to carry out what they at any rate looked on as a pledge.[2] But the manuscripts given during the Duke's lifetime were in themselves a splendid inheritance, and the University may well be forgiven for the exuberant gratitude which it expressed. It did more. It devoted masses to Duke Humphrey's soul. It provided a new register and new regulations for the keeping of its treasures. It suggested that the Duke might crown his generosity by adding a new Library, over the Divinity School, to house his "preciose bokes." It secured a promise of a hundred pounds for the purpose. But in 1447, before the hundred pounds was paid over, it had to mourn its benefactor's sudden and suspicious death.

Humphrey of Gloucester left no will, but he left the University embarrassed with great projects much beyond its means. More begging of an urgent kind was needed, and for some years the progress of the work was seriously delayed. But at last Bishop Kemp of London, the Cardinal's nephew, came to the rescue with a noble contribution of a thousand marks. In 1478 the grateful University instituted services to celebrate the gift.[3] It set up the arms of the Bishop and the Cardinal on the roof of the new School. It commemorated their virtues and it still recalls them after Duke Humphrey's in its bidding-prayer. But it was careful to point out that the honours intended must not begin till the money had been paid in full.[4] Other donors

[1] I assume that the 129 mentioned in the Library Statutes of 1439 (*Ib.* 326) included the nine already given. For the other gifts I take Dr. Craster's careful calculation (*Bod. Quart. Rec.* III, 45), which Mr. Vickers practically confirms (405), and which reduces the number of the Duke's gifts, so far as we can speak with certainty, to 281 MSS. in all.

[2] See *Epist. Acad.* (251 *sq.*). There is no evidence that the University ever got them or the promised £100.

[3] *Mun. Acad.* (351–2). In 1481 it wrote to the Bishop and described its workmen, as busy as bees, carrying and polishing stones, carving statues and setting them in their places (*Epist. Acad.* 470–1).

[4] On second thoughts, however, and on a payment down, this stipulation was waived (*Mun. Acad.* 354–5).

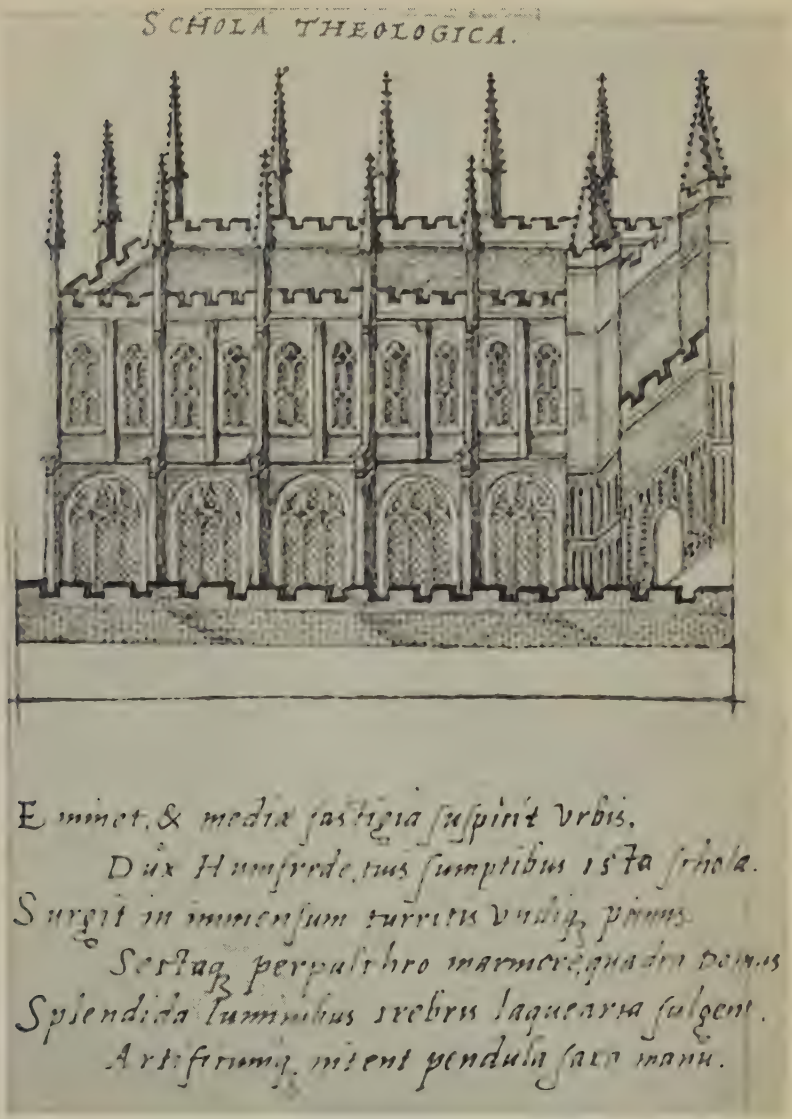
too appeared with contributions, Bishop Bekynton and Abbot Whethamstede among them. Master Somerset gave books and silken vestments, but the University hinted plainly that it would like to know what he, as one of the Duke's administrators, had done with the rest of the library in his hands. The Duchess of Suffolk, a great lady allied to Chaucer and the Beauforts, gave "boks and golde." Thomas Knolles, a London grocer, gave a copy of Josephus. John Tiptoft Earl of Worcester bequeathed a fine collection of manuscripts gathered in the purest passion of an ill-spent life. Waynflete lent scaffolding[1] from his buildings at Magdalen, and workmen whose services the King had lent him, and whom the King was liable to recall. The work went on while dynasties tumbled—the new storey with its solid walls and their ten windows imposed upon the five great windows in the bays formed by the buttresses below. The Tudors were seated on the throne before all was completed. In 1487 we read of books remaining in the old Library; some, it seems, were still there in 1512.[2] In 1488 we read of books being chained in the new Library, which was probably finished in that year or the next. Even then the history of the new Library was chequered. The rules for its protection were not too scrupulously kept. Readers, even Masters, borrowed the books and did not bring them back. Polydore Vergil, backed by Henry VII's patronage, stands under some suspicion of purloining them.[3] Reginald Pole, allowed a few years later to enter the Library without wearing academical dress,[4] lived to see worse things befall it. Leland about 1540 noted some thirty volumes which he found there. Edward VI's Commissioners, in 1550, ruthlessly broke up the great collection, scattered its splendid manuscripts, and sold or plundered its contents. The treasures gathered perhaps by Duke Humphrey and John Tiptoft were "sold away for Robin Hoods pennyworths, either to Booksellers, or to Glovers to press their gloves, or Taylors to make measures, or to Bookbinders to cover books." Three at most of the Duke's own volumes found their way to the Bodleian later. Two of these contain Duke Humphrey's name and inscription. A third is dedicated

[1] "Edificiales machine" (*Ep. Acad.* 443).

[2] The University Scribe borrowed Cicero's *Epistolæ ad Atticum* from the old Congregation House in February 1512 (*Reg. G*, 141). See also *Ep. Acad.* (533 and 545) and Lyte (322–3). Mr. Macray's date for the completion of the new room, about 1480 (*Ann. of Bodl.* 8), may be rather too early.

[3] Clark (*Bodleian Guide*, 93). We hear of astronomical tables cut out of a book and repaired in 1528 (Boase, *Reg.* I, 129).

[4] In November 1515 "dominus Reginoleus Poole," a B.A., had to pay for this small privilege 12*d.* "ad compositionem noue carte" (*Reg. G*, 270^{b}).



The Divinity School
(Bereblock)

to him by its writer Aretino.[1] Of the rest a few have in after days been traced to Colleges or private owners, or have been secured by great Libraries at home or abroad. In 1556 the Library building was left empty and deserted. The University callously deputed the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors to sell the fittings which nobody required.[2]

Duke Humphrey's Library[3] replaced the older Library in Cobham's building, though some books were left there for the time. But the old Congregation House was inevitably concerned in the fortunes of the Church. The fabric of St. Mary's was now fast decaying. Already in 1462 Walter Lyhert, Bishop of Norwich and once Provost of Oriel, had rebuilt the chancel in the form which we know, and in 1487, before the new Library was finally completed, it was found necessary for the safety of the parishioners to rebuild the nave as well. The University set to work to collect funds with its usual courage. Benefactors came forward—one generous subscriber was Richard Lichfield, Archdeacon of Middlesex and Bath. "Good deeds," cries Wood with enthusiasm, "trod on his heels, even to heaven gates." Henry VII gave oaks for timbers. Two of his Ministers, Cardinal Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, are credited with helping: Bray indeed, as famous for building as for statecraft, has been credited with the design. Before the end of the fifteenth century a complete scheme of rebuilding had been adopted, and a new Perpendicular Church with great lights and lofty arches, with mouldings, woodwork and a "paire of organs," had arisen beside the noble thirteenth-century tower. The Congregation House was left, but its outer wall and windows were remodelled, so as

[1] The three MSS. claimed as Duke Humphrey's property are the *Letters* of Nicholas de Clemenges, the *Letters* of the younger Pliny, and Aretino's translation of Aristotle's *Politics*. Mr. Vickers doubts if the last was the actual volume presented by the Duke (Appendix, 427). He points out that Mr. Macray was mistaken in attributing to the Duke (*Ann.* 8) a MS. of Valerius Maximus given by Whethamstede. In the British Museum are several of the Duke's MSS. not included in his gifts to Oxford. See also Gibson (*Oxf. Libraries*, 19–20). It is a question whether Tiptoft's books were ever received.

[2] Macray (*Ann.* 11–12). But the building seems to have been handed over to the Faculty of Medicine, "whose students had hitherto done their exercises in the Divinity School below" (*Bodl. Quart. Rec.* III, 148). It may be noted that both early University Libraries ran East and West. So did early Libraries at Balliol, Lincoln, Brasenose, Corpus, Wadham—to say nothing of later buildings. Merton Library ran East and West and North and South. Many Oxford Libraries, no doubt, ran North and South, as the old rule suggested. But it seems that at Oxford convenience was at least a strong element in deciding the direction which they took.

[3] Wood uses this name as if it were sanctioned by tradition in his day (*Ann.* II, ii, 914). It was formally adopted or re-adopted in the nineteenth century for the oldest part of the Bodleian.

to correspond with the new large windows of the Church, and to give the impression from the outside that the building consisted of one storey instead of two.[1] Early in the sixteenth century the upper chamber, the old Library, was decorated and roofed anew, and apparently became the meeting-place of Congregation. There is a reference in one of the Registers in 1507 to the " dobul roffe of the congregatyon howse with paytyngys and knottes gyltyd " ; and in another, in the year following, there is an acknowledgment of a payment made by Edmund Bishop of Salisbury for the new building above the House of Congregation, which the Bishop's liberality is said to have rebuilt.[2] The desks and seats of the old Library it was proposed to transfer to the Canon Law School, where a new fabric also replaced the old.

The University was slowly increasing its possessions, but its ancient Chests with their regulations remained. The example set in the days of Grosseteste had been followed by other benefactions since. The Warwick Chest, the Winton Chest, the Guildford Chest, the Burnel Chest, the Chichester Chest and many another,[3] recalled dignitaries in Church and State, who had given funds for the use of students with increasing liberality since the fourteenth century began. Elaborate ordinances governed their foundation. Borrowers from the Warwick Chest were bound to repeat the Lord's Prayer thrice in honour of the Trinity and the *Ave Maria* five times in honour of the Virgin. The donors' names were publicly recited, and special masses were offered for their souls. Guardians of the Chests were regularly elected, and were sometimes sharply summoned to give an account of their trust.[4] The Chest of the Four Keys, founded in the fourteenth century, contained rolls or registers of the University's belongings, muniments and charters, books and transcripts[5] and Proctor's

[1] The same disingenuous method was applied to Adam de Brome's Chapel on the West side of the tower, which was partitioned off from the church later.

[2] See *Reg. F* (ff. 18[a] and 66[a]) and *Reg. G* (f. 63[b]). For other references to the rebuilding of the church see Lyte (378–9, n.) and of course Sir T. Jackson's history of it (especially Pt. II, ch. 8).

[3] On some early founders of Chests, Hugh de Vienne, Canon of St. Martin's le Grand, Gilbert Rothbury, Judge of the King's Bench, Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, etc., see notes by Lyte (101).

[4] See *Mun. Acad.* (11–12, 496–9, 745–7) and *Ep. Acad.* (474).

[5] " Exemplaria " (*Mun. Ac.* 152). Dr. Poole points out (*Lect. on Hist. of Univ. Archives*, 8–9) that this was the usual term for copies of documents. It does not mean patterns of academical dress ; and the " cista exemplariorum " (*Mun. Ac.* 155) was not a " Chest of Patterns," as Sir H. M. Lyte (180, n.) translates it, following Mr. Anstey, but a Chest of documents, containing pledges given by appellants as a guarantee against frivolous appeals. It may, or may not, have been a separate Chest. No patterns of academical dress were kept in the Archives ; but

accounts. Its guardians were the two Proctors and two Regents in Arts from the North and the South.[1] In 1412 a new Chest of Five Keys was established, to contain, in the sweeping terms of the ordinance, all goods accruing to the University in future,[2] and two Heads of Colleges were called in to act as guardians together with the Chancellor and Proctors. But in 1427 another Chest of Five Keys was found necessary, and was apparently devoted to jewels and money alone. In this case neither the Proctors nor the Heads of Colleges reappeared as guardians, though the same care was taken to represent both North and South. The Chancellor, two Regents in Arts and two Non-Regents from the Colleges were made custodians, and a regular audit by four Doctors and four Masters was required.[3] It may be that the opportunity was taken to reorganise the arrangements. Once again the assets for which the Proctors were specially responsible were defined. The older Chests perhaps were overcrowded and falling out of use. In any case only one Chest of Five Keys survived the troubles of the Reformation. It passed into the keeping of Corpus Christi College later, when most of its companions had been sold.[4] Besides these, a Chest of Three Keys was instituted for a more temporary purpose in 1437, to help in the building of the Divinity School.[5]

Other Chests were founded for the benefit of students or for the use of special Colleges, and were administered on similar lines. Stapledon Hall from early days had two Chests of its own. Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, the brother of the Cardinal, left a hundred pounds for a Chest at Queen's, and a similar sum for one at Trinity College, Cambridge. Two other fifteenth-century foundations, the Chichele Chest and the Danvers Chest, allowed the University and the Colleges to borrow, and thus diminished the funds available for poor scholars, who sought, as the Archbishop eloquently put it, " the pearl in the field of

engravings of them were kept in the Convocation House under a Statute of 1770 (Poole, 5–6).

[1] *Mun. Ac.* (152–3): the date is before 1380. Dr. Poole suggests 1347, and would identify the Chest of the Four Keys with the New Chest, which was apparently combined with the Selton Chest later (*Ib.* 155 and 219). It is difficult to say how many University Chests there were, or how many were known as Proctors' Chests at one time or another (*Ib.* 155, 228, 235, 501).

[2] " Bona quæcunque, cujuscunque naturæ, quocunque titulo, Universitati in posterum proventura " (*Ib.* 259). These " goods " included copies of new Statutes (*Ib.* 253–4).

[3] Mr. Anstey gives the ordinances for the two Chests of Five Keys (*Ib.* 257–9 and 280–2): but the dates should be 1412 and 1427.

[4] The Chests in the lower House of Congregation were ordered to be sold—presumably the old loan chests—in January 1546 (Poole, 11).

[5] " Quæ cista fabricæ nouarum scholarum vocetur " (*Reg. E*, 45[b]).

divine knowledge." The great Duke of Bedford is credited with establishing the Chest of the Three Philosophies and the Seven Liberal Arts; and in 1439 it was resolved that all books given by Duke Humphrey or others for lectures on these subjects should be kept in this Chest in the Library under the Librarian's control, and the books borrowed by Regents or by other Masters for the use of their students.[1] Some fifty years later Archbishop Bourchier, an old University Chancellor, left money for Chests at Oxford and Cambridge.[2] Occasionally the University received gifts of a different kind. Bishop Northburgh of London left funds for law students in 1361.[3] Henry VI assigned revenues for his scholars from Eton. And the foundation of the Chest of the Three Philosophies and Seven Arts was made the pretext for fresh appeals by the University both to Bedford and to Gloucester, which resulted in the maintenance for a time at any rate of special Lecturers on those subjects.[4] But funds for Chests for lending purposes were long the favourite form of benefaction, and it was in the lower room of the Old House of Congregation that these Chests were generally stored.

The Proctors' Accounts which survive from the latter part of the fifteenth century[5] show that the University's average income was then about fifty-eight pounds and its average expenditure less than forty-five. Any surplus went to the Chests and was probably spent in building. Besides payments for degrees and Graces,[6] some four or five pounds a year came in from rents, four pounds, fourteen and eightpence from the old Oseney and Eynsham contributions, two or three pounds from the Grammar Masters, which, however, ceased in 1477, and some two pounds a year more from fines for breaches of the peace and other small payments.[7] One of the chief items of expenditure was the cost of the yearly entertainments to Inceptors on the vigils of St. John the Baptist and St. Peter. This ranged from five pounds upwards—in 1496 it rose to nearly nine—the charges including lights and rushes and the carrying of benches to wherever

[1] *Mun. Ac.* (327–8) and *Epist. Ac.* (187–90).

[2] Lyte (326).

[3] See *Ninth Report, Hist. MSS. Comm.* (I, 47).

[4] See *Epist. Ac.* (106–8, 139–40). Some of the University's letters on the subject are dated as early as 1433.

[5] Only fifteen remain, running from 1464 to 1496, when there is a blank till 1562. They have been printed with an admirable introduction by Mr. Salter (*Med. Arch.* II, 272 *sq.*).

[6] Doctors' fees brought in on the average about £26 a year, M.As. and B.As. about £3, Graces about £17.

[7] The total receipts rose as high as £94 in 1469 and £93 in 1478. They sank to £29 in 1492 and to £27 in 1471. In the latter year there were no Doctors' degrees.

the entertainment might be held.[1] The payment divided among the Regent Masters was nearly four pounds a year.[2] The auditors got something. The Proctors too got something, a share of fines and of degree fees, small payments for their expenses, for their night watch, for the hire and repair of armour: the amount perhaps depended on the balance in hand. The Proctors had no regular salaries, but some official profits were expected and received.[3] A salary of four marks was paid to the Registrar, a salary of five pounds, six and eightpence to the Chaplain who was also Librarian of the University,[4] and there were smaller payments to others, including the parish clerks of St. Mary's and St. Peter's. Rent was paid for one or two University buildings, seven shillings to Balliol for the Divinity School site. Payments for the new buildings were in the fifteenth century a constantly recurring item. Political troubles, no doubt, caused some expenditure. Attentions to great men—doubly necessary in times of revolution—accounted for more. And the defence of the University's legal rights and privileges sometimes made a serious inroad on the limited means which the Masters could command.

It is to be feared, however, that neither accounts nor documents were kept in early days with the care that they deserved. We hear of University property disappearing "in a marvellous way" through the negligence of Proctors.[5] We have stories of Chests being robbed and their guardians admitted to compurgation.[6] In 1449 the Chest of Four Keys, when searched in vain for a missing document, proved to be so full of rolls and bonds of no value that a Committee of eight Doctors and Masters was nominated to reform it.[7] In 1481 we find Master John Brertone summoned "once, twice, thrice, and peremptorily" to account for his management of the Danvers Chest.[8] Later on, in 1510, there were complaints that the accounts of the Chests had not been audited for thirty years; and Archbishop Warham, the Chancellor, sent down a Master named John Yong, who was appointed by Congregation with eleven others to conduct a complete examination, and to report on the total sums deposited,

[1] In 1469 it seems to have been at Queen's, in 1471 at Durham College.

[2] £3 18*s.* 8*d.*, provided by Eynsham and Oseney, was the sum distributed from 1478 onwards. Before that the amount was larger.

[3] In 1474, Mr. Salter points out (*Med. Arch.* II, 283) the profits of one Proctor must have been £5 17*s.* 1*d.* (See his introduction, mentioned above, for these and many other interesting details.)

[4] £5 of this came from the assize of bread and ale. In 1481 ninepence more was added, perhaps for the saying of an additional mass (*Ib.* 286).

[5] *Mun. Ac.* (155).

[6] *Ib.* (750). See also Dr. Poole's *Lecture* (10).

[7] *Mun. Ac.* (728–9).

[8] See *Ep. Ac.* (474).

on the loss sustained by the insufficiency of pledges, and on the actual value of what remained. Details of sixteen Chests are given in the report: there seem to be some inaccuracies, and the figures quoted are not complete. But the total sums due to these sixteen Chests are estimated at six hundred and fifteen pounds, and the total deficiency at two hundred and thirty-four pounds, a considerable proportion of the whole.[1] The Committee, or a smaller Committee of which Yong was a member, pushed their inquiries further with unsatisfactory results. Books, presumably University pledges, improperly abstracted and never properly redeemed, were found in the house of Mrs. Hunt, the widow of the late University Stationer, and in the hands of two Bedels who had already done some profitable trading in volumes of this kind. Advantage was no doubt frequently taken of the negligence shown by University officials.[2]

The University, moreover, was always afraid that manuscripts of value would be sold and carried away from Oxford. "The excessive multitude of sellers of books" was made a pretext for confining to official Stationers the right of selling any volume worth more than half a mark.[3] The Stationers were sworn to protect the Chests from loss, without interfering with their management, and to render a faithful account of all goods there deposited which came into their hands.[4] Relics were regarded as a bad security. Perishable goods were not readily received. It was the Stationer's business to value University pledges. If he had a monopoly of selling them, he was responsible for the moneys received. In 1412 Congregation apparently became alarmed about the condition of certain books and other "ante-pestilential" pledges,[5] and appointed a Committee of eight Masters to co-operate with the University Stationer in selling them off. In the same year the Stationer's duty was found to be so anxious and laborious, that he was included among the University officials to whom students on graduation were expected to give clothes.[6] And in the same year also the University,

[1] See the report in *Reg. G* (f. 94). Mr. Anstey gives (496) one list of seventeen Chests, and another list (745–7) of twenty-two Chests under date 1456–7. But neither list is quite complete.

[2] See *Reg. G* (94[b] and 95[b]).

[3] *Mun. Ac.* (233–4).

[4] Four sworn Stationers are mentioned as admitted to that office by the University in the agreement made with the Cardinal de Mota in 1345 (*Ib.* 150), and other references show (*Ib.* 234, 387, 497) that more than one University Stationer was contemplated in the Statutes. But references elsewhere to the Stationer (*Ib.* 253, 255) seem to indicate that the University was generally satisfied with having one official Stationer at a time.

[5] "Cæteræ antepestilentiales cautiones, quæ antiquitate temporis adeo corrumpuntur," etc. (*Ib.* 255).

[6] "Unum Universitatis stationarium vestire" (*Ib.* 253).

observing that it was of little value to make laws and to neglect to keep them, ordered the Proctors to see that Statutes passed during their term of office were inscribed in the Chancellor's and Proctors' Books, and a copy of them deposited in the Chest of Five Keys.[1] But this salutary provision failed of effect. Before long the University was obliged to appoint a Registrar or Scribe,[2] whose duty it should be to give form and permanence to its public acts, to draft its letters, to make copies of its documents, to register Graces and the names of graduates and their "examinatory sermons." The Scribe, besides his salary of four marks yearly, took fees from individuals for registering their Graces and degrees.

The Statutes generally looked to the past, and one new departure of the fifteenth century attracted, it would seem, but little notice in the University, though it marked an epoch in the world of letters. The first book printed at Oxford bears the surprising date of 1468. It is a Latin commentary on the Apostles' Creed, called by the name of St. Jerome but written by Rufinus of Aquileia. It claims to be older than Caxton's printing press at Westminster, older than the first presses of Paris and Utrecht, almost as old as those of Basle and of Cologne. A legend, started in the seventeenth century, declared that a printer, abducted from Haarlem by a conspiracy at which Archbishop Bourchier, Henry VI and Caxton connived, had been brought over under guard to Oxford, and had there set up the earliest English press. But the tale which Richard Atkyns of Balliol repeated or invented with the shameless freedom of the Restoration, and which Wood and others adopted, has ceased to find belief. Though the volume of 1468 with its date remains in evidence, it is not to Frederick Corsellis of Haarlem that its production can be traced. Bibliographers of great authority have suspected that the book was dated carelessly or deliberately ten years too soon.[3] But even if the doubt exists, if Oxford

[1] *Ib.* (253–4).

[2] "Vnus magister artium notarius publicus in rethorica sufficienter eruditus." The date is uncertain. (See *MS. C.C.C. Camb.* 423, pp. 63–4.) I owe the reference to Mr. Gibson, who is printing the Statute—as I owe so many others. Possibly John Manyngham (Boase, *Reg.* I, 14) was the first Registrar. He was in office in 1446 (*Med. Arch.* II, 284).

[3] The question is fully discussed by Mr. Madan in his volumes on *The Early Oxford Press* (1895, especially App. A) and *The University Press at Oxford* (1908), to which I owe most of these details. A great authority reminds us that "it is dangerous to assert that a book is wrongly dated because you cannot make it fit into a bibliographical theory," and a paper by Mr. Madan in *The Library* for April 1918 on *Two Lost Causes* points out that all the watermarks in the St. Jerome are found in paper made as early as 1468. See also *Bodl. Quart. Record* (I, 142). But Mr. Gordon Duff (*Early Printed Books*, Chap. IX) decides for the later date, 1478.

cannot be proved beyond question to be the birthplace of the British Press, the credit and interest of this early experiment in printing at Oxford remain. The " St. Jerome " was followed by some fifteen other volumes before 1487, most of which apparently owed their existence to Theodoric Rood. Rood was a printer who came from Cologne, and set up a small press in the High Street, or possibly found one already established there. Later on he took into partnership the University Stationer Thomas Hunt,[1] whose love of a good book tempted him to doubtful dealings in the manuscripts deposited in the Chests. The second known volume issued by this little business was Aretino's translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*. It is dated 1479. Another was Cicero's oration *Pro Milone*, which if really produced at Oxford about 1480, was the first classic printed in this country.[2] Others included works on grammar, logic and theology, a commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima* by Alexander of Hales, with a fine woodcut border dating from 1481, and the first edition of Lyndwood's great work on Canon Law. Of all these rare and early volumes copies or fragments still remain. But soon after the accession of the House of Tudor the first Oxford Press closed down. In the reign of Henry VIII the experiment was repeated, and two printers, working in St. John Street under the shadow of Merton, produced about half-a-dozen books. But it was not till the days of Elizabeth that the printers of Oxford were able to establish a business that endured. And it was not till the seventeenth century that Archbishop Laud and Dean Fell secured for them the rights and the resources which were to make the Oxford Press a power.

The University Chancellors of the fifteenth century were often men of influence in the State. Robert Hallam, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, elected Chancellor in 1403, played a great part in ecclesiastical politics abroad. No man was more respected for his fearless efforts to reform abuses and to restore peace within the Church. Richard Courtenay, who defied Arundel's authority and even threatened the Archbishop with excommunication,[3] was a still more conspicuous figure. He fought hard

[1] Their names are associated in the colophon of the Oxford edition of the *Epistles* of Phalaris printed in 1485. " Hoc Teodericus rood quem collonia misit Sanguine germanus nobile pressit opus Atque sibi socius thomas fuit anglicus hunte. . . . " Mr. Salter (*Cart. of St. John's Hospital*, I, 272) has traced Rood's house in the High Street, now 35 and 36, where Dyryke Dowcheman or Dyryk Rode was tenant in 1480 and 1482. John Dowcheman had the house before that. (See also Mr. Madan's article in *The Library* for April 1918.)

[2] It is only known from fragments found in the bindings of books (Gibson, *Oxford Libraries*, 69).

[3] As an undutiful son of the University (Lyte, 293). For Courtenay's

for the privileges of the University. He established its Library on a proper footing. He was never backward to defend its cause. But for all his independence he retained the favour of Henry IV. And under Henry V, his dear and constant friend, he was largely employed in public duties, made Bishop of a See which he had no time to visit, and drawn to the camp of the great King in France. He died abroad in the King's presence, and was buried by Henry's order behind the high altar of Westminster, in the Confessor's Chapel where Henry was himself to lie. Thomas Chace, the Master of Balliol who set the new Divinity School on foot, was Chancellor in 1426[1] and later. A prominent figure in University business, he came into sharp conflict with the town. He apparently prevented the fishmongers who had stalls in the High Street from paying anything for stallage to the Bailiffs, and was accused by the Mayor and Burgesses of stretching his rights of jurisdiction to do them "oppressions, wrongs and injuries."[2] Some of the resident Chancellors like Chace, or like Henry Sever who became Warden of Merton, or like Robert Thwaytes who became Master of Balliol,[3] spent the best years of their life in Oxford and devoted themselves to University affairs. Gilbert Kymer, though he moved in the world, became a Court physician, and secured Duke Humphrey's patronage and probably his books, was an active member of Congregation. He was Proctor in 1412. He was for a short time Principal of Hart Hall. He was Chancellor in 1431, 1432 and 1433, and again for several years before 1453. His "prudence, sobriety, watchfulness, courage," made him, we are told, a mirror for his successors.[4] He never forgot the University, though called to Church preferments for which the greatest of physicians would now sigh in vain. And Chancellors like Thomas Gascoigne and Thomas Chaundler were identified with Oxford interests to the end.

Gascoigne, one of the most picturesque of mediæval Chancellors, received and perhaps desired no advancement. He spent most of his vigorous and bustling life in the University. He had rooms for many years at Oriel, where his private fortune prevented his election as a Fellow. He preached. He wrote. He denounced heresy and heretics. But he also denounced unceasingly abuses

dealings with a well-known MS. now in the Bodleian, see *Bodl. Quart. Record* (II, 118–20).

[1] Salter (*Med. Arch.* I, 241, n.). We have a list of the *insignia* handed over to him in April 1427.

[2] See Salter (*Mun. Civ. Oxon.* 193 *sq.* and 284).

[3] Sever was Chancellor in 1442, Thwaytes in 1446. Richard Mayew, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was a resident Chancellor of this type.

[4] *Epist. Acad.* (324).

in the Church—the ignorance, the neglect of duty, the venality and corruption, which had crept in even to the University itself. He spared the Regents and students of Oxford as little as he spared the lawyers or the monks. He attacked with equal fervour indecencies of dress and conduct, the grave heterodoxy of Bishop Pecock, the cynical complaisance of another Bishop—from St. David's—who refused to put down concubinage among his clergy because it brought him in four hundred marks a year. Gascoigne had, no doubt, a sharp tongue and a censorious eye for others. But he lived in a society whose standards were probably deteriorating every day, and those standards, it seems, he did his best to raise. His strict honesty refused preferments the duties of which he could not perform. But he was ready enough to serve as Chancellor or Commissary or "Cancellarius natus"—that is as senior Doctor of Divinity acting as Chancellor when a vacancy occurred. His notes in the Registers and the high praises of his colleagues[1] bear witness to his unceasing interest in his work. His *Theological Dictionary*, preserved by Lincoln College, reveals a great deal of his character and story.[2] His body lies buried at New College. His will is among the records of the Chancellor's Court. The Chancellor in whose Court it was proved deserves to rank beside him as a life-long servant of the University in very difficult times. Thomas Chaundler, for so long Warden of New College, was repeatedly Chancellor or Commissary between 1457 and 1479. He did most of the work for George Neville, when that high-placed dignitary was occupied elsewhere. He was one of the most prominent and trusted of University officials. He was a scholar who hailed with enthusiasm the first faint dawn of the classical Renaissance. And he must have been a ruler possessed of both tact and adaptability to be a successful Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor in the quick changes of those revolutionary years.

But some of the fifteenth-century Chancellors found it difficult or impossible to reside in Oxford. Kymer, a Court doctor, held benefices at Wimborne, Salisbury and elsewhere. Even Chaundler was Chaplain to Edward IV, and was often called

[1] In 1436 the Chancellor and Regents spoke of him as "iste doctor catholicus, qui cedulo sudore studii inter nos sane doctrine metit manipulos, quibus oves Christiani ovilis sane et catholice pascere novit" (*Ib.* 137). Nine years later the University appealed to the King on his behalf (*Ib.* 247–9).

[2] Gascoigne matriculated before 1420, was Chancellor in 1434 and 1444–5, and died early in 1458. (See Dr. Poole's valuable notice, *D.N.B.*) His will is given in *Mun. Ac.* (671–2). The MS. of his *Dictionary*, though the property of Lincoln, is now kept at the Bodleian. Prof. J. E. T. Rogers edited a selection of extracts from it under the title of *Loci e Libro Veritatum.*

away from the University. And men like Thomas Bourchier, of Royal blood and great connections, passed on quickly to Bishoprics and higher things. Bourchier was Bishop of Worcester in 1434 and Bishop of Ely in 1435, while he still held the Chancellorship of Oxford. And as Primate and Cardinal, crowning in turn Edward IV, Richard III and Henry VII, he could have had little time to spare later for University affairs. But his Register at Lambeth shows him taking part in the appointment of Wardens at Canterbury College, All Souls and Merton,[1] and he left the University a bequest in his will. William Gray of Balliol, who succeeded Bourchier in the Bishopric of Ely, was trained at Oxford and lived there for some time. He served as Chancellor in 1441–2. His love of learning drew him abroad, and his duties as Bishop engrossed him later. But he left his splendid manuscripts to his old College, which he never forgot. George Neville was Chancellor at twenty-one, and was re-elected for obvious reasons when his family were masters of the State. But he was far too deeply plunged in politics to do more than patronise or feast his academic friends. That duty, however, he is said to have performed on a prodigious scale.[2] Lionel Woodville, later on, had also greater interests to attend to, and his Royal connections became an embarrassment when a usurper drove his family from power. John Russell, once a Fellow of New College, was already Lord Chancellor and Bishop of Lincoln, when chosen Chancellor by the University which had long ceased to fear the Bishop's interference. He has been called the first perpetual Chancellor, as he held the office till his death. Russell, said Sir Thomas More, was a wise man and a good man, and one of the best-learned of his time. He made a speech which was printed by Caxton. He visited Oxford with Henry VII. His arms are on the roof of the Divinity School to-day. His successor, Cardinal Morton, who followed Gray in the Bishopric of Ely and Bourchier in the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and for whom in an hour of imprisonment and danger the University had interceded in the warmest terms, would scarcely accept the office of Chancellor when the Masters laid it at his feet. He told them that he could not attend to its duties. He refused to take the oath which was usually required. Morton had been Commissary in 1446, when Thwaytes was Chancellor, and had had his earliest administrative training in University affairs.[3] But he was a politician long immersed in statecraft, a powerful Minister who in the days of his triumph cared little for academic

[1] See ff. 3ᵇ, 93ᵃ, and 132ᵇ.

[2] If Wood's details of his Inception banquet (*Ann.* I, 599) may be accepted. (See *ante*, p. 109.)

[3] See *Reg. Aaa* (f. 50), and *Mun. Ac.* (552).

honours or popular applause. He helped, however, to rebuild St. Mary's and the old Canon Law School. He helped also to train Sir Thomas More. But for great prelates like Morton or like Warham, who elected later, in the sixteenth century, held the office for six and twenty years, residence in Oxford was out of the question. More and more the Chancellorship became a post of dignity divorced from the daily administration of affairs. The University perhaps needed a friend at Court to protect it. The Court may have been glad to have an agent on whom it could rely. The Commissaries or Vice-Chancellors gradually entered into their inheritance, and took up the local duties which the Chancellors resigned.

The Statutes of the fifteenth century throw some light on the University's disorders, but they throw little light on the general history of the time. The rivalry between Town and Gown was not over, but the Town had been forced to realise the University's strength. In 1406 we find it appointing four representatives to treat with four representatives of the University in regard to disputes between them, and two years later referring differences to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the King's Council.[1] In 1429 the townsmen again appealed to the Council: they could not tolerate the action of Chancellor Chace. In May 1432 the University could devise no better method of allaying these "calamitous and detestable" dissensions and of averting the wrath of God from the sinners, than to organise a solemn procession of Doctors, Masters, scholars and priests, with elaborate regulations as to the order they should walk in.[2] But practical co-operation was more useful than processions. In 1450 the University provided scholars to watch for a time with townsmen at the gates.[3] In 1459 an important agreement was drawn up, for which perhaps the Chancellor, Chaundler, and the Mayor may share the credit, to settle vexed questions in regard to the privilege of University dependents and the rights of Chancellor and Mayor respectively to deal with offenders and disturbers of the peace. The privileged class, which had been steadily increasing, was carefully defined. Masters, scholars, clerks and their servants, University officers and their attendants, stationers, book-binders, writers, barbers, cooks and caterers, carriers, poor children, and many others serving or trading within the University precincts, were admitted to be under the Chancellor's protection, and on the other side it was admitted that the privilege of the University

[1] *Mun. Civ. Oxon.* (180–2). Mr. Salter suggests that in 1406 the trouble may have been due to the claim which the University made that creditors should be allowed, as of old, to hand over their rights of action to poor scholars.

[2] *Mun. Ac.* (299–300).

[3] Boase (*Oxford*, 54).

should extend to them alone.[1] The Chancellor continued to exercise authority over the town. He dealt faithfully with defaulting taverners and tradesmen. In 1480 he made the cooks into a corporation, and settled the toll to be paid at the East gate, when they rode into the town in their bravery in Whitsun week.[2] In 1491 he granted privileges to the guild of tailors.[3] In 1499 he admitted the hurers or cappers into the ancient society of barbers—the wearing of rough caps may have been the fashion even then—and forbade any hurer, "within the procincts of Oxford dwellinge, to sell a old capp new dressed for a new capp under payne of forfeitture of the same to the Chaunceller and one pounde of waxe to our Ladie light."[4]

The keeping of the peace and the maintenance of order were still the first necessities alike of Royal and of academic legislation. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Irishmen figured largely in the records of lawlessness, rivalling the Welsh who had been conspicuous just before.[5] In 1413 Henry V with the assent of Parliament banished all Irish and Irish begging Clerks called "Chaumberdeakyns" for the sake of tranquillity in the Realm. One of the first Statutes of Henry VI repeated this order, and dwelt on the "homicides, murders, rapes, robberies and other felonies" committed by Irishmen dwelling under the University's jurisdiction," to the great fear of all manner of people dwelling thereabout."[6] But graduates in the Schools were exempted from both Statutes, and a Royal writ soon exempted students also.[7] "Wylde Irisshmen who had nothing to live on" defied the authorities, and were accused of burning houses down.[8] Clerkly highwaymen appeared upon the roads. Poachers roamed the woods of Shotover and Woodstock.[9] Scholars and clerks of the University, "unknown, armed and arrayed for purposes of war," dared, in the words of the Royal Statute, to hunt with

[1] *Mun. Ac.* (344–8) and *Med. Arch.* (I, 244–5). In the thirteenth century the privileged class had been limited to clerks, their families and servants, "percamenarii, luminarii, scriptores, barbatores et alii homines de officio qui sunt de robis ipsorum clericorum" (*Ib.* 92).

[2] Boase (*Oxford*, 41).

[3] See *Reg. F* (170[b]) and *Ep. Ac.* (594–6). And they paid 3*s.* 4*d.* yearly in return for the monopoly or partial monopoly conferred (*Med. Arch.* II, 280).

[4] *Mun. Civ. Ox.* (234–7). The caps here referred to were knitted. See also later (p. 346).

[5] See Lyte (308–9).

[6] Shadwell (*Enactments in Parliament*, 14 and 18–19).

[7] Lyte (310). Irish graduates were required by the Statutes of 1422 and 1423 to find sureties for good behaviour, and were forbidden to act as Principals of Halls (Shadwell, 20–4).

[8] *Collectanea* (III, 154–5).

[9] And further afield in the counties of Oxford, Berks and Bucks. (See the Statute of 1421, in Shadwell, 16.)

dogs by day and night, to capture deer and hares and coneys, and to threaten the keepers of them with their lives. About the year 1410 the University, bewailing the "mad continuance of execrable dissensions," set up a delightfully elaborate scale of fines for disturbers of the peace—twelve pence for threats of personal injury, four shillings for pushing with the shoulder or striking with the fist, ten shillings for a blow with knife or sword or dagger, twenty shillings for carrying bows and arrows with evil intent, forty shillings for night wandering or resisting the execution of justice.[1] The force of money penalties as compared with oaths or compurgation was coming home at last to academic minds. Gascoigne noted how many rascals were ready to swear to their innocence in public while in private they admitted their guilt.

The University's ordinances were as outspoken as the King's. They too denounced the "Chamberdekenys," who "in the form of scholars" lurked about Oxford, dwelling in no Halls, but spending their days in sleep, their nights in taverns, brothels, homicide and theft.[2] All scholars were required to reside in some Hall or College. Townsmen were forbidden to take them in as lodgers without express permission. All unattached and wandering students must have a recognised place of residence in future: they were liable to imprisonment or banishment as "rotten members" if they disobeyed. In 1420 Henry V issued an edict for the preservation of the peace, which, while exacting an oath from all new-comers to the University, and prohibiting lodgings in the houses of laymen, placed all scholars and their servants under the control of Principals whom the University admitted and approved.[3] Henry VI characteristically recommended Latin sermons as the best means to increase "vertu and cunning," while he desired to see "misgovernance" put down.[4] But even sermons failed to prevent tumultuous scenes at the feasts of graduation, or beating on doors and roofs and tables and throwing of stones to annoy the guests.[5] The Chancellor and Proctors bound themselves by fresh oaths to suffer no partiality or weakness in enforcing law. But the students may have found

[1] There were further fines for Masters and scholars, varying with the means of the offender (*Mun. Ac.* 314 *sq.*). The date here is probably about 1410. But the provisions reappear in the group of Statutes dated May 24, 1432 (*Ib.* 304–6). The fines went, one-third to the Chancellor, one-third to the Proctors and one-third to the University. The Chancellor and Proctors paid the Bedels 2*d.* out of every 1*s.* they received (*Mun. Ac.* 317–18). Mr. Salter's division (*Med. Arch.* II, 277) seems to be rather different.

[2] *Mun. Ac.* (320). The date should be about 1410.

[3] *Ib.* (277–9). Mr. Anstey's date is incorrect.

[4] This was in 1444 (*Ib.* 540–1).

[5] *Ib.* (308–9). The ordinances on this subject belong to May 1432.

little difficulty in evading regulations which they disliked. We hear little or nothing of the Civil War, though we have notices of injuries and woundings, and of a riot at the Crown Inn followed by the excommunication of the offenders.[1] In 1470 indeed the University asserted that not a single scholar had to its knowledge taken arms on either side.[2] But the confusion in the country must have increased the opportunities of any young men who loved a fight, and it may be that incidents occurred in Oxford which it was the business of University officials to ignore.

Increased supervision of the scholars involved the better organisation of the Halls. The Chancellor's right to veto and to alter Hall Statutes was re-affirmed: it dated by tradition from the days of Edward I.[3] Principals were forbidden to take in students whom other Heads of Houses had expelled—at any rate till the offenders had been punished and satisfactory pledges of amendment had been given[4]—and they were required to swear that they would admit no one without good evidence of character.[5] But the Principals themselves, for fear of losing their profits, were often too lax in expelling or punishing delinquents; and as such remissness could only be due to a want of education, the University in 1432 insisted that all Principals and their substitutes should be graduates in future.[6] It was recognised that Principals ought to have some power to teach. Before the end of the century a new code of Hall Statutes was published, drawn up apparently in the Chancellorship of Gilbert Kymer and revised in that of Bishop Russell, which Principals and scholars were bound to study and observe. They forbade any Hall student to change his quarters to another Hall without the permission of his old Principal and the Chancellor's assent.[7] They limited the right of Principals to be absent during term time. They laid down rules of discipline and conduct, rules for study, for religious services, for orderly behaviour, for cleanliness and peace. They provided punishments, even whippings, for offenders. Boys who were still boys had to be forbidden to break windows, to spill liquor on the cloth, to cut their names on tables, to draw pictures on the walls. But the standards of

[1] *Ib.* (682). But there is no clear evidence that politics were involved.
[2] *Ep. Ac.* (387–8). There is a brief reference to the battle of Tewkesbury—" bellum de Teuxbury "—in the Proctors' Accounts of 1471 (*Med. Arch.* II, 303).
[3] *Mun. Ac.* (470).
[4] *Ib.* (252–3): the date should be March 1412.
[5] *Ib.* (279): the date should be March 1420.
[6] *Ib.* (307).
[7] *Ib.* (358–60). For the Aularian Statutes ordered in 1490 to be read in public every term, see Rashdall (II, 767 *sq.*), and later (Vol. II, Chap. XVI). The original MS. is in the Bodleian (*Rawl. Stats.* 34).

the Halls were scarcely distinguishable from those which the Colleges required, and they marked, no doubt, a further step in the process by which the old democratic and independent Halls of mediæval Oxford were being brought under University control.

It might be expected that these measures would have strengthened the position of the Halls. But as a matter of fact they went hand in hand with their decay. It may be that reform came too late to save a system which had already served its purpose. It may be that in days of political disturbance, with the number of students generally declining, and the Oxford grammar-schools going out of fashion, many of the old Halls were already almost empty, or had fallen into a condition which no reforms could revive. So late as 1462 we have a long list of Masters offering security as Principals to Chancellor and Proctors, and more than sixty Halls appear still to be in use.[1] The old names, White Hall and Black Hall, Vine Hall, Eagle Hall, Hawk Hall, Corner Hall and many another figure in the list. But before the middle of the next century most of these had gone. The Colleges were stepping into their places and were opening their doors to the undergraduate world. The inadequacy of the old Hall buildings and the overcrowding of students in small quarters probably contributed their share to this result. They contributed also to the insanitary conditions, to the outbreaks of pestilence of which the chronicles are full, to the bad air, the bad smells, the dirt and the bad drainage, which so often in mediæval Oxford brought diseases in their train.

But Hall students had clearly no monopoly of the troubles of the time. We still hear of many lively incidents, of a hot-headed scholar breaking a manciple's head, of a Commissary committing sins which called for his removal, of practices which recall Adam of Usk's adventure in stealing another man's horse.[2] Mendicant Friars had not ceased from troubling. One of them, William Russell, so shocked the University by his unconventional opinions on morals and on tithes, that Inceptors were required to abjure his doctrines. An Augustinian Canon was sent to prison for bearing arms. An Augustinian Friar took upon himself to excommunicate a Doctor of Divinity, and had to fly from Oxford for such gross contempt of the Chancellor's rights. The University could hardly bring itself to pardon him,

[1] *Mun. Ac.* (687–92). See also the earlier lists printed by Mr. Anstey (*Ib.* 519–22, 618–21, and 675–9) and dated respectively 1438, 1451 and 1458. The numbers are between sixty and seventy in each case.

[2] Adam of Usk, the chronicler, taught Canon Law in Oxford about 1387 and, it seems, Civil Law later. His strange theft in 1400 caused a scandal and interrupted his career. (See his *Chronicon*, ed. Thompson, 1904, xi–xiii and xxi–ii, and the references there given.)

even when Humphrey of Gloucester interceded in his behalf.[1] Unlicensed medical practitioners were still regarded as disturbers of the peace. Even authorised doctors might lose a part of their profits if they failed to complete a patient's cure.[2] Mediæval justice found obvious advantages in paying them by results. Begging was still sanctioned by the Chancellor's license. Poor scholars of Oxford still found it profitable to sing "at rich mens dores." Wood has a pleasant story of one rich man so pestered, who led the beggars to a well and bade them make verses on it or get nothing. The scholars, "scratching their heads and looking smilingly upon each other," produced after a little pause three Latin epigrams adroit enough to melt the hardest of hearts.[3] Even Bishops—*horribile dictu*—went astray. And Bishop Pecock's heresies made such a stir in clerical circles that the University authorities felt compelled to march in solemn procession to Carfax and there to preside over the burning of his books.[4]

Pecock, it must be admitted, had an unruly, independent mind. But it seems doubtful whether he would have been interfered with had not his patrons in politics been upon the losing side. As it was, the theological enemies whom he had made impartially in all camps, took advantage of Yorkist prejudice against him. He had won his reputation as a champion of the Church. He had justified and defended Popes and Bishops —not always in the most judicious way. He had laboured in his *Book of Faith* "to win the lay children of the Church into obedience," and to defend her doctrine upon rational grounds. His *Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy* is not only a fine argument in mediæval English, defending Church practices against the charges of the Lollards, but also a fine plea for moral law. But his Lancastrian friends were dead. The Friars remembered that he had called them "pulpit-brawlers." The Lollards loved him little. The Yorkist prelates loved him less. He got into difficulties over the early Fathers. He showed a readiness for criticism and a taste for contradiction which led him sometimes to contradict himself. And when he ventured to revise the Creed, all parties joined to overwhelm him. He was forced to resign and to recant.[5] Pecock had been a Fellow

[1] See *Ep. Ac.* (162–8).

[2] In March 1500 a certain Dionysius was adjudged to deserve only 23*s.* 4*d.*, out of 4 marks placed in the hands of an alderman, as he had not fully cured his patient (*Reg. A*, f. 32[a]).

[3] See Wood (*City*, I, 511–2).

[4] The ceremony apparently was performed twice over, in 1457 and again in 1476.

[5] Gascoigne is the chief contemporary authority for Pecock's life, and Wood (*Ann.* I, 603 *sq.*) reproduces his unfriendly views. See also the

of Oriel and at one time a teacher in Oxford. Gascoigne detested his opinions: and they may possibly have made some way among the younger students. But Oxford as a whole had outgrown its Wycliffism and heresy found it a barren soil. So orthodox indeed had the University become that, before the fifteenth century was over, the Pope seems to have given the Chancellor the right of conferring minor Orders and of licensing preachers to preach where they pleased.[1]

More serious than the fear of heresy was the general laxity and lowering of standards alike in the University and in the Church. Degrees at Oxford in the fifteenth century were often too easily obtained. "Wicked and debauched persons" managed to secure them. Early in the century the University resolved to disqualify candidates who obtained letters from influential persons to "extort" graces for degrees.[2] And in 1441 another Statute bewailed the multiplication of "inept and frivolous" Graces, and the disregard of the old rules of procedure on the subject.[3] Too much regard was paid, no doubt, to influence and rank.[4] Wood tells a story of an Archdeacon of Oxford about the middle of the century who owed his preferment to "a very great personage of Royal blood." He was "not only a Natural, but also a Sot." He was drunk every day. He could understand no more Latin than a parrot. His profession of faith was a profession of confidence in his income. And cases of this kind did not stand alone. "Virtue and learning went barefoot." Asses and fools with money and patrons behind them "rod in pompous array."[5] The Friars, not unready to criticise, complained that the University, like Eli, was declining into dotage and unable to see the errors of its sons.[6]

For all that, the Statutes adopted in the fifteenth century, even if partly ineffective, are a proof that higher standards

Life by Lewis, Waterland's *Works* (X, 213 *sq.*), Babington's edition of the *Repressor* in the Rolls Series, the valuable notice in *D.N.B.*, the *Camb. Hist. of English Lit.* (II, ch. XII), and E. M. Blackie's article in the *Eng. Hist. Review* (July 1911).

[1] With the consent of the Doctors of Divinity (*Ep. Ac.* 564, 567, under 1490).

[2] *Mun. Ac.* (332–3): but the date is before 1407.

[3] This Statute (*Ib.* 330–2—but the date should be February 1441) reaffirmed the old right of the Arts Faculty to deliberate first upon the grant of Graces. Other ordinances of 1421 and c. 1425 regulated the procedure of the Proctors in the grant of Graces, and insisted on secrecy in voting (*Ib.* 248–50, but Mr. Anstey's dates are wrong).

[4] Sir H. C. M. Lyte (329–30) gives instances of the University's partiality for men of rank).

[5] See Wood (*Ann.* I, 601–3), who quotes Gascoigne.

[6] See *Collectanea* (III, 188 *sq.*). Gascoigne's gloomy picture of the Church in the *Liber Veritatum* seems to have been largely justified by facts.

remained. Apart from the special ordinances for the New Schools and the Library, the Chests and the Halls, there were fresh regulations for the election of University officials, fresh Statutes for Determiners and Inceptors,[1] fresh orders to enforce attendance at lectures, to keep up disputations and to prevent their being curtailed.[2] There were rules to define the duties of the Proctors, to secure the better keeping of the muniments and the better keeping of accounts.[3] There were rules to regulate the fees of Bedels. In 1433 a dispute over the election of a Bedel raised and decided a constitutional question. The two Proctors and four Masters of Arts elected one candidate, the Chancellor and Doctors of four Faculties another. The latter claimed that the votes of the Artists ought to count as one vote only. But Congregation resolved that the term majority meant not a majority of Faculties but a majority of votes.[4] The Black Congregation may have lost its old importance, but the influence of the Artists was still too strong to set aside. There were rules to regulate the expenses of graduation. In 1443 the University admitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury that the cost of degrees was "immoderate and disgraceful." But in 1460 it assured the King with less candour that it was not true that the Mendicant Orders were obliged to pay heavily for Inception, and that the costs at Oxford were no greater than at Cambridge.[5] There was an important group of ordinances passed in May 1432, which summed up the law on a variety of subjects.[6] There were rules for University sermons and for the better keeping of the University seal, rules to expedite the administration of justice and rules to regulate appeals.[7] Rules also about clothes were frequently required. Such was the iniquity of certain Bachelors that, in order to vary the fashion of their hoods, they would break their oaths and imperil their souls.[8] Rules about precedence roused even stronger feelings. Doctors of Law and Doctors of Medicine each claimed to rank above the other. Bachelors of Law asserted their equality with Masters so persistently as to cause serious disputes. In 1435 the University appealed to the Duke of Gloucester and even to the King against the absurd presumption of the Bachelors. "Discord, the step-

[1] E.g. in 1409, 1470–77, and 1431 (*Mun. Ac.* 241–6, 239–41, and 288; but the dates there given are not always correct).
[2] *Ib.* (426–7, 411–2, 422–3) and *Aa* (89[b]).
[3] *Mun. Ac.* (466, 502, 317–20. Compare 109–10).
[4] *Ib.* (321–3).
[5] *Ep. Ac.* (230–1, 352–4).
[6] But some of those dated 1432 by Mr. Anstey (*Mun. Acad.* 314 *sq.*) should be dated about 1410.
[7] *Mun. Ac.* (260 and 231–2).
[8] *Ib.* (361: see also 301–2 and 448).

mother of the sciences and virtues," was bringing the Chancellor's authority into disrepute.[1] There was clearly no want of subjects for legislation or reform. And if the authorities were not always successful in enforcing the precepts they laid down, they at least recognised the need of revising their methods, of laying stress on the University's requirements, of trying to bring their turbulent community under more satisfactory control.

It is about the middle of the fifteenth century that the earliest Register of Congregation known to us begins.[2] Faded and imperfect as it is, its entries are yet full of interest. There are notes of some eleven hundred students between 1448 and 1463, of the degrees they sought, of the conditions imposed upon them, of the Graces they secured. There are many requests about the books to be read. One is allowed to dispense with Euclid, another to read the *De Anima* instead of the *Georgics*, another to study "Ptholomeus in Quatripartis"—all perhaps that a reasonable astronomer could require. There are many provisions about fees: contributions to the paving of the University Church or the completion of the Divinity School mark the stages in an academic course. There are many miscellaneous notices. A Proctor is mortally wounded in an affray between Peckwater Inn and St. Edward's Hall. An Archdeacon of Bath is munificent in his subscriptions. A Master of St. John's Hospital is banished for his misdemeanours and for breaking prison.[3] The records, no doubt, are incomplete. The Scribes or Registrars did not always do their duty, though Congregation voted them small fees for entering the names. In 1458 indeed John Farley, the Scribe, was so accomplished that he could write his name in Greek letters, which did credit to a New College man.[4] But a century later Thomas Keys or Caius, famous for his audacities in writing Oxford history, so disgraced himself by staying away from Congregation and by his carelessness about his entries and his dues, that the University had to expel him from office. Keys, it is sad to relate, lost his temper, and smacked the face of a Master who was ordered to detain him. He was sent to prison to purge his misconduct, but survived to become Master of University College—no unfit place for a mythologist—in 1561.[5] The old Registers are full of

[1] *Ep. Ac.* (115–16, 130–3). See also *Mun. Ac.* (300).

[2] *Register Aa* contains entries from 1448 to 1463, with one or two leaves possibly of earlier date. The next Registers which survive, G and H, run from 1505 to 1517 and from 1518 to 1535.

[3] See Boase (*Register*, I, 1–33).

[4] "*Ιωαννης Φαρλει Ταβελλιον Οξον*" (*Ib.* I, 32). See also Salter (*Med. Arch.* II, 284–6).

[5] He ceased to be Scribe in 1552. (See Boase, *Reg.* I, vi–vii and 143, and Clark, *Reg.* II, i, 249–50.)

human touches. Much more than the routine of mediæval Oxford lives in their attenuated lists.

Many of the University's letters written in the fifteenth century are preserved in the manuscript volume in the Archives known as *Registrum F.*[1] They are full of wordy rhetoric, of exaggerated metaphor, of high-flown compliment, after the fashion of the times. Humphrey of Gloucester is a "light-bearing star and a most unshakeable column." His liberality is a heavenly inspiration, his life and morals an example to the world. Earl Tiptoft of Worcester is as upright as he is eloquent. The Bishop of Salisbury is a raft in shipwreck. The Archbishop of Canterbury's glory blinds the University as owls are blinded by the sun.[2] When Edward IV sends his nephew Edward Pole to Oxford, "the noble infant so eagerly desired," the University's emotions can hardly be restrained within the limits of the Latin tongue.[3] When Pole's companion, Stanley's brother, is discovered after Bosworth to be a great personage in the State, the University protests that, while not quite an Aristotle or an Augustine, he is only less dear to it than Stanley's son.[4] And yet through all this adulation a good deal of independence shows. The University rarely hesitates to stand up for its liberties and rights. It declines to re-admit offenders, even though the King desires it. It is very reluctant, even after Bosworth, to hand over a Bishop who is a political refugee. It will allow no invasions of its jurisdiction. It would rather die, it tells the Archbishop, than allow its privileges to be violated or broken.[5] It speaks its mind, in spite of circumlocution, whenever its real interests need defence.

The burden of many of the letters is of course the want of funds. Poverty is the "execrable step-mother of study." The University, once so famous, has in 1438 and 1439 become squalid and sad. Few students now wish to come to Oxford. The Halls and Inns are empty or destroyed. The doors of the Schools are closed. Not a thousand scholars are left. Thirty years later only the intercession of St. Frideswide can save the University from peril and decay. Learned men seek in vain for preferment. The wisest teachers and the most industrious students are left to languish in want until old age.[6] Again and again the University

[1] Mr. Anstey printed this in 1898 under the title of *Epistolæ Academicæ Oxon.* (O.H.S.). See also Dr. Clark's note on the other University Letter-books (Wood's *Life*, IV, 132–3).

[2] See *Epist. Acad.* (152, 139, 203, 355, 126, 185).

[3] *Ib.* (457 and 463). See also the Stonor Papers (Camden Soc., II, 137) and *Med. Arch.* (II, 292).

[4] *Ep. Ac.* (499).

[5] *Ib.* (264, 486, 513 *sq.*, 269, 504).

[6] *Ib.* (154–7, 186–7, 359–62).

pleads for relief from taxation, especially for its unbeneficed clerks. Again and again it presses on the Heads of the Church the urgent need of more benefices for its Masters, if learning is to live. Once at least, in 1450, it is startled by an alarming rumour that Parliament is meditating the resumption of all Royal grants of land for pious uses. This would have meant ruin for the Colleges, and strong protests were sent up to Parliament, to the Lord Chancellor and to the Duke of York, from the "moder, lanterne, and welle" of the clergy, in metaphors which must have touched the stoniest hearts.[1] The Lords were appealed to in Latin. With the Commons forcible English was sometimes thought more likely to prevail. And once or twice one is led to suspect that the University, in its wish to stimulate charity, overstates the tale of its distress. But the general picture is scarcely painted too dark. There is no doubt that in fifteenth-century England the needs and anxieties of the University were serious enough.

Meanwhile the old formulas were losing their authority. The old methods of scholastic disputation had fallen into disrepute. In the Arts Schools in Schools Street teaching, apparently, languished.[2] Many a fifteenth century student,

"When through the casement sang the Spring,"

found life less exciting in the lecture-room than out of doors. Many a fifteenth-century parent, no doubt, echoed the instinctive cry which has leaped to the lips of the English upper classes even in days less distant from our own: "I swear by God's body I'd rather that my son should hang than study letters."[3] Yet a new generation with new learning was arising. Ideas more captivating even than the springtime were laying hold of men. Far away in Italy the dawn had broken. A revolution more momentous than any change of dynasties had begun. Greek teachers from the East were gathering disciples. Greek manuscripts were flowing into the libraries of the West. Men of taste and fortune vied with each other in securing them. Delighted students, copyists, interpreters, translators, pored over their texts. The spell of Italy, always powerful with churchmen, drew scholars irresistibly over the Alps. From Oxford a remarkable group of students went to listen to the lectures of Guarino at Ferrara. Robert Fleming, Dean of Lincoln, whose uncle the Bishop had already founded Lincoln College, carried back precious manuscripts for the little College Library, and among them, no

[1] *Ep. Ac.* (287–94).
[2] Under Edward IV, says Wood (*Ann.* I, 631).
[3] Quoted by Furnivall in *The Babees Book* (ed. 1868, xiii), from the Prefatory Letter in Pace's *De Fructu.*

doubt, his own Latin poems. An Oxford Professor has reprinted "three chaste and strong hexameters," in which Fleming celebrated the majesty of a far from venerable Pope.[1] William Gray of Balliol, not contented with studying at Oxford and Cologne, made his way by Florence and Padua to Ferrara, and there set up a splendid household till he moved on to Rome. Gray soon learned even better than Fleming to make use of Greek scholarship and Italian art, and brought back a far more famous store of manuscripts to enrich the Library of his old College. John Free of Balliol, a much poorer student, followed Gray to Ferrara, and made such a reputation by his learning that he was invited to write a new epitaph for Petrarch's tomb. He was perhaps the most celebrated English scholar of his day. He made more money, however, by practising medicine, and he did not fear to produce a panegyric upon baldness,[2] an ailment which his medicines failed to cure. The Pope nominated him to an English Bishopric, but he died before entering into possession of his See. John Gunthorpe, it seems, accompanied Free from Balliol to Ferrara, and his fame for scholarship won him Royal favour and a succession of posts and embassies later. Head for a time of King's Hall at Cambridge, he gave manuscripts both to Cambridge and to Oxford, and built himself at Wells a noble Deanery close to the Cathedral in which he lies. A greater personage, John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, was as quick as Gray to secure Italian treasures, as eager as Free or his fellow-scholars to learn all that Italy could teach. Even Archbishop Neville employed Greek scribes to copy manuscripts for him,[3] and his friend Bishop Shirwood of Durham brought from Rome a library of classics which Fox finally bestowed on Corpus College.

The full effects of the Italian Renaissance were not seen in England till a generation later. They were visible earlier abroad, where John Wessel and Rudolph Agricola had come back from Italy to lecture to the Heidelberg students, and where Hegius[4] was preparing himself to be schoolmaster to Erasmus. But before the Wars of the Roses were over the new influences were

[1] See Warton (*Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, Sect. xxxv). Fleming's *Lucubratiunculæ Tiburtinæ in Laudem Sixti IV* were printed in Rome in 1477. Warton is not always exact.

[2] For the popularity of Free's translation of the *Φαλάκρας ἐγκώμιον* of Synesius of Cyrene—"a Paradoxe, proving by reason and example that Baldnesse is much better than Bushie Haire"—see the article on *Phreas* in *D.N.B.* Free was at Ferrara probably between 1455 and 1465.

[3] Mr. P. S. Allen (*Age of Erasmus*, 121–3) gives details of two or three who were working in England between 1470 and 1500.

[4] Alexander of Heek in Westphalia. On these early German Humanists and others see the first chapter of Mr. Allen's book cited above.

at work in Oxford life. Cornelio Vitelli had brought his Greek learning from Italy, and Warden Chaundler had invited him to New College,[1] where his own good Latin was a source of pride. Grocyn, "the patriarch of English learning," had left New College for Magdalen, and was soon to be studying in the cities of the South. William Selling had travelled abroad and made friends with Politian. He had brought back the same love of Greek to his great Priory at Canterbury, and had made young Linacre a greater scholar than himself.[2] Another monk, Millyng, the well-known Abbot of Westminster, who gave sanctuary to Edward IV's family and fed them with "halfe a loaf and two muttons daily" in the hour of their distress, had learned still earlier at Gloucester College the scholarship which distinguished him in later years. John Colet, a grave boy, was already studying at Oxford. Linacre had just become a Fellow of Chichele's foundation. William Lily was soon to be a member of Magdalen, and William Latimer was to follow Linacre to All Souls. The Schoolmen still held the fortress, but the New Learning was knocking at the gates. Dimly but surely the new spirit had begun to work. A few years more and even Colet would be condemning Aquinas for his "preposterous philosophy," and Erasmus, yawning over the "accursed" volumes of Duns Scotus,[3] would be wondering whether, while the world moved onwards, the teachers of theology had not fallen asleep.

In the dawn of this new era a King, not too sure of his subjects, thought it advisable to treat the Oxford Masters as his friends. Richard III's visit to the University was the last memorable incident in Oxford history before the Middle Ages passed away. The first of the Plantagenets had watched from his Palace at Beaumont the University beside him springing into life. The last of his House found it deeply rooted in antiquity, even if its spirit and its numbers had recently declined. Richard like his brother stayed at Magdalen, and not in the Carmelite Convent which had once been the home of English Kings. In July 1483 he arrived from Windsor with a company of lords and Bishops, Lincoln and Surrey, Lovel and Stanley, Beauchamp, Audley and the rest. He was met, says Wood, by the Chancellor,

[1] About 1475. See Prof. Burrows' article on Grocyn (*Collectanea*, II, 337 *sq.*). In Paris Greek is said to have been taught from 1458 (Crévier, *L'Université de Paris*, IV, 243 *sq.*). The earlier attempts to found Chairs for Greek and Hebrew at European Universities were missionary efforts to facilitate the conversion of Jews and Turks.

[2] On Selling see Gasquet (*Eve of the Reformation*, 24 *sq.*). Leland calls him "Gulielmus Tillæus, alias Cellingus" (*De Script. Britan.*, ed. Hall, 482–3). As a monk he could not have been at All Souls.

[3] The epithets are from Mr. Froude's translation (*Life and Letters of Erasmus*, ed. 1910, 106 and 75).

Regents and Non-Regents at the town's end, and "honourably and processionably received into Magdalen College." The University gave the party wine and gloves. Two days were spent in paying visits and in hearing disputations. Moral Philosophy and Theology, it seems, had a special interest for the King. The Muses "crowned his brows with fragrant wreaths for his entertainment," and in return the Royal bounty was liberally displayed. Richard passed on with his retinue to Woodstock, leaving a grateful and submissive University behind.

The town that King Richard saw had altered greatly since Queen Eleanor lodged at Beaumont and Fair Rosamund took refuge in her Nunnery beyond. But still on the low slope between the rivers the same close-set rectangle stood. The ancient walls still girdled it. The ancient parishes and churches for the most part still survived, though St. Mary's was falling into ruin and schemes for its rebuilding were on foot.[1] The town's old liberties had dwindled as the privileges of the clerks within it grew. But it still had a bustling market and thriving trade. New towers and parapets, new chapels and quadrangles had encroached upon the old, narrow lanes. Others had spread beyond the town limits, where Balliol had set the example of building. All Souls was already beginning to mellow. At Magdalen the new-cut stone must still have been shining as white as the rose on the Founder's tower. But the great bell-tower had not yet risen beside the Cherwell, to cast its spell on every traveller approaching from the East, and within the College precincts many relics of the older Hospital, of its buildings and gardens and meadows, remained. Passing West, beyond the ground where dead, forgotten Jews were lying, and entering the town by the East gate under battlemented walls, King Richard saw the main line of the High Street curve before him much as it curves to-day. To the left were the Saracen's Head and the Tabard,[2] and other low-built timbered houses, where Waynflete had first housed the scholars of Magdalen Hall. To the right was St. Peter's Church, where Edmund Rich perhaps had worshipped, and many a generation of priests and students since. Beyond lay Queen's, still hidden from the High Street, University opposite, with its early, irregular court in great part recently rebuilt, All Souls in its new splendour, and St. Mary's in woeful disrepair. Old Halls and Inns for students were scattered among the neighbouring streets. Schools Street ran between busy, noisy little buildings, but less busy and noisy than of yore, to the new Divinity School—with the still newer

[1] The chancel of course was already rebuilt—in 1462.

[2] The Tabard was afterwards the Angel. Its site is now within the new Examination Schools.

Library above it—made ready perhaps for a disputation in the Royal presence. Further West again rose Exeter College, already venerable in its associations, with Lincoln, the new bulwark against heresy, just founded afresh by Rotherham's munificence, and behind to the North-east lay the lofty walls of New College, no longer meriting its misleading name. Across the main street from St. Mary's, where amid overhanging houses dark, ill-paved lanes ran to the South wall, the Oriel buildings stretched towards Merton. The Black Monks of Canterbury kept or forgot their vows. And St. Frideswide's, sunk in immemorial slumbers, recked nothing of the Cardinal destined to destroy it, who for his part, untainted by ambition, was still dreaming the dreams of childhood in his Suffolk home.

But though the University overshadowed it, the vigour of the town survived. If St. Mary's spire dominated the High Street, St. Martin's at Carfax was the centre of municipal life. There the Craft of Tailors had their chantry and an upper window emblazoned with their shears. The tailors' shops were mostly, it seems, in St. Michael's parish, and on St. John's eve they made merry, sometimes too merry, with dance and music, "caressing themselves with all Joviality in Meats and Drinks." The Company of Barbers had their customs also. They paid to keep a light for ever burning in Our Lady's Chapel at St. Frideswide's. On Sundays they shaved none but those who had religious duties to perform.[1] The Cooks had only lately secured incorporation and the Chancellor's sanction for their feast at Whitsuntide. If King Richard rode up the High Street he must have found the various traders in their stations, as the regulations of the market and the town required. The Market Ordinance of 1319 had placed the sellers of straw with their teams in the middle of the highway between East Gate and All Saints' Church. The sellers of pigs were to be on the North side between All Saints' and St. Mary's, with the sellers of wood opposite on the South side of the street. The sellers of ale were a little further West, and the glove-sellers also, between All Saints' and the Mitre. The sellers of bread and milk and eggs and butter were posted about Carfax, where the throng was thickest. The butchers had stalls in the High Street, though Butcher's Rows grew up elsewhere. The drapers gathered round St. Martin's, the corn-sellers towards North Gate. The fishmongers and cooks were found about the Vintry in St. Aldate's. But as time passed the rules for traders varied, and the old positions had, no doubt, altered to some extent by King Richard's day.[2] Beyond the South Gate, in the water-meadows,

[1] See Boase (*Oxford*, 38 *sq.*).

[2] One cannot speak with certainty as to details at different dates. But

and Westwards where the broken streams wandered under the Castle walls, the Black Friars and Grey Friars had their quarters. Round to the North, beyond the Castle outworks, beyond Bocardo and the old town ditch, dwelt other Friars and monks, in Beaumont and in Gloucester Hall. St. Bernard's College fronted on St. Giles'. Balliol and Durham College opened off Candich or Horsemonger Lane. Further East again the Austin Friars, outside Smith Gate, looked back across the walls to New College. Holywell was still a country manor, with its own church and green and mill and watercourses, but its old wool-market may have disappeared. Through all these streets,[1] past gate and bastion, church and tavern, shop and stall, a tide of young life flowed and ebbed, clerics and laymen, students and idlers, brawlers and dreamers, soldiers, citizens, packmen, women, monks, adding ever to the stir, the colour, the vivid picturesqueness of the scene. The King who looked down upon the pageant, and received perhaps its unwilling tribute as he passed, was to end an era in its history, as he ended the great dynasty from which he sprang. With Bosworth Field a different chapter opens. A fresh wind rushes through the Schools. The old Gods begin to tumble from their places. New aims in learning and new conceptions of theology arise.

see Dr. Ogle's article on the Oxford Market in *Collectanea* (Series II), Clark's edition of Wood's *City* (I, 469–98), Boase (*Oxford*, 57–8), and Salter (*Mun. Civ. Ox.* xxxiii). The map from Dr. Clark's edition of Wood is reproduced in *Collectanea*, but is not necessarily exact in all particulars.

[1] Sloping from each side to a kennel (canal) in the centre. Compare Brasenose Lane to-day.

CHAPTER IX

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY COLLEGES LINCOLN, ALL SOULS, MAGDALEN AND OTHERS

OF the three Colleges founded in the fifteenth century[1] Lincoln, designed as a protest against heresy, was the least fortunate in the chances of its birth. Richard Fleming, the Bishop who began it and who named it from his See, is not at this date an easy man to judge. In his earlier years he was conspicuous in Oxford. A handsome Yorkshireman[2] from University College, he served as Northern Proctor in 1407. He was responsible for the preparation of the Junior Proctor's book.[3] He regulated and perhaps reformed the system of disputation. He was actively concerned in University business. And, unless his contemporaries misjudged him, he was at one time a supporter of some of Wycliffe's views. Archbishop Arundel at any rate had no doubt that Fleming was an opponent of his own. He denounced him as no wiser than the beardless boys who tried to teach before they knew how to spell, and he overwhelmed with ecclesiastical thunders the damned conclusions which they damnably espoused.[4] Yet within a few years of this sweeping censure Fleming is found, with Repington, who was clearly an old Wycliffite, active on the orthodox side. He received encouraging preferment. In 1420 he succeeded to Repington's great Bishopric at Lincoln.[5] In 1423 he appeared as spokesman of the English Church abroad. He won the Pope's favour by championing the Papacy. He

[1] That is, founded to endure. St. Mary's and St. Bernard's belonged to the same era, but have passed away.

[2] "Juvenis forma speciosus," says his epitaph (Wood, *Colleges*, 235), and the statement has been unkindly attributed to the Bishop himself.

[3] For an account of this book see Anstey (*Mun. Ac.* 237–9).

[4] See Wilkins (*Concilia*, III, 322). For Fleming's life see the Introduction to the *Visitations of Religious Houses* (Lincoln, I) published by the Canterbury and York Society, and the sketch drawn and the authorities quoted by Dr. Poole in *D.N.B.*

[5] He was nominated by the Pope in 1419 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, II, 17). It is quite likely that Fleming's differences with Arundel were political rather than theological. Repington's change of opinion is better established.

secured from Martin V a nomination to the Archbishopric of York. And though the King's Council refused to sanction this promotion, Fleming's attachment to ecclesiastical authority steadily increased. In 1427 he received the Royal license to found a "little College of theologists" at Oxford, to defend the cause of orthodoxy against the "swinish snouts" who presumed to feed upon its precious pearls.[1] And before he died he cleared himself for ever from all suspicion of the like profanity by digging up Wycliffe's bones at Lutterworth and throwing them into the Swift.

Fleming's opinions and his reasons for revising them may after five centuries be allowed to rest in peace. But the Bishop had little beyond the soundness of his doctrines to bequeath to the College he designed. He obtained leave from the Crown to unite the three Oxford parish churches of All Saints', St. Mildred's and St. Michael's by the North Gate, and to establish in All Saints' a College consisting of a Rector and seven Scholars.[2] St. Mildred's Church disappeared. Its churchyard and some buildings near it went to form a site for the new foundation. Two Chaplains were appointed to serve the two churches that remained. As King and Parliament and Primate, the Archdeacon of Oxford and the Mayor and the parishioners apparently approved of this arrangement, no one else had a right to complain. But the revenues forthcoming must have been very scanty, even counting all church offerings, fees and Sunday pence. Fleming's charter creating the College and appointing the first Rector was dated December 1429. He seems to have begun the buildings and to have started the Library. He reminded himself that Ovid had promised immortality to men who carried through great designs.

> "Tale opus hic feci, quod ego per sæcula cuncta,
> Si quid habent veri ratum præsagia, vivam."

But he died suddenly in January 1431, before his plans were completed, and the life of his little foundation was left hanging in the balance for some years.

John Beke, however, the second Rector, appointed in 1434, proved a strong and energetic ruler. He secured powerful assistance. The Archdeacon of Oxford gave a "notable sum of money." John Forest, Canon of Lincoln and Dean of Wells, undertook to build a Chapel and a Library, a Hall and kitchen,

[1] See Fleming's Preface to the Statutes (*Stats. of Oxford Colls.*, Lincoln, 7).

[2] See the wording of Henry VI's license (*Ib.* 4–6). Fleming was empowered "easdem ecclesias sic unitas, annexas, et incorporatas, Ecclesiam Omnium Sanctorum nominare; et eandem ecclesiam in ecclesiam collegiatam sive Collegium erigere."

and chambers above and below. Parishioners and neighbours were induced to help. A house or two in Oxford, an estate at Botley, the venerable mill at Iffley, far more venerable to-day, a grant from Cardinal Beaufort's executors, and lands and gifts from other sources were secured. Before Beke was succeeded by Tristropp as Rector in the early months of 1461, the modest little "College of the Blessed Mary and All Saints of Lincoln in the University of Oxford" was fairly on its feet. The Founder had proposed a Society consisting of a Rector, seven Scholars and two Chaplains. Another Scholar or Fellow was nominated to pray for a special benefactor's soul. A Bible-clerk, a chorister from Lincoln, was appointed, to wait at table, to read the Gospel and to say grace at meals. Still the danger of confiscation was not over. Courtiers were covetous and a Civil War was going on. George Neville had to be entreated to deliver the College from "greedy thieves of dogs and plunderers." Edward IV confirmed its rights by charter.[1] Tristropp, appointed in the difficult days when Edward was fighting to seize the Crown, proved equal to the task of defending his dominions. He secured a valuable donation from the executors of Bishop Bekynton of Bath and Wells. Above all, Thomas Rotherham, Bishop of Lincoln, visiting the College in 1474, and moved by an eloquent and pitiful appeal, promised "with great love and affection" to perfect the work which his predecessor had begun, and established on a sure foundation the house which Fleming had so scantily endowed.[2]

[1] The wording of the charter of 1462 proved faulty, and another charter was needed in 1478, to prevent the extinction of the College. (See Clark's *Lincoln*, 23 and 28.)

[2] Dr. A. Clark's *Lincoln* in the Oxford College Histories, to which I am constantly indebted, is the chief recent authority for its annals, and is of course fuller and later than his article in the *Colleges of Oxford*. Wood's sketch (*Colleges*, 234–51) is slight. Rotherham's Statutes, preserved in the College Archives in a copy signed by Rotherham himself, were printed in 1853 from copies in the British Museum and at Trinity College, Cambridge (*Stats. of Colls. of Oxford*, I), together with Fleming's Preface, the Royal Patent of Foundation, and the Darby Statutes of 1537. The *Second Report of the Historical MSS. Commission* (130–2) gives some account of the College Archives. The most interesting documents in the muniment room, which the Rector kindly allowed me to examine, include an early lease (1286) of a Hall between All Saints' and St. Mildred's, a conveyance of a toft to Fleming in July 1430, an agreement in regard to a gift of books by Thomas Gascoigne in 1432, letters and deeds relating to Beke the Rector and to patrons like Southam and Forest in 1437, and Edward IV's confirmation of charters in 1462 and 1478. Henry VI's charter of October 1427 and Fleming's charter of December 1429 are missing. But the substance of them is included, with other early documents of interest, in the volume of transcripts made probably about 1730 by William Vesey, a Fellow of the College. The

LINCOLN COLLEGE IN 1566
(Bereblock)

Theology, "empress and mistress of all Faculties," was the study which Fleming had enjoined on his Fellows. He may have sketched some regulations for them.[1] But it was left for Rotherham in 1480 to draw up the code of Statutes, which with few changes governed the College for nearly four hundred years. Rotherham, himself, so far as we can judge him, stands out as a noble figure in ignoble times. Bishop of Lincoln,[2] Archbishop of York, Chancellor of the Kingdom, a great lawyer and a great diplomatist, he was a powerful Minister under Edward IV and a faithful friend to Elizabeth Woodville in the hour of her distress. He was a faithful friend also to both Universities, though Cambridge has the better right to claim him as a son, large-handed in his gifts for education, munificent in the buildings which he planned. The number of Fellows at Lincoln was raised to twelve, exclusive of the Rector.[3] New endowments were procured to support them. Dagville's Inn in the High Street took the episcopal sign of the Mitre when it passed into the possession of the College. It brought with it the garden where now the Oxford market stands. Gradually the little Society's resources increased. Compared with New College or with Magdalen, it still remained a very poor foundation. But it was able to maintain its members and to perform the services required.[4]

Rotherham's Statutes provided that the Fellows should nearly all be chosen from the dioceses of Lincoln and of York.[5] They were intended to be graduates; Bachelors of Arts were to be elected only if Masters failed.[6] All Fellows, save one Canonist, were to be students of theology. They were to take

most important College *Register* runs from 1577 to 1739, and though very empty during the Civil War is often full of interest. But an older *Register*, sometimes rather casual and scrappy, contains entries of an earlier date. The Bursars' Accounts run from early years; and among the fourteen volumes of MS. collections for the College history left in the Bodleian by Dr. Clark there are seven volumes of notes taken from the College accounts and full of interesting details. Dr. Ogle made in 1893 a catalogue of all the documents then in the muniment room of the College. The question of saving them from damp is urgent, both at Lincoln and elsewhere.

[1] Rotherham speaks of certain ordinances conceived and never executed by the Founder (*Statutes*, Lincoln, 12).

[2] And previously Bishop of Rochester.

[3] The total was raised to fifteen by Archdeacon Darby's benefaction in 1537–8. But it was reduced again to twelve in 1606.

[4] In the time of Henry VIII, Magdalen revenues stood at £1,066, New College revenues at £877, and Lincoln revenues at £101 (Clark, *Lincoln*, 38).

[5] There was to be one from the diocese of Wells (*Stats.* cap. 1).

[6] Under the Darby donation, undergraduates might come in if graduates failed (*Ib.* p. 38).

Priest's Orders, to become Bachelors of Divinity within eight or nine years of their necessary Regency, and Doctors within six years more. The Doctorate, a long, expensive business, may have proved for some a counsel of perfection; but there were plenty of clerical duties for the Fellows to perform—prayers for the souls of benefactors, celebrations in the Chapel, commemoration of the College Saints. Services also had to be arranged for the churches which the Society owned, All Saints' and St. Michael's in Oxford, Twyford and Combe Longa outside.[1] For training in study disputations were provided, and rules for reading and the use of books laid down. A Sub-Rector helped to govern the College, a Treasurer or Bursar saw to its accounts. The Sub-Rector, it seems, was the *Corrector* also, and kept a four-tailed scourge to discipline his colleagues.[2] Two important yearly chapters, for elections, for business and for questions of conduct, were ordained. Fellows incorrigibly incontinent or criminous were to be deprived. Above all, "diseased sheep," tainted with pestiferous heresies, were to be turned out of the sheep-fold. Regular residence in Oxford was expected, except for six weeks in the Long Vacation. The Fellows' commons were fixed at sixteen pence a week. They had rooms rent free. They shared the services of the College servants, the manciple, the barber, the laundress and the cook.[3] They might earn something by attending services. They might hold property and benefices of small value which did not involve residence or duties elsewhere. And as time passed other small allowances or pittances, for clothing, food and pay dropped in.[4] The Rector was the only College officer who might hold preferment. He and the other officers had salaries allotted to them, the Rector forty shillings, the Sub-Rector and Treasurer thirteen shillings and fourpence each. The Rector also had an honest clerk to serve him and to read the Bible during meals, who received board and lodging, shaving and washing at the Society's expense. Commoners admitted by the Sub-Rector were allowed to attend disputations, and a few Commoners must have shared in the life of the College, though not in its endowments, almost from the first.[5] But there was no other provision for teaching outsiders, and the tutorial system was still far to seek.

[1] Rotherham apparently intended the Fellows to help in all four churches (*Ib.* pp. 22, 29, 30). At All Saints' and St. Michael's special duties were assigned. An occasional English sermon had to be preached.

[2] See Clark (*Lincoln*, 208).

[3] The Darby Statutes later speak of a manciple, bible-clerk, barber, cook and poor scholar as common servants.

[4] Dr. Clark gives a list of these small endowments (*Colls. of Oxf.* 185–7).

[5] Dr. Clark has noted the names of five Commoners paying rent for

Rotherham saved and re-established the College, and under the early Tudors the quiet tide of prosperity flowed on. Fresh lands and benefactions increased the College revenues. Bishop Smyth of Lincoln gave five hundred acres. Bishop Audley of Salisbury gave money for lands and built a chantry chapel in Salisbury Cathedral to be served by a Lincoln man.[1] Archdeacon Darby of Stow founded three new Fellowships. Had not the Fellows had an unfortunate knack of offending their well-wishers, their revenues, it seems, would have been enlarged still more. Later on, in 1568, Mrs. Trapps, the widow of a famous London goldsmith, left funds to provide for four poor scholars, who ranked below the Fellows and Commoners, and who were expected to wait at table and to render some service in consideration of the privileges which they received.[2] One of the Trapps Scholarships was connected with Sandwich: the Master of the Elizabethan Grammar School at Sandwich was nominated by the College: and two other Scholarships founded in the seventeenth century established afterwards a connection with Leicester. But the Tudor age had special perils for a College concerned to defend the ancient faith. Beke and Tristropp must have been strong rulers, but there is little to say of their immediate successors till Rector Cottisford in the sixteenth century found himself called on to take sharp measures against the early Reformers. Cottisford was Commissary or Vice-Chancellor in 1527, and he lived through many changes. He had to obey the orders of Wolsey and the still more difficult requirements of the King. His attempt to imprison Thomas Garret, for circulating Tyndale's New Testament in Oxford, in a cellar underneath his Lodgings where the salt fish for fasting-days was kept, added a touch of comedy to the serious controversies of his day.[3]

Cottisford figures with others in the accounts kept by the Bursars, which from the fifteenth century onwards are full of interesting details. We have notes of receipts from rents and from collections in the College churches. Rents in kind—apples, bacon, hens—are paid by the College tenants. Rents of rooms vary from ten shillings, twelve shillings, twenty shillings in 1582 to as much as forty shillings in 1612. But some are as low as six shillings or even four. And for special tenants in the Civil

rooms in 1456. These "Commensales" may have brought in servitors (see *Lincoln*, 16, and *Statss.* cap. 3).

[1] See Clark (*Lincoln*, 33–5). It was not till Tudor times that Dagville's Inn, formerly Croxford's Inn and afterwards the Mitre, fell in to the College, though the bequest dated from 1476 (*Ib.* 31–3).

[2] Their stipends seem to have varied from 53*s.* 4*d.* to 56*s.* 8*d.* or more (*Ib.* 47 and 146). They were limited to 56*s.* 8*d.* in 1655 (College *Register* from 1577, f. 101[a]).

[3] See later (pp. 441–2).

War they ran up to as much as three or four pounds. Rents of studies about 1612 began as low as four shillings and ran up to eighteen or twenty: the rooms evidently varied a good deal. There must have been fireplaces in some chambers in the fifteenth century: chimneys were constructed in 1487. But the first use of sea-coal seems to be in 1656. Wooden beds in chambers are mentioned about 1510, a table-cloth, for the high table probably, a little earlier, table-towels about 1514. There are all sorts of little homely charges—twopence half-penny for spice to the potage, thirteen pence "for puddings and good ayle at the accompts" in 1548. A few years earlier there is a note for making verjuice. A hundred years later two pounds and nine shillings are charged "for vinegar to Rector and Fellows for the whole yeare." There are constant charges for wine, one for "whyne and streberries" for the Rector and guests in 1512. In 1571 a mustard-pot is mentioned, in 1655 tobacco. Other miscellaneous charges, for repairs, for mending the pump or the organ, for cleansing the dove-house, for rushes, tapers, liveries, are constantly appearing. We have an interesting note in 1550 of eighteen pence charged for "Sir Atkyns commons when he was in Bocardo," and another about the same date "spent when we fysshed 2*s.* 6*d.*" In the Civil War there are many illuminating entries—"to the King's trumpeter iv*d.*" . . . "to the Prince's footemen 10*s.*" . . . "for a kettle for the magazine 5*s.*" . . . "for keeping a soldier a month 17*s.* 6*d.*" Or again, in 1645, "Dno. Regi pro militibus £3 18*s.*," with the Rector's over-trustful comment "to be paid againe." We have notes about the College vine, about the gardens, arbours, alleys, about the tennis court and butts. We hear of a summer-house in 1626, of rose-bushes in 1661, coming in perhaps, like the cushions in Chapel, with other luxuries of the Restoration. We have notes about the kitchen, the quadrangle and the Library: the librarian's pay is ten shillings a quarter in 1641. Generation after generation the accounts bear their intimate, unfailing witness to the occupations and vicissitudes of College life.[1]

Cottisford's successor, Hugh Weston, reigned from 1539 to 1556. He contrived to find security under King Henry. He was arrested under King Edward. But he triumphed in Queen Mary's reign. Weston is notorious for presiding at the disputation which tormented Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley. His influence and preferments were considerable and included the Deaneries of Westminster and Windsor. If Pole's charge of gross immorality was justified, Weston must have needed the Masses which he established at Balliol and Lincoln for the

[1] I owe these details to Dr. Clark's volumes of MS. notes on the Lincoln accounts in the Bodleian.

good of his soul. As the Reformation proceeded, the College fell under suspicion. The older members, it seems, dropped away. Graduates became so scarce that undergraduate Fellows had to be elected.[1] Rector Henshaw, who succeeded in 1558,[2] could not accept the views of Queen Elizabeth. In 1560 Francis Babington of All Souls, who had only lately been made Master of Balliol, was appointed irregularly in his place, and three years later another outsider, John Bridgewater of Brasenose, came in. But both Babington and Bridgewater clung to the old order and were ultimately driven to resign. Bridgewater fled to Douai, plunged into controversial theology and Latinised his name as "Aquapontanus." Several of his pupils at Lincoln shared his opinions and his exile. One of them, William Gifford, became Archbishop of Rheims. Another, Walter Harte, a Traps Scholar in 1571, lived to be hanged, drawn and quartered as an obstinate Romanist at York. These nominations to the Rectorship could not be thought satisfactory, whether Leicester was responsible for them or not. But in 1577 John Underhill of New College was appointed by the Chancellor, in spite of vehement opposition from some of the Fellows, who protested to the Archbishop of Canterbury against "a straunge, preiudiciall, and terryble example to all elections in theyr common weale." And even after Leicester's death, the College was scarcely more fortunate in its selection. Underhill's successor, Kilby, was constantly engaged in quarrels with his colleagues. He seems to have prevented the election of new Fellows, so as to maintain the income of the old.[3]

Numbers increased in spite of irregularities: the total on the books seems from Twyne's statement to have risen to a hundred and nine in 1612.[4] In 1606 Fellow-Commoners began to be admitted. But in the early seventeenth century brawling and drinking, quarrels and mismanagement were rife. The old College records are frank in their details.[5] One Fellow, "Sir" Lodington, who had scandalised the town, was sentenced to make an oration in Chapel on the perils of a dissolute life, and to set down also the chief questions in the third book of Aristotle's

[1] In 1555. Yet in the list of Fellows in the College Register in 1558 only one is described as "non graduatus" (Clark, *Lincoln*, 42).

[2] Between Weston and Henshaw, Christopher Hargreaves, a well-known adherent of the Romanist party, intervened.

[3] But there may have been something to say for the reduction of Fellowships in 1606, if their small value led to frequent resignations.

[4] But in 1605 the total was put at only fifty-four (Clark, *Lincoln*, 62). Remembering the accommodation, Twyne's figures seem high; but they are the same as Langbaine's in 1651.

[5] See the *Second Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission* (131–2), Clark's *Lincoln* (Chap. VIII), and the College *Register* (*passim*).

De Anima, "painfully and studiously done by himself." Another, Master Smyth, broke his great cudgel on the head of Master North, and owned that his conduct "might rather have become the black tents of Kedar, than the schooles of the Prophets, or the Sanctuaries of the Muses." Another, Master Watson, charged with drinking, urged that water daily took the strength of his body away. Another, John Webberly, afterwards Sub-Rector, had to pay a surgeon for healing the face of a colleague he had fought.[1] Another "sleighted and pisht at" the Rector himself, and even told him that he spoke "like a mouse in a cheese": the Rector in question unhappily enjoyed little respect. Kilby, though he had difficulties with his Fellows, had been an able man, Professor of Hebrew, one of the translators of the Bible, and a leader in the school of moderate Calvinism to which Prideaux, the well-known Rector of Exeter, belonged. But Paul Hood, whose Rectorship filled the long interval between 1620 and 1668, and covered a very difficult period of College history, had no such merits to commend him. Hood was the first Rector to marry, and his critics did not miss the opportunity offered to their "scandalous and opprobrious" wit. He was no friend of Laud's; and the energetic Chancellor, no doubt, found the College, as he found the University, "sunk from all discipline and fallen into all licentiousness." Bishop Williams of Lincoln, the Visitor and benefactor of the College, had done his best to keep Laud out of the Chancellorship and to oppose his views in ecclesiastical matters, and Laud naturally found a good deal to disapprove of in the conduct and opinions of Lincoln men.

When Laud fell, the College, as the Bursars' accounts show us, played its part with others in the Civil War. Some Lincoln men fought for the King—Thomas Marshall, a future Rector, among them. They took their turn in the trenches. The College perforce entertained Royalist guests. The Sub-Rector John Webberly was a conspicuous supporter of the Royalist party. Robert Sanderson was a conspicuous Royalist divine. The College plate found its way to the Royal Mint. But Lincoln was in the main a Puritan College. It elected at least one noted Puritan, Thankful Owen, on the very eve of the War. After the siege was over, Sanderson and Webberly took an active part in opposing the Visitors of the Parliament. Webberly went to jail, and both were expelled. But Hood, the Rector, proved much more submissive, and the majority of the College followed his example. The answers given to the Parliamentary Commission in May 1648 show that twenty out of twenty-six members

[1] College *Register* from 1577 (f. 77^{b}. See also, for John Morley's offences in 1641, f. 85^{a}; and also ff. 79^{a}, 80^{a}, etc.).

were willing to acknowledge if not to "imbrase" the Visitation.[1] Influential Puritans like Thankful Owen and Robert and Joshua Crosse, no doubt, influenced the decision. But of the ten Fellows on the books in 1648 it seems that five were sentenced to expulsion, and by the end of 1651, what with changes and promotions, none of the original Fellows remained.[2] The victorious party filled up the vacant places with nominees of their own. Two or three Cambridge men, "the dregs of the neighbouring University," were imported, noisy, hard-drinking, turbulent intruders who reflected little credit on their patrons. Preaching and praying became the fashion, with results not always visible in conduct. Economy was insisted on: the College barber was for a time put down.[3] But in the end at Lincoln, as elsewhere in Oxford, Puritan discipline must have told. And one young member of the College at any rate, though he proved in the long run no self-sacrificing Puritan, set a useful example of hard work. Stimulated by the example of his own servitor, Nathaniel Crewe gave himself up to the closest application, and he was soon so well grounded in the classics that he could repeat an Iliad every week.[4]

Crewe went up to Oxford in 1652. With his ability, his wealth, his reputation, he became the most prominent figure at Lincoln. His hospitality made him popular. His political influence steadily increased. His father, a Member of the Long Parliament excluded by Pride and restored by Monk, secured a peerage at the Restoration. The son at Oxford was at least equally astute, and Hood, the old Rector, followed in his steps. Crewe remained at Lincoln when the Independent Fellows were ejected in 1660. He conformed at once to the new order. He dropped his "plentiful beard" and his "Scotch habit," and came to Chapel in cassock and surplice like the best High Churchman of them all.[5] In 1663, as Senior Proctor, he took part in welcoming King Charles. He secured Lady Castlemaine's favour. He made himself acceptable to the Duke of York. In 1668 he was elected Rector of the College, but he apparently

[1] For these answers see Burrows (*Register of Visitors*, 84–6).

[2] See Clark (*Lincoln*, 115). Prof. Burrows gives a list of forty-one members of the College (*Register*, 506–8). But Dr. Clark is, no doubt, right in thinking (112) that the number in residence in 1647–8 was less. In August 1660 five of the intruded Fellows were ejected (*Ib.* 133). After the Restoration and especially under Crewe's rule the undergraduates increased.

[3] See the College *Register* from 1577 (f. 101[a]).

[4] Dr. Clark has edited the *Memoirs of Nathaniel, Lord Crewe*, for the Camden Society.

[5] See Wood's comments on this "notorious complyer" (*Life*, I, 332–3), and on the fate of his first surplice (*Ib.* III, 514).

continued to reside principally at Court. In 1671 he became Bishop of Oxford, and next year he resigned the Rectorship after a banquet worthy of the popularity he enjoyed. A very pliant courtier, he soon exchanged Oxford for the wealthier See of Durham. When James succeeded his brother, Crewe could not live without the new King's favour. He took a leading part in James' measures against the Church, and on James' fall he was prompt to desert him. In politics time-serving and ignoble, he yet remained a generous friend to his old College all his life. He cared for its studies, its buildings, its finances. He established its prosperity and left it a handsome portion of his wealth. His immediate successors, Thomas Marshall and Fitzherbert Adams, proved equally successful rulers. Marshall was as popular, and in proportion to his means as generous, as Crewe.[1] Adams weathered the storms of the Revolution. He improved the College buildings. He introduced a better system of administration, leases for fixed periods, on the College estates. And both bequeathed to the Rectors of the eighteenth century a happy tradition of comfort and good feeling, which it was reserved for later days to weaken and disturb.

Other figures with a place in history are counted among the sons of the College. Robert Sanderson, "prince of casuists," theologian, logician, antiquarian, entered Lincoln in the last year of Queen Elizabeth and lived to be a Bishop of the Restoration. He became Chaplain to Charles I. "I carry my ears to hear other preachers," said the King. "But I carry my conscience to hear Dr. Sanderson." He was turned out of his Professorship by the Parliamentary authorities, but he survived to welcome Charles II. Sir William Davenant, Poet Laureate between Ben Jonson and Dryden, was born in the Cornmarket, at his father's tavern where Shakespeare used to stay. Tradition made him Shakespeare's godson; gossip or scandal suggested a still closer tie. Davenant probably became a member of Lincoln in 1620. But he soon took service as a page at Court, and exchanged his "smattering in logic" for the poetry and drama which were to make his name. Hopton may have been a Gentleman-Commoner; he became the best loved of all Royalist Generals. James Parkinson, a sharp-tongued democrat, who dared to praise Milton's politics in days of Cavalier reaction, and who at last was expelled from both University and College, would have won more sympathy in earlier or later days. John Radcliffe began life at University but held a Fellowship at Lincoln for some years. He abandoned it to follow medicine, and started practice as a doctor with little capital beyond his phials, his skeleton, his

[1] For Rector Marshall's will see the College *Register* from 1577 (ff. 216–17).

herbal, his reading and his ready wit. When wealth and fame came to him, Radcliffe did not forget his ties with Lincoln, but his most liberal gifts to Oxford were given elsewhere. George Hickes, also a Fellow of Charles II's time, was a pioneer of Scandinavian studies. But he was better known as a stern and unbending High Churchman, always ready to suffer for his ideals. A schoolboy first in Yorkshire, an apprentice afterwards at Plymouth, a rebellious batteler under a Puritan President at St. John's, a servitor at Magdalen, a tutor at Lincoln, Hickes might perhaps have been Rector of the College had not Radcliffe exerted himself to keep so " turbulent " a Tory out.[1] The Whigs were then in the ascendant, and John Potter, a servitor at University in 1688 and afterwards a Fellow of Lincoln, was able to pass on to a great ecclesiastical career. His success gave the College a Primate of England in the eighteenth century, as William Gifford's in the seventeenth had given it a Primate of France.

The College buildings gradually extended over the land between Brasenose Lane and All Saints' Church. St. Mildred's, which once gave its name to the Lane, and one or two old Halls close by, were secured in the Founder's lifetime. Other Halls and parcels of land were acquired before the fifteenth century closed. Fragments of one old Hall may still be preserved in the College kitchen. Another, lying further East along the Lane, was described as " quite ruinated and turned into a garden." Others again, fronting upon Turl Street, provided for extensions to the South.[2] By 1437 the main lines of the first quadrangle had been laid. The North side along the Lane included the Library and Chapel, the buttery and kitchen, and various sets of rooms for Scholars. The gateway was upon the Turl. The Rector's rooms and the Treasury were placed in the Tower above it. The Hall ran South from the buttery and formed the quadrangle's Eastern side. The South side was at first left open for the sunshine. At the North-east corner, beyond the buttery and beyond the quadrangle, were the kitchen and the cook's garden, where vegetables grew. The Hall, with its three mullioned windows on each side, its open roof of chestnut timbers, and its brazier in the centre with a louvre overhead, was a lighter room in the fifteenth century than now. One window on the East side has been blocked by the fireplace and another by the new buildings of the Grove. But the nineteenth

[1] There is an interesting life of Hickes in the *D.N.B.* by W. D. Macray.

[2] For the site and early buildings of the College see Dr. Clark's notes and plans (*Lincoln*, 3–5 and 9). But even they are not in all points exact (see Salter, *Mun. Civ. Oxon.* 204).

century has restored some of the beauties which the eighteenth century defaced. To-day the silver candlesticks, the only light permitted, illuminate a noble room, and on the panelling there hang among the pictures portraits of Fleming and Rotherham, of Williams and of Crewe.

The old Chapel and Library stood close together, at right-angles to the Hall. Both were on the first floor. The Chapel or Oratory had four windows on each side.[1] It was licensed for celebrations in 1451, but it must have been finished some years before that. In the seventeenth century it was converted into the Library, and the old Library descended to the level of College rooms.[2] Bishop Fleming gave twenty-five manuscripts. Gascoigne and others in early days gave more. Rector Marshall in the seventeenth century contributed a great store of political tracts. Robert Fleming's classical manuscripts were among the first of the Library's treasures, and Edward VI's Commissioners have been accused of confiscating them with the College plate. Most of the books were chained to desks: a catalogue of 1474 accounts for a hundred and thirty-five. Others could, after proper formalities, be borrowed by the Rector and Fellows.[3] Under the Chapel and Library[4] and in the buildings on the Turl were chambers for Fellows, with the usual small studies attached. After Bishop Bekynton's bequest in 1465 new Lodgings were built for the Rector at the South end of the Hall—two fine rooms with cellars below and an attic for a servant above. And in 1479 Bishop Rotherham completed the quadrangle by adding the chambers on the South side, in which John Wesley was one day to be housed.

It was not till the seventeenth century that a second quadrangle was begun. Then another Rotherham, a Fellow of the College in Elizabethan years, took the chief part in founding an extension to the South along the Turl, and the West wing of the present Chapel quadrangle was set up.[5] But it was left to Bishop Williams of Lincoln, whose portrait in the Hall deserves its prominence, to carry the project of a new quadrangle through.

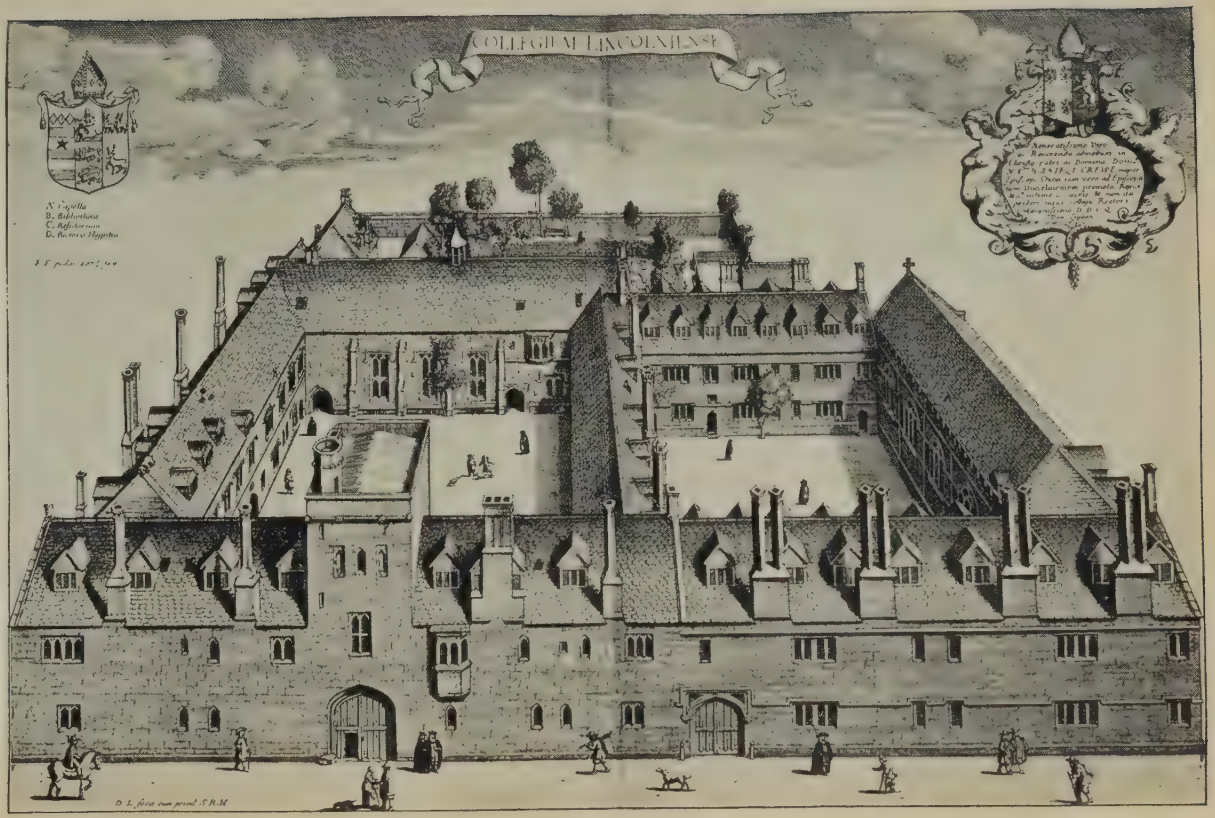
[1] The plaster ceiling, Dr. Clark suggests, may possibly conceal a timber roof (*Lincoln*, 11).

[2] It is now divided into two and the windows have been altered. The Library was probably moved into the old Chapel before 1655, a little earlier than Wood says. Dr. Clark suggests that a large gift of books was the immediate cause (*Lincoln*, 126). Lord Crewe, the Bishop's father, bore the cost.

[3] See Clark (*Lincoln*, 27–8) and Rotherham's *Statutes* (21).

[4] And over the Library too (*Lincoln*, 9).

[5] Wood (*Colleges*, 245) mentions a tradition that Sir Thomas Rotherham's benefaction was due to remorse for frauds which he had practised as Bursar. But Rotherham may be as innocent as Wolsey of a similar charge.



Lincoln College in 1675
(Loggan)

Two staircases with rooms for Scholars were built on the East side in 1629. The money ran short, and some of the partitions had to be finished with canvas and faggots of gorse. A beautiful Chapel on the South side, a fine example of Jacobean Gothic, was consecrated in 1631, with cedar wood-work exquisitely carved, and with painted windows of a rare effectiveness and charm.[1] The Lodgings for the Rector, who was now allowed to marry, were enlarged by taking in some rooms from the new court, and a "little patch of ground" was given him for a garden. In 1640 the College needed a new cellar, and that was provided under the Hall. After the Civil War money for improvements was forthcoming still more freely. The two Crewes and Marshall and Adams are conspicuous among the benefactors of the time. The Library was now established in the old Chapel, and a Common Room for the Fellows was made underneath,[2] and was furnished with chestnut wainscoting in 1684. The Chapel was redecorated: its former services had been restored, not without rough protest from Puritan spirits. The leaden Devil still looked over the College from the gateway tower. It disappeared with some other old features in the eighteenth century, owing, it was said, to its too obvious resemblance to a contemporary Rector. But old custom still brings the parishioners of St. Michael's through the College buildings, to beat their bounds on Ascension Day, and to drink their share of ground-ivy ale. The Chapel bell still "swears" in short, sharp strokes, before it starts to toll the almanac, to remind worshippers of the passing of the month. And if the Devil has vanished from his niche above the gateway, the College shield, assigned to it in 1574, still bears the figure of the Virgin with her Babe. The arms of the Bishopric have those of the two Founders, Fleming and Rotherham, upon either side.

Archbishop Chichele, whatever his failings, was one of the representative figures of Lancastrian times. His College is a

[1] Dr. Clark's description of the fine glass in the Chapel windows (*Lincoln*, 85–8) is worth noting, and also the useful plan which he gives (*Ib.* 82). For the consecration of the Chapel see *Collectanea* (IV, 136 *sq.*). The glass has been naturally attributed to one of the Van Linges, whose work it closely resembles; but their work was almost always signed. If not theirs, it is probably by another Anglo-Dutch artist of that school. It can scarcely be Italian work, as Wood suggests (*Colls.* 251), or German. The contemporary glass in the Chapel of Abbot's Hospital at Guildford, in some ways very like it, may also be the work of one of the Van Linges. (See Westlake's *History of Design in Painted Glass*, IV, 69–70, and Mr. C. H. Grinling's valuable paper, *Oxford Architect. Soc.*, N.S., IV, 111 *sq.*)

[2] See the College *Register* from 1577 (f. 120[a]). The date is August 1662.

monument of the great war which ruined, while it immortalised, the dynasty whom he served. He came from High Ferrers in Northamptonshire, where an old tradition says that William of Wykeham found him in boyhood keeping his father's sheep.[1] At any rate he went to school at Winchester in 1373,[2] and was one of the early Fellows of New College in 1386. Ten years later he was a Doctor of Laws and starting on a prosperous legal career. He was soon rewarded with ecclesiastical preferments after the fashion of the day. The Bishop of Salisbury proved a kind patron. The Pope befriended and employed him: Chichele never shook off the influence of Rome. The King drew him into the public service. In 1408 he was made Bishop of St. David's. He attended the Council of Pisa. He was more than once Ambassador in France. Henry V, a firm friend, made him Archbishop of Canterbury on Arundel's death, and Chichele on his side brought all his influence and enthusiasm to the support of Henry's great schemes of policy and war. But he needed Henry's strength to make him strong. In the next reign, with the boy King for his godson, Chichele proved hardly equal to the troubles which he had to face. He opposed the claims of Cardinal Beaufort. He struggled unsuccessfully against the claims of Cardinal Kemp. He failed, rather woefully, to withstand the demands of Martin V, who was bent on destroying the Statute of Provisors. History has charged him with weakness in defending the Church of England against Papal pretensions. He was happier in his administrative and judical work, in securing the rights of graduates to benefices, in upholding the authority of the spiritual Courts. He was happier still in his educational foundations, in suppressing alien priories and using their endowments for educational ends. A College at Higham Ferrers, benefactions to the University of Oxford, and the grant of land for St. Bernard's College, proved to be only precursors of a larger plan. Chichele lived in advanced old age to build All Souls. In 1442, a venerable figure, full of infirmities and honours, he came to Oxford, to visit if not to consecrate the splendid Chapel of his new College.[3] He issued its Statutes

[1] See John Cole (*Hist. of Higham Ferrers*, 162). His father has been represented as a draper, a yeoman, a tailor and a merchant.

[2] Among the scholars of St. John's Parish for whom Wykeham provided before founding his great school (see Walcott's *William of Wykeham*, 119–20).

[3] Wood (*Colleges*, 288, n.), whom Prof. Grant Robertson (*All Souls College*, 7) follows, places the dedication of the Chapel on St. Editha's Day, September 1442. Sir H. M. Lyte (355) apparently puts it in October 1442, and the *D.N.B.* early in 1443. The Senior Proctor's Book merely says that the Archbishop was present at a "visitation" of the Chapel in 1442.

just before his death. He had then been Archbishop of Canterbury for nearly thirty years. His body, wrapped in a shroud, was laid in his own Cathedral, under a stately monument which the inheritors of his bounty have preserved.[1]

About the end of 1437 Chichele secured a corner piece of land opposite the East end of St. Mary's Church, where Cat Street joined the High, with a few shops and inns and tenements, especially an ancient dwelling known as Berfords Hall. In February 1438 the foundation-stone of his College was laid, and some three months later the King, to whom the Archbishop had surrendered his purchases, granted a charter of incorporation. A College consisting of a Warden and twenty Scholars was established in Oxford for study and prayer. They were to pray for the King and the Archbishop in life and in death, for the souls of Henry V, of Thomas Duke of Clarence, of the Dukes, Earls, Barons, Knights, Esquires and others who in the wars of the Kingdom of France had ended their lives, and for the souls of all the faithful dead. They were to be called "Custos et Collegium Animarum Omnium fidelium defunctorum de Oxonia," or commonly "All Soulen College." They were entitled to increase the number of their Scholars to forty, to elect their Warden and their colleagues, to acquire land to the value of three hundred pounds a year, to have common property and a common seal.[2] A year later a Papal Bull approved the new foundation and granted it a Chapel of its own. In 1443 Oriel College, the patrons of St. Mary's and the guardians of its parish rights, agreed to this arrangement in return for a payment of two hundred marks. Meanwhile the building of the College was begun. In 1442 the Warden and Fellows, housed at first in temporary quarters, were able to hear Mass in their own Chapel. And as the first quadrangle, still substantially unaltered,[3] was completed, they entered into possession of their home.

All Souls was not only a chantry with a noble Chapel to

[1] The authorities for Chichele's life are cited in *D.N.B.* Dean Hook in his *Lives of the Archbishops* (vol. V, ed. 1867) may perhaps overstate his political importance. The Latin life by Arthur Duck (1617, tr. 1699) is of some value.

[2] The Royal Patent, with its description of the site—"quoddam messuagium vocatum Berfordes Halle, nuper vocatum Charletonsyn', sex shopas, et unam placeam vacuam eisdem annexam"—is given in the *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford* (All Souls, 4–8), printed from the complete MS. in the Bodleian. Another MS. (*Arundel MS.* 147) containing the Statutes is in the British Museum. Chichele and his successors are to be co-Founders with the King—"tanquam alteros Fundatores"—and Richard Andrewe, the first Warden, and seven other Scholars are named.

[3] The seventeenth-century changes in the windows are the only material alteration since the days of Henry VI.

commemorate the dead. It was an academic foundation for study and for training clerks.[1] Of the forty Fellows or Scholars, whose number was soon completed, twenty-four were to be students of "arts and philosophy or theology," and sixteen were to be jurists studying the Civil and the Canon Law.[2] Chichele had been a successful lawyer; the lawyers of the Middle Ages were a very important product of University life. Over them all a Warden was to rule, appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury from two candidates whom they presented to him. He was to govern the Society and to administer its property—with the Fellows' help in matters of grave concern—and he was not, without special reason, to be absent from the College for more than sixty days in the year. The Warden drew a salary of ten marks. He had a servant of his own.[3] He used the College horses. He entertained strangers at his table in the Hall.[4] And a Vice-Warden or Sub-Warden was appointed to act in his absence, and to help him especially with the discipline of the House.

Vacancies among the Fellows were to be filled by the election of students between the ages of seventeen and twenty-six. The Warden presided over their choice.[5] They were to be clerks with the first tonsure, fit and disposed for the priesthood. They were to be men trained already in the rudiments of grammar and in plain song. They were to be of free condition and legitimate birth, of good character and conduct,[6] anxious to profit

[1] In the statement of its objects—"ad studendum et orandum"—study comes first (*Statts.*, All Souls, 4): but the duty of praying for the dead bulks large. It cannot be said that the Statutes show any remorse for Chichele's support of the war, though they show regret for the loss of life and for the decay of England's military power.

[2] But the Founder contemplated the possibility of Doctors and Bachelors in medicine too (*Ib.* 41, 48 and 109).

[3] "Unum clericum seu alium servientem honestum," who was to serve him at table, in Hall, in his room and elsewhere (*Statts.* 27). I find nothing to show that this clerk was intended to read the Bible in Hall or to serve in the Common Room, as Dr. Rashdall (II, 512, n.) and Mr. Grant Robertson (*All Souls College*, 19), in commenting on Dr. Rashdall, suggest. The Bible reading in Hall was to be done by a clerk of the Chapel (*Statts.* 35), and it would seem that he has a better right than the Warden's servant to be regarded as the ancestor of the later Bible-clerks.

[4] The College paid for its invited guests, 6*d.* at the Warden's table, 3*d.* at the Fellows', and 2*d.* at the servants' (*Ib.* 28).

[5] The Warden was apparently to select—"eligat et assumat"—candidates nominated by the majority of Fellows, to fill up the vacancies; and no one could be elected without his assent. Out of this, probably, his claim to a veto on elections grew. If the Warden and Fellows failed to fill up vacancies, the Archbishop might do so (*Ib.* 20–2).

[6] "Bonis conditionibus et moribus perornati" (*Ib.* 20). The phrase is taken from the New College Statutes: it was by no means uncommon.

by their studies, and of three years' standing in the University as students of Arts or Civil Law or both. Founder's kin were to have a preference, to come first; then natives of places where the College had property; and then poor and indigent scholars studying in Oxford, according to the counties to which they belonged. All Scholars elected, except Founder's kin, were to have a year's probation before being admitted as full Fellows, and were to take, like the Warden, elaborate oaths.[1] Two Bursars, an artist and a jurist, were elected to administer the College property, and were paid, like the Sub-Warden, a yearly stipend of twenty-six shillings and eightpence each.[2] Two Deans, one a Master of Arts and the other a Bachelor of Law, were appointed with the same salary to superintend studies and morals. A Seneschal of the Hall was made responsible for purchases and expenses every week. Two senior Fellows helped the Warden to guard the College plate and jewels. We hear of Chaplains and clerks of the Chapel, whose duties are not very clearly defined; but a clerk of the Chapel, or one of the undergraduate Fellows, might be called on to read the Bible during dinner. Chichele borrowed his Statutes largely from William of Wykeham, but he showed little of Wykeham's zeal for education. All Souls was to be a College for students, not for teachers. It was to supply trained lawyers and trained ecclesiastics like its eminent Founder for the service of the State.

In the Hall the Warden and Sub-Warden sat at the chief table, with the Masters in theology and the Doctors of law. The rest sat in order of precedence elsewhere. The allowance for commons varied from twelve to sixteen pence according to the price of corn, with some addition on feast-days; the Warden had a double share. The regular customs prevailed in Hall, Scripture reading, Latin talk, and on special occasions songs and poems and tales of wonder sung or told around the fire. Visits from strangers were closely regulated. None might pass a night in College. Careful rules were made for disputations.[3] All Fellows were to take degrees.[4] Masters of Arts were expected to go on to the study of theology, and were required to take priest's Orders within two years of completing their Necessary Regency. Bachelors of Civil Law who turned to the Canon Law were also to take Orders, but they were given

[1] The Probationers are, no doubt, the "Scholares," as distinct from the "Socii," mentioned in the Statutes.

[2] In 1651 we hear of a "ryding Bursar" being nominated, not for the first time, "for the better carrying on of affaires" (Grant Robertson, 127). The Wenman MSS. have notes (217 and 219) on this officer's position.

[3] See *Statutes* (All Souls, 36–8).

[4] There was a warning against the abuse of Graces (*Ib.* 39).

a longer time. Those who became Doctors of Civil Law need not become priests. Dress in College and outside it was elaborately regulated according to custom and degree. Gowns and their appurtenances were minutely measured.[1] A livery or suit of clothes, which nobody must think of pawning, was to be provided, if funds allowed, for the Warden and Fellows once a year: the Probationers had to find their own. Leave of absence was limited. Walking alone was severely discouraged. Daggers and swords, dicing and gaming, hawks and hounds and ferrets were forbidden things. Concord was enjoined, prayers, requiems and Chapel-services arranged for. There were regulations for the common chest, the common property, the grant of leases, the keeping of jewels. There were provisions for the use and loan of books—of law-books in particular—for registering and marking all that belonged to the College. The Society's servants were enumerated—a manciple, a butler,[2] a principal cook with two assistants, a porter who acted as barber also, and a boy to look after the horses. All must be males, "to avoid sinister suspicion," but, as usual, failing a masculine laundress, a washerwoman was allowed. One of the College servants was to carry books to the Schools for the Fellows and to act as gardener at other times. Doctors of all Faculties might keep servants in College at their own expense. The Archbishop of Canterbury was to be the College Visitor, with large powers of interference and correction. College meetings and scrutinies, to read the Statutes and reform abuses, were to be held at least three times a year. Fellows were disqualified by entering "religion," by serious lapses in belief or morals, by acquiring property or benefices of a certain value,[3] by impediments to study such as the possession of a wife. But the Warden was allowed to hold benefices freely, so long as he resided in College and fulfilled the duties of his post.

The endowments of Chichele's College came largely from alien priories which had been suppressed. Abbey lands in Kent and in Northamptonshire, in Shropshire and in Wales, bought, it seems, by the Archbishop, were granted to the College by the

[1] The details are worth study by those interested in mediæval academic dress (*Ib.* 40–1).

[2] The manciple is the "dispensator," the butler the "subdispensator in panetria et botellaria" (*Ib.* 58). The Wenman MSS. (Chap. 8) give interesting details in regard to the College officers and servants.

[3] Private property worth 100 shillings a year disqualified (*Stats.* 67). I do not follow Dean Rashdall's suggestion (II, 512, n.) that the peculiar history of All Souls has been partly due to "the Founder's omission to fix a definite property-limit." On this point see Grant Robertson (*All Souls Coll.* 27–30). On the other hand, the Ordinances of 1549 suggest that the property-limit was not enforced (*Stats.* 86).

King. Edward IV, who had no love for a Lancastrian foundation, threatened to resume them, but he was successfully appeased. The College devoted its prayers to Yorkist Princes, till Henry VII's accession enabled it to pay honours to his "blessed uncle's" soul once more. Manors in Buckinghamshire were added, and woodlands in Middlesex near Willesden and Edgware. Other gifts of land and money, of plate and books and vestments flowed in. Henry VI is said to have given twenty-six volumes to the Library. Chichele himself established a Chest for loans to the poorer members of the College. By the time of Henry VIII the College revenues had risen beyond the sum suggested in the Royal Patent and nearly touched four hundred pounds. In the sixteenth century the Rectory of Stanton Harcourt was granted to All Souls by Cardinal Pole.[1] Sir William Petre secured for it also the Rectory of Barking, and a piece of land beside the College, where the Rose Inn stood and where the Warden's garden was made.[2] Through Petre's agency apparently some small exhibitions for poor Fellows and Scholars were founded.[3] And in the years which followed grants from other donors substantially increased the funds of the College, and swelled its surplus revenues to a total of which the Visitors found it difficult to dispose.

The early Wardens—Andrewe, an active diplomatist who was soon appointed Secretary to the King, Keyes, an active builder whom Henry VI carried off to Eton, Kele, afterwards Archdeacon of Bath and Wells, Poteman, another Royal agent and official—had little time to leave their mark on the College. Stokys had a much longer reign, from 1466 to 1494, before he retired to a Canonry at Windsor. His successor Hobbys was a strong man, it seems, alike in quelling Oxford disorders, in resisting irregular demands for taxation, and in evading irregular nominations of Fellows by the Court.[4] A Royal request for a loan from the

[1] Hence a long dispute in Elizabethan days.

[2] Petre, a generous benefactor of Exeter, befriended All Souls in more ways than one. Prof. Oman (*Colls. of Oxford*, 219) attributes the purchase of the Rose Inn to Hovenden. Hovenden's own statement, quoted by Grant Robertson (73), suggests that Petre bought the ground and that the Warden laid it out. But a letter from Archbishop Parker to Warner, quoted by Mr. Martin (*Archives of All Souls*, 304), advises the College to sell plate to buy the land to the cost of which Petre had promised to contribute.

[3] Five in all, varying in value from 26*s.* 8*d.* to 53*s.* 4*d.*, and drawn in part from the Pouncett estates of which Petre was an executor (Wood, *Colleges*, 263, n.). Three exhibitions for poor Scholars founded by Edward Napper and his son were revived by Whitgift in 1602 (*Stats.* 106).

[4] A request from Prince Arthur, if it really was from him, for the election of William Pickering seems to have had no effect (see Burrows, *Worthies of All Souls*, 38–40).

College towards the expenses of invading Scotland, produced a frank statement by the Warden that he could not lend forty shillings without borrowing it first.[1] Broke, elected in 1503, is described by Wood as Principal or Moderator of the Canon Law School,[2] a School which in mediæval Oxford produced little original work. Coale in a brief reign built and endowed a school at Faversham, with whose fortunes the College is still connected, and in the same period another Fellow endowed a school at Berkhampstead. Stokeley in 1534, with the unanimous assent of his colleagues, accepted the Royal Supremacy and agreed to renounce the authority of the Pope. From such perilous problems he may have turned with relief to despatch two Fellows to Cambridge, to dispute whether Civil Law was more excellent than Medicine, and whether a woman condemned to death and twice strung up to the gallows ought, if the noose broke, to be hanged over again. Under Stokys and Hobbys the "scrambling and unquiet" fifteenth century ended at All Souls with a touch of splendour. Linacre, equally great as scholar and physician, had been elected a Fellow in 1484. William Latimer, elected a few years later, was a classic who won the admiration of Erasmus. Under Henry VIII John Leland, one of the first of antiquaries and a master of "British, Saxonish and Welsh," came from Cambridge to All Souls for study, and Thomas Keys, a Fellow in 1525, began the researches into the antiquity of Oxford which were to make him the intrepid champion of many misleading, long-enduring myths.

In these early days the Fellows changed often; there were fatter pastures to be found elsewhere. Discords arose. At a very early date we hear of troubles and resignations.[3] Archbishops did not hesitate to intervene with Injunctions, to remove abuses or to interpret rules.[4] Archbishop Stafford granted an indulgence which made the Chapel a place of pilgrimage.[5] Many came to pray there and to see its treasures, the tooth of John the Baptist, the beryl set in St. Jerome's mouth. Stafford has

[1] Martin (*Archives of All Souls*, 302).

[2] Wood also speaks of Poteman (*Colleges*, 268) as Moderator of the Civil Law School.

[3] The College Register has the startling statement that in 1440 fourteen Fellows resigned and were replaced by fourteen new ones in 1441. This is repeated in an entry in the Register in the Warden's keeping.

[4] And the Prior and Chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury, claimed the right of Visitation during a vacancy in the See. Counsel's opinion, taken by them on this point about the end of the fifteenth century, is among the records of the Chapter Library at Canterbury (O. 138, f.).

[5] But the evidence for the 9,400 wafers alleged to have been consumed at the obit of Isabella, Lady Shottesbroke in 1457, is hardly strong enough to build on. (See Burrows, *Worthies*, 31–2.)

been accused of depriving the College of some of its possessions[1]: others were forcibly occupied in the Wars of the Roses. He certainly regulated the election of College officers and allotted College rooms. With only sixteen rooms for forty Fellows, this may not have proved an easy task: but jurists and theologians were carefully mingled, in order to promote charity and friendship. Archbishop Bourchier in 1459 had to insist on the Fellows paying their battels more promptly. Morton had to regulate the services in Chapel: his elaborate Injunctions suggest that brawls were not unknown. Warham appointed a salaried officer[2] to see that the theological disputations were properly carried out. He had reason to complain of quarrels at elections, of members of the College holding on to Fellowships and benefices together. Already the charge of "regarding family more than merit" was levelled—and by an Archbishop—against All Souls. Worse than that, the practice of corrupt resignations was beginning to grow up. Retiring Fellows were allowed to nominate their successors—in other words to sell their places to men who could afford to pay. In 1541 Cranmer intervened with vigour. A Visitation was held. New regulations insisted on discipline and order in the Chapel, on the obligation of residence, of disputations, of degrees. Brawls and scandals, tippling and boozing, described with a great wealth of language, were put down. All trafficking in College elections was condemned. Long gowns and plain shirts were sternly recommended. There was to be no more commuting the livery into money. And there was to be no introduction into College of such elements of mischief as dogs and boys and adolescent youths.[3]

Though Stokeley and his colleagues had "with one mouth and voice" accepted Anne Boleyn and renounced the Pope, All Souls like other Colleges had to face the dangerous vicissitudes of Tudor times. John Warner, who became Warden in 1536, and who returned to office after Elizabeth's accession, was a remarkable figure, endowed with all the supple tenacity which the public men of his day needed. He was the first Regius

[1] Grant Robertson (35). But Warden Warner's charge is rather vaguely directed against "the Archbishop of Canterbury succeeding Henry Chycheley, either next or shortly after" (*Stats.* 122).

[2] "Rectorem disputationum theologorum" (*Stats.* 76). The Injunctions of the Visitors are printed after the All Souls Statutes in the first volume of the *Statutes of Colleges* published in 1853. Cranmer's and Whitgift's are important, and the Ordinances of 1549. Others are given in Mr. Martin's catalogue of the College Archives.

[3] "Pueri et adolescentuli" (*Stats.* 81). Cranmer's Register at Lambeth gives a list of All Souls Fellows at this time (ff. 41[b] and 42[a]). The Register of the Vice-Chancellor's Court GG credits All Souls with sixty-one members in 1552 (Boase, *Register*, I, xxiii).

Professor of Medicine.[1] He went on an embassy to France. He served and survived under Henry, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth. He never forgot the interests of the College in the demands of the State. He arranged its archives. He wrote a life of its Founder. He built new Lodgings for the Warden. He evaded as far as possible exactions by the Crown. He even secured a few pickings for the College, when the Monasteries fell into the Royal hands. He faced Cranmer's Visitation of 1541. He faced also the more alarming Visitation of 1549. For All Souls the changes of Edward's reign had a special significance. The College escaped spoliation. Even its Library was spared—save for the erasure of the Pope's name in manuscripts and books. But its characteristics as a chantry were swept away.[2] One altar or Lord's Table was left in the Chapel, But other altars, images and statues, "the things they call organs," and all similar "monuments of superstition and idolatry" had to be removed. To this day the organ has never been replaced. Chichele's great reredos was ruthlessly destroyed. Papistical services were abolished, and all "shaven rotundities of head." Noisy and needless bell-ringing was forbidden, "like the voices of people quarrelling or insane." [3] In the College discipline and study were insisted on. The larger proposals contemplated, for exchanging students with New College and for making All Souls a society of jurists only, were dropped. But salaries were set apart for a Reader in Civil Law and for another in logic and natural philosophy. No money was to be spent on teaching Latin grammar,[4] though conversation in Latin, Greek or Hebrew was enjoined. All students were to be free to attend theological lectures, but such lectures were to be devoted to the Bible only.[5] All young men were to learn the catechism which the authorities approved. Fellowships were generally limited to twenty years, and one was reserved for an

[1] In 1546, says Foster (*Alumni Oxonienses*, IV). Wood (*Fasti*, ed. Bliss, I, 101), Munk (*Royal College of Physicians*, I, 58) and Grant Robertson (51) give the date as 1535 or 1536. Warner was appointed Reader in Medicine first and Regius Professor later.

[2] Yet Prayers for the Dead, forbidden by Parliament, were not removed from the College Statutes till 1857 (Grant Robertson, 54).

[3] Prof. Burrows (*Worthies*, 71) doubts if the College ever had more than one bell. In that case the verbiage of the Visitors is absurd.

[4] Clause 8 (*Stats.* 86). Wood tells us that Greek and Latin lectures had been established at All Souls by the Royal Visitors of 1535. This may account for the protest against the teaching of "grammar" out of College funds.

[5] Mr. Grant Robertson thinks (60) that the Ordinances established a Professorship in Theology. They do not seem to me to go so far as that. At any rate they do not devote any salary to the purpose. But they certainly contemplate theological lectures (see Clauses 1 to 4, *Stats.* 85–6).

Irishman. Non-residence was sanctioned in case of service under the Crown. Wealth and excessive expenditure were discouraged:[1] all Colleges were intended for the children of the poor.

It cannot be said that these Ordinances had much effect. Mary's accession swept away the ideas of the Reformers. Warner found his position untenable and wisely withdrew without losing his preferments. Two nominees of Cardinal Pole followed in quick succession—one of whom, Seth Holland, died in the Marshalsea in 1560. But he had already resigned, and his successor had died too. At the end of 1558 Warner returned for seven years more, to help in the "mild and gentle, not rigorous, reformation" which suited the wishes of the new Queen. But all members of the College were not as fortunate as their chief. One, named Gold, had been hanged at Tyburn as an accomplice of the Nun of Kent. Another, a pupil of Jewel's, was whipped in 1554 by the Dean—one lash for every verse he had written against the Mass. Others, it seems, when the storm burst on them, dissembled or fled. Two were expelled for refusing allegiance to Elizabeth. One, and probably not one only, became a Jesuit. Sharp and repeated pressure was needed to compel the College to allow its "superstitious" College plate to be defaced, to part with vestments, mass-books, crosses and other "idolatrous monuments" of the past. Warner's successor, Richard Barber, who clung to the old ways, was brought up to London by Archbishop Parker, and the refractory Fellows were at last compelled to submit. But in 1571 Barber apparently gave up the struggle, and Robert Hovenden,[2] a young and vigorous ruler, entered on his eventful reign of over forty years.

Hovenden is one of the most interesting figures in the College history, He cared for its buildings, its archives, its accounts. He insisted on obedience to its Statutes. He instituted a Punishment Book. About the beginning of the seventeenth century there are some curious little entries. Mr. Butcher, found by the Proctors "somewhat distempered with drink," is required to take his meals in Hall. Sir Gentilis is deprived of two days' commons for not attending prayers. Sir Denne has to write a commentary on the Fourth Book of the Institutions for his "excess in battling," and is ordered to forbear the company of undergraduates to prevent more serious faults.[3] In trying to

[1] Ten marks, of income apparently, was to disqualify for membership (Clause 12).

[2] I think this is on the whole the more popular spelling. But the College Register and other documents have Hoveden also.

[3] See entries in the *Punishment Book* in the Warden's keeping under 1603, 1608 and 1609.

make one medical Fellow take Orders, Hovenden came into conflict with Elizabeth herself. He had to face pressure from greedy courtiers and troublesome requests from the Queen. There was a long struggle with the Cromwell family over some of the College lands. There was a far too favourable lease granted to Sir Walter Ralegh or his friends. There was an insolent claim for a similar lease from Lady Stafford,[1] supported by very strong influence at Court. A bribe was offered to the Warden, and even Whitgift advised compliance. But "the poore and leane schollers" rebuked the great lady for her "stomake," and the courageous Warden carried the day. The Queen was at last induced to restore the parsonage of Stanton Harcourt, dear to the Fellows as a place of refuge when Oxford suffered from visitations of the plague. Hovenden left the College full.[2] His memorial by the door of the Ante-Chapel does justice to his long and valuable service, to "the sagacity and prudence" he exhibited "for three and forty years."

Warden Moket, who succeeded in 1614, unwisely wrote a book upon Church policy which omitted all reference to the authority of the Church. The High Churchmen seized the opportunity to humiliate not only Moket but his patron, Archbishop Abbot, whom they had little cause to love. The book was burned in public and the title of "the roasted Warden" clung to its unhappy author till his death. Warden Astley, also a Chaplain of Abbot's, carried the College through many prosperous years. The golden age of large surpluses had begun. But it was an age of increasing luxury and tippling. Beer-houses abounded. In 1629 the College cellar had to be enlarged. We hear of misconduct, of small peculations, of refractory Fellows, of disrespect for Wardens. In 1631 there was an outrage. Wild spirits took "the intolerable liberty" to tear off the College doors and gates. The Visitor was scandalised. "Civil men," he said, "should never so far forget themselves, under pretence of a foolish *Mallard*, as to do things barbarously unbecoming." Meanwhile Royal interference with the College patronage increased. The Stuarts had no more distaste for jobs than Queen Elizabeth. Archbishop Bancroft was as ready to approve them as his master. Even Abbot was not proof against the habit of the times.

Cranmer was by no means the only Primate who laboured to reform the College. Parker watched over it closely. He

[1] See Martin (*Archives*, 283–6) and Burrows (*Worthies*, 111).

[2] Twyne's figures of 1611 give the numbers as 77; but the fuller figures of 1612 make them 93 without counting choristers, and include 40 *socii*, 31 *servientes* and 19 *famuli* (*MS.* XXI, 513–4).

lamented its ecclesiastical vagaries.[1] He deplored its quarrels. He encouraged its zeal for learning. He tried to protect its elections from abuse. Grindal would not allow the Fellows to be turned into London lawyers. They must not live away from Oxford to study the Common Law. But he sanctioned the increase of the weekly commons to two shillings and eightpence for Masters, to two and twopence for the other Fellows.[2] Whitgift, whose fine prayers of Commemoration and Thanksgiving are still recited in the Chapel, was more indulgent than Grindal to the students of law. He released them from the obligation to take Orders. But they must practise in Oxford, and must forfeit their Fellowships if interest or employment drew them elsewhere. Whitgift did his best to put down corruption in elections.[3] He insisted on the Fellows dining in Hall. He denounced the "persplendid and sumptuous banquets" in their chambers, and the large number of boys and servants they maintained. And his Visitation, begun in 1601, was followed by a long series of Injunctions, which both strengthened and enlarged the Statutes. He regulated afresh the Chapel services, the Fellows' discipline and dress. He recalled the old rules for disputation and study, the need of residence, the restraint upon "un-honest" games. He recommended better checks upon expenditure and better care of the College records. He established a register of College "acts." He rebuked unpunctuality in paying battels. He warned the Fellows against luxurious living, against unnecessary servants, unnecessary horses, and the temptations of the College double ale.

Archbishop Bancroft suspended the Injunction which forbade the Fellows to practise as Civilians outside the University. And he allowed "a competent augmentation of diet" to be

[1] Nichols (*Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, 1823, I, 247–50) quotes from Gutch (*Collectanea Curiosa*, II, 274 *sq.*) correspondence on this subject in 1566–7.

[2] Whitgift confirmed this (*Stats.* 90). See also his *Register* at Lambeth (I, ff. 125^{b} and 126).

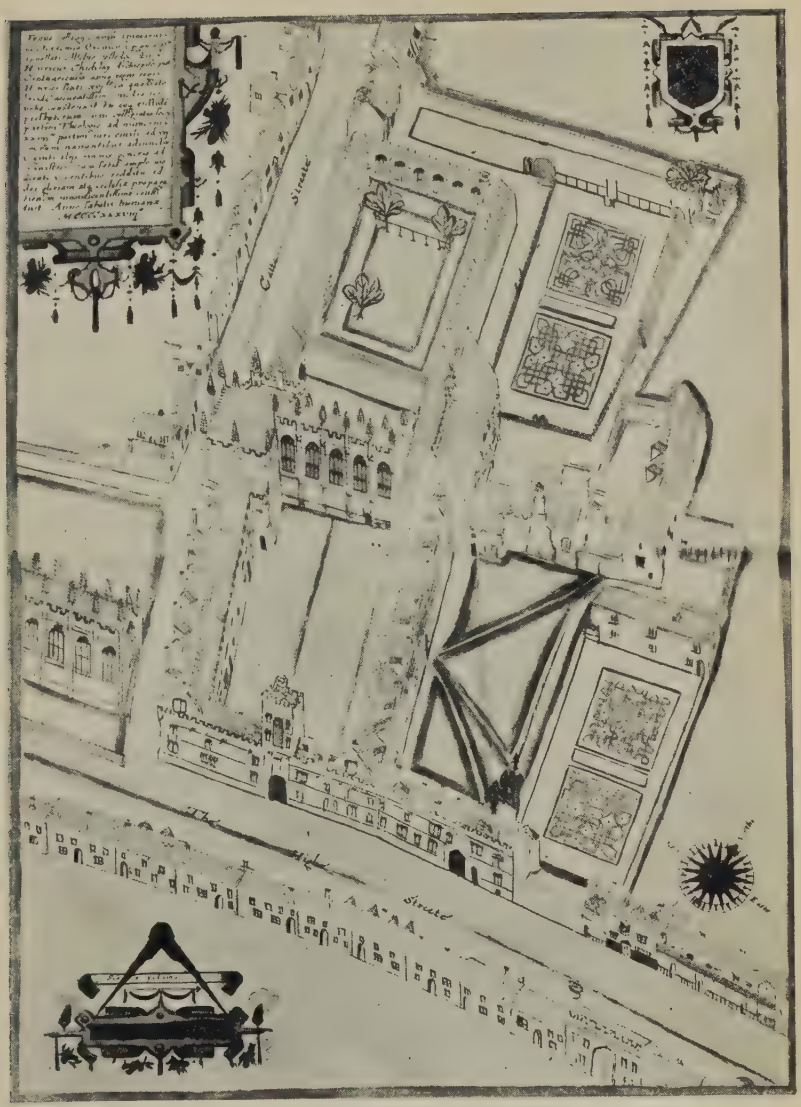
[3] Prof. Burrows says (*Worthies*, 108) that Whitgift confirmed in the most positive manner the Warden's old right of veto on the election of College officers. I have not been able to trace this, but the Archbishop's *Register* at Lambeth shows (I, f. 200) that he did not hesitate to intervene in College elections. In 1680 the Warden's claim to veto the election of Fellows became a fiercely contested point in the struggle against corrupt elections. The Statutes (Cap. 2), no doubt, gave him a certain power of supervising and stopping elections: and it may be, as Mr. Grant Robertson suggests (43), that, in return for waiving his right of veto and allowing Fellows to nominate their successors, for a consideration, he had been tacitly allowed to nominate when Fellowships were vacated by death. The Warden's prerogatives are fully discussed in Chap. V of the Wenman MSS.

made out of the surplus income of the College. This surplus was becoming almost an embarrassment. It was growing too large to be stored in the Tower. The College had more money than it could reasonably spend on food, and augmentation of diet was made a pretext for extravagant feasting.[1] Bancroft, however, would not allow the surplus to be divided between the Fellows, and he would not sanction the Bursars' slovenly way of keeping their accounts. Abbot tried in vain to save the surplus for the College Treasury, and to use it for buying advowsons and books. But he had to yield apparently to the pressure of the Fellows, and not only to increase the allowances for livery, but to permit the division of considerable sums.[2] No wonder that the competition for Fellowships, as the Archbishop noted, steadily increased. Abbot struggled harder against corrupt resignations. He insisted that every Fellow resigning should solemnly take "his corporal oath" that he had not received and would not receive "any money or moneyworth." But there is little ground for thinking that the corporal oath put the mischief down. Laud dealt perhaps more wisely with the surplus. He required a certain sum to be reserved for College purposes, but allowed the rest to be divided by the Fellows. Sheldon sanctioned a compromise which had become inevitable. Sancroft, spurred on by Warden Jeames, returned to the charge against corrupt resignations. He recalled Abbot's oath against "simoniacal pravity and practice." He denounced the Fellows who made a mock of sin. The Visitors never ceased to enjoin good conduct and to reprove offences. Jobs and corruption, luxury and waste, "noctivagation," brawling, drinking, "indecent" hair and dress, were easily rebuked. But the stress of circumstance and the infirmities of human nature did not always allow these admonitions to be implicitly observed.

Laud like other Primates had his difficulties with the College, but the era of his influence in Oxford was at All Souls an era of success. The Archbishop was as zealous in pointing out irregularities in hair and boots and clothing as in reforming the services of the Chapel. The Communion Table was moved from the middle of the chancel to the upper end. There was talk of an

[1] The Statute of 1576 (18 Elizabeth, cap. 16, misquoted as 16 Eliz. by Bancroft in his Injunction of May 1609) had complicated matters by providing that in all future leases one-third at least of the old rent must be paid for the relief of College commons and diet. (See Shadwell, *Enactments in Parliament*, 190–1.)

[2] Compare Chichele's and Whitgift's regulations as to livery (*Statutes*, 42 and 97). The allowances for livery became the basis on which the surplus was divided. Whitgift had apparently allowed the commutation of the livery for a money payment, which even Cranmer had found it difficult to prevent. (See Martin, *Archives*, 306–7 and 303.)



All Souls College
from Hovenden's *Typus Collegii*

organ and a choir. Sheldon, who became Warden in 1635, was an able ruler and a famous Churchman, "born and bred to be Archbishop of Canterbury," and destined in due course to come into his own. But Sheldon was no mere stickler for forms. His advice to young gentlemen, his chaplain tells us, was always to be honest. "Do well and rejoice" was his motto. A good life mattered more than any Church.[1] With Laud, the Warden faced the rising storm. In July 1642 the College sent its ready money to the King.[2] Next year its plate followed—basons, flagons, goblets, "salts," and even Warden Keyes' great gilt cup with the figure of St. Michael on it. The College rents from lands in the possession of the Parliament failed. There could be no doubt on which side Sheldon and his colleagues stood. In 1643 the College undertook—it probably had no option—to maintain a hundred and twenty soldiers for the King at four shillings weekly a head.[3] Its most ardent Royalists were soon fighting "contra *κυκλοκέφαλας*": Roundhead perhaps sounded more detestable when converted into Greek.[4] In 1644 the want of money compelled Warden and Fellows to make its members "co-ex-co," that is apparently to give them leave of absence and commons together. In 1645 twenty-five shillings a week for five weeks had to be paid towards the Bulwarks. In September 1646 it was agreed to have only one meal a day.[5] The Register shows that admissions dropped to one in 1643, to none at all in 1645. In the Parliamentary Visitation which followed the surrender of Oxford, Sheldon, one of the representative Royalists in the University, was expelled from his post. Arrested for contumacy, he was sent under guard to a place of detention, "followed by a great company of scholars and blessed by the people as he passed the streets." Palmer of Queen's, "a great rumper," but a man of distinction and of moderate opinions, was appointed Warden—the College called him "Pseudo-Custos"—in his stead. All Souls was purged. A few Fellows submitted. But the rest showed a fine fertility of evasion, and many who would not clearly accept the authority of Parliament were removed.[6] "Saucy" servants, including an indomitable

[1] Burnet does less than justice to Sheldon's sense of religion. Among Sheldon's improvements in the College, the appointment of a librarian may be noted, at 30*s.*, raised later to 40*s.*, a year. (Grant Robertson, 110 and 154.)

[2] £351. (See the *Acta in Capitulis*, I, f. 104.)

[3] For four months, says Grant Robertson (119). Prof. Oman speaks of 102 soldiers for one month (*Colls. of Oxford*, 224). But, as I read the entry in the *Acta in Capitulis* (I, f. 105), it is 120 soldiers for a month.

[4] Apparently this is the only example of Greek in the Register.

[5] See the *Acta in Capitulis* (I, ff. 107, 111[b]).

[6] For the answers given to the Visitors in May 1648 see Burrows (*Register of Visitors*, 41–3). Prof. Burrows gives the number of expulsions

butler, were dismissed. A large number of new Fellows were gradually appointed or "intruded," of whom Thomas Sydenham was not the least. In 1653 a greater than Sydenham, Christopher Wren, was elected with more freedom.[1] Study, discipline and godly conduct became conditions of success. But party spirit and human frailty inevitably survived. And the practice of corrupt resignations proved to be too stubborn an evil for even the reformers of the Commonwealth to destroy.

After the Restoration Warden Sheldon returned with the King.[2] But he passed on soon to greater duties, and showed as Primate a character and courage not too common in Charles' Court. Charles himself, and James and Pepys and Clarendon paid visits to the College. Warden Jeames, elected in 1665,[3] a stout-hearted Royalist who had served in the war, found that he needed more than Hovenden's firmness to battle with the courtiers of the day. Jobs in high quarters were now a part of the prerogative. Even Sheldon, as Visitor, though he stipulated for the election of the best men, was anxious for the King to be "gratified" too. But the Fellows were gratified in their turn by leave to divide the surplus income of the College, a privilege long claimed and now finally secured. Jeames, however, made a firm stand against corruption, and Archbishop Sancroft came to his support.[4] Abbot's oath against the sale of Fellowships was revived, though many Fellows refused to take it. At the College election of 1680 the Warden determined "to break off those sinful and shameful customs," and imposed his veto on the nominations handed in. The right to appoint then devolved on the Archbishop, and a hard fight with the refractory Fellows ensued. When "the Faction" tried legal proceedings, Jeames made them suffer by charging the College surplus with the costs. Sancroft stood by him. Even Charles' judges decided for reform. The evil of corrupt resignations was defeated, and submission was cheaply purchased by certain small payments and allowances which the Fellows received instead. But the mischiefs of the time were not exorcised.

as 22 and the number of submissions as 8 (*Ib.* 571): but elsewhere (*Worthies*, 192) he speaks of 5 Submitters and 13 Nonsubmitters—figures which Mr. Grant Robertson (125) adopts. I doubt if the figures can be given exactly.

[1] Cromwell, as Chancellor, restored freedom of election. But a story told by Warden Jeames later, which Wren did not confirm, attributed Wren's election largely to Warden Palmer (Burrows, *Worthies*, 206–8).

[2] Palmer died in March 1660. It seems that only five of the old Fellows were replaced on the Restoration (Grant Robertson, 135 and 138).

[3] Warden Meredith ruled from 1661 to 1665, and restored the Chapel with more liberality than wisdom.

[4] The chief credit and the bolder spirit lay, I think, with Jeames.

Hard drinking, not always separable from political enthusiasm, played havoc with the reputation of the Fellows. In 1682 we find them frightening the landlady of the Mitre into fits—she "died at three in the morne"—and drinking midnight healths to the Duke of York and Lord Abingdon out of the buckets that hung in the Hall. Jeames' successor, Leopold Finch, was a rollicking Royalist, nominated by James II: Dryden was rumoured to have had some chance of the post. Under Finch, of whom his predecessor had once written that "the very tavern over the way was afraid of his coming to be so near a neighbour,"[1] the College life inevitably reflected the license of the age. Awkward questions arose over elections: Court patronage counted more than merit. The claims of Founder's kin were revived and seriously affected the College fortunes.[2] All Souls became more and more a society of gentlemen of comfortable means, if not, as Hearne characteristically added, "of no morals and less learning." Yet science and music flourished there. Even Finch dabbled in the classics. He was not, says Wood —tepid praise for the Head of a College—"altogether a debauchee." A fit product of Restoration politics, he went over to King William in the nick of time. He died, tradition says, with the bailiffs in his house: the Visitor had already been compelled to cut down his allowance for battels. His monument speaks of him as "Custos dilectissimus." It is not in Oxford only that men's failings make them loved.

Many notable names, besides those of Wardens, dignify the College lists. Robert Recorde, a Fellow in 1531, was one of the greatest of early mathematicians, the first probably to introduce algebra into England and to adopt the Copernican system.[3] David Pole, the most generous of all early benefactors to the Library, and a Bishop deprived by Elizabeth, was probably a kinsman of the Cardinal who tried so vainly to undo the Reformation. Petre, Mason and Weston[4] were Tudor statesmen of repute. William Aubrey, Professor and Civilian in the days of Elizabeth, "a man of exquisite erudition," was one of several eminent lawyers, Doctors and divines. John Proctor, the first Master of Tonbridge School, which its Founder, a kinsman of Archbishop Chichele, intended to connect with the College,

[1] There is a letter from Finch to Archbishop Sancroft, justifying his election as Warden, in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa* (II, 49–53).

[2] The great controversy over this important question belongs to the eighteenth century. I shall hope to deal with it later.

[3] On Recorde see Gunther (*Early Science in Oxford*, Pt. II, 13–22) and *D.N.B.*

[4] Robert Weston, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, a layman who was both Dean of St. Patrick's and Dean of Wells, is described by Hooker as "by profession a lawyer, but in life a divine" (*D.N.B.*).

dedicated tracts to Queen Mary and furnished materials for the history of her reign. Sir Daniel Dunn was the first representative sent by the University to Parliament. Sir Anthony Sherley, a daring and typical adventurer, served with Sidney, with Essex and with Henry of Navarre, carried his strange schemes to the Court of Persia, turned plotter, renegade and admiral of Spain. Robert Gentilis, son of the great Civilian, "infant prodigy, scapegrace and translator," secured his Fellowship by Court favour,[1] but won fame in Oxford only as a king of beggars. Charles Cæsar, son of the well-known Master of the Rolls, who bought his father's office later at a price which shows what its profits must have been, also owed his Fellowship to Royal favour, but he owed his credit as a Civilian to his own deserts. Sir Arthur Duck, another successful lawyer, wrote Chichele's biography and proved a devoted son of the College. Jeremy Taylor, a Cambridge man put in by Laud, atoned by an illustrious career for his improper nomination. Brian Duppa, thrice a Bishop, was Charles I's friend and Charles II's tutor, a great figure in Oxford and a great pillar of the Church. Peter Pett was one of the first Fellows of the Royal Society, but was expelled for "not performing his obligation" to it.[2] Sir Richard Napier made a great noise in the world, as a "pretender to virtu and astrology," but he had not the advantage of familiar communication with the angel Raphael which his uncle and namesake, a more celebrated astrologer, enjoyed. Millington, President of the College of Physicians, was alleged to have discovered sexuality in plants. Sydenham, a far greater contributor to science, and the most original medical genius of his age, had fought in youth on the side of the Parliament; and that may be the reason why he never belonged to the Royal Society in later years.

The age of the Restoration is also the age of Christopher Wren. Wren's Fellowship at All Souls dates, like Sydenham's, from the years of the Commonwealth. But he became Savilian Professor of Astronomy in 1661. "As a boy a prodigy, as a man a miracle," he was already recognised as a scientific genius. Within two years he was drawing plans for the Sheldonian Theatre, and starting on the long series of architectural triumphs which yet represented one side only of an extraordinary mind. He left his drawings to the College and his famous dial on its

[1] Gentilis was nominated by Bancroft before the statutable age. His father wrote a learned argument to prove that to enter one's seventeenth year is equivalent to completing it. (See Martin's *Archives*, 308, and *D.N.B.*)

[2] Pett was not, it seems, the Commissioner of the Navy, as Mr. Grant Robertson (131) suggests. That was his father's cousin (*D.N.B.*).

walls. Of lesser men, Sir John Birkenhead, Reader in Moral Philosophy and ardent Royalist, journalist and wit, was driven to live in the days of usurpation by helping young gentlemen to write love poems. Henry Birkhead, a Romanist pervert reclaimed by Laud and the Founder of the Oxford Chair of Poetry, may perhaps be named beside him, with Thomas Creech, translator of Lucretius, a forgotten poet, and John Norris, an English follower of Malebranche and an ally of the Cambridge Platonists, equally forgotten as a philosopher to-day. Matthew Tindal lives as a noisy controversialist who loved "to make the clergy mad." Sir William Turnbull was a Secretary of State to King William: Pepys thought him a fool, but Dryden and Pope consulted him as a friend. Godolphin became Dean of St. Paul's and hampered Wren in his great projects. Tanner began the antiquarian researches which brought him a Bishopric and a lasting reputation. George Clarke, a useful public servant and a man of taste and moderation, long represented the University in Parliament; but it was in the eighteenth century that his chief service to the College was done. And among many sons distinguished in their generation none better deserves to be remembered by All Souls than Christopher Codrington, the "great amasser of books," elected a Fellow in 1690, whose noble legacy was soon to found the Library which bears his name.[1]

All Souls lawyers found distinction outside Oxford. But they found rewards in Oxford too. Between the days of Henry VIII and those of Charles I they supplied a long line of Principals to New Inn Hall. The College supplied also several early Heads for Jesus College. It has been accused, probably without justice, of submitting itself too freely to the influence of Welshmen. All Souls charities are worth recording. The poor of the city profited by them. So did occasional foreigners—an Italian convert, a French Abbot, an Armenian priest. So, before the days of Independence, did the Colonial Colleges later. The College Punishment Book took note of the Fellows' offences, and of the penalties and discipline enjoined. The College banquets received a still larger share of notice. But the Mallard was the peculiar invention, the special glory and folly of All Souls.

"The Griffin, Bustard, Turkey, Capon,
Let other hungry mortals gape on,

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[1] Prof. Burrows devotes a chapter to Codrington (*Worthies*, 324–46), and I am of course indebted all through to his notices of the Worthies of All Souls. It should be remembered that many of them had close connections with other Colleges also. The chief possessions of the All Souls Library were acquired after the seventeenth century, and I reserve any details on that subject till later.

And on their bones with stomach fall hard,
But let All Souls men have their Mallard.

Chorus.

O by the blood of King Edward,
O by the blood of King Edward,
It was a swapping, swapping Mallard!"[1]

The first mention of this "foolish Mallard" is in a letter from Archbishop Abbot.[2] In the seventeenth century the ceremony was in full swing. In the eighteenth century it attained its climax. On the 14th January, in the middle of the night, a Lord Mallard and his officers elected for the purpose went round the College with torches after supper, noisily hunting for the mythical bird, and their thundering chorus woke the sleepers round for half a mile. So well established then was this venerable orgy, that one of the Fellows, criticising Tindal, found the first marks of infidelity in his disrespectful attitude towards the Mallard, and even Heber was seriously of opinion that "these remnants of Gothicism tend very much to keep us in a sound consistent track."

Chichele spent freely on the buildings of his College,[3] most freely on the Chapel which was its special pride. The first quadrangle, fronting on the High Street, was on a simple scale. The tower contained the gateway, with rooms over it for the Warden, the muniments and the treasures of the College.[4] The Library was on the East side of the quadrangle, on the first floor. The Chapel lay on the North side. Chambers for the Fellows occupied the rest: the small windows of the studies

[1] Mr. Grant Robertson quotes the whole song as sung to-day (211–12). Other versions are a little different. (See Wood's *Life*, III, 512–13, and *The Swopping Song of the Mallardians* printed in 1752, etc.) Prof. Burrows (*Worthies*) has an Appendix on the subject. The mysterious bird was sought for originally perhaps in the sink or drains, where a buried Mallard was supposed to have been discovered by workmen in the early days of the College. Prof. Burrows thinks (436) the custom may have arisen from the finding of a thirteenth-century seal, bearing the name of William Malard, clerk, and the device of a peculiar four-legged griffin, when a drain was being dug near the Warden's Lodgings, probably in Elizabethan times.

[2] See Martin (*Archives*, 315).

[3] £4,156 in the first five years, besides £4,302 for the "site, books, and other necessary articles," and £1,000 paid to the King for lands—a very large sum altogether (Grant Robertson, 12).

[4] There are conflicting statements about the Warden's Lodgings. As I understand, he occupied first the room over the gateway and the fine room adjoining it on the East side. Before long, if not from the first, he occupied the whole South-east corner of the quadrangle; and from there his quarters extended into the new rooms built by Warner, fronting on the High Street further East. Finally, early in the eighteenth century, the Warden's House was built to the East of that.

remain. The old Hall began in the North-east corner and ran Northwards at right-angles to the Chapel, beyond the quadrangle. Further North again across a small court lay the Cloisters, with their West side on Cat Street [1]; and there the bones of the earliest Fellows rest. East of the buildings was waste land or garden ground, into which the buttery and kitchen extended. The Chapel was the crown of the Archbishop's work. Built by a generous hand and decorated with rare magnificence, it has survived the worst that restorers or iconoclasts could do. Its hammer-beam roof, its carving, colouring and gilding, the fine glass in its windows—some of which in the Ante-Chapel still remains [2]—its screen showing the arms of Chichele and of Oxford, its organ, the first perhaps set up in any College Chapel,[3] its high altar with the Crucifixion overhead,[4] and above all the great stone reredos, filled with figures of heroes, of Fathers and of Saints,[5] made it a noble example of fifteenth-century taste. The reredos, a singularly beautiful piece of sculpture, surmounted by a representation of the Last Judgment, and bearing the legend *Surgite, mortui, venite ad judicium*, blazed with colour in the Founder's day. The favours granted by Archbishop Stafford and the relics gradually collected made the Chapel a popular resort. The nuns of Syon, among other eminent worshippers, sought "to become partakers of its prayers."

But chantries like Chichele's had short shrift in the Reformation. Its altars, its glass, its images were destroyed. The seventeenth century began the work of restoration, Warden Meredith, Sheldon's successor, giving the lead. But Meredith, though a man of "ancient manners," had little feeling for the ancient beauty of the place. The reredos was flattened and covered with plaster. A fresco of the Last Judgment by Streater, Charles II's Court painter—"too full of nakeds," thought Evelyn,

[1] See the "Typus Collegii" of Hovenden's day, reproduced as the frontispiece of Mr. Grant Robertson's volume.

[2] The most interesting window, with portraits of Chichele and others, originally belonged, Prof. Oman thinks, to the old Library (*Colls. of Oxf.* 212). See also Mr. Grinling's paper (*Oxf. Architect. Soc.* N.S., IV, 111 *sq.*).

[3] The organist of All Souls sinned and was punished in 1458 (*Mun. Acad.* 674), and we hear of an organ at New College about the same date. The Magdalen "organs"—the plural is generally used—appear first in the College *computi* of 1481. (See Burrows, *Worthies*, 69–70, Bloxam's *Register of St. Mary Magdalen College*, II, xcvi *sq.*, and Rimbault's *History of the Organ*, 43–4.)

[4] There were other altars in the Chapel (*Collect. Curiosa*, II, 266).

[5] This is conjecture. But we know of two great stone images, possibly statues of Chichele and Henry VI, and we know that four Latin Fathers, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine and Gregory, had a special connection with the College.

"for a chapel"—was painted on the top. The fine roof was hidden by a stucco ceiling, and Streater, whom some of his contemporaries preferred to Michael Angelo, may have had a share in that as well.[1] The windows of the inner Chapel were remodelled. Wren drew a design for a new screen, but the College preferred other advisers: and while Wren was still living, even Streater's fresco disappeared. The eighteenth century introduced its own improvements, and their removal belongs to the history of a later time. But Chichele's reredos was destined long afterwards to be uncovered and rebuilt, and to be filled afresh with figures which recall, if not the glowing colours, still something of the richness and the splendour of the early days.

In the middle of the sixteenth century the College buildings began to spread towards the East. Warner's new Lodgings for the Warden continued the High Street front. His dining-room was reckoned among the finest of contemporary apartments. Hovenden improved these Lodgings, and laid out a garden for the Warden on the site of the old Rose Inn. He made the old Library in the quadrangle, with its barrel roof, its panelling and its escutcheons, into one of the most beautiful rooms in Oxford.[2] He had "the cloistered green" converted into a garden with arbours. He prepared a remarkable set of maps of the College property, worked out in elaborate detail. A little later the College gates were repaired, and the statues over them gilded and polished. The figure of our Saviour over the gateway, it was said, perhaps maliciously, became a mark for Puritan troopers in the Civil War.[3] But a leading Puritan in the city intervened to save the College sculptures from destruction. Later in the seventeenth century a Common Room was made for the Fellows. Later still, in the eighteenth century great projects of extension were adopted. The building of the new Library for Codrington's bequest made it necessary to sweep away the cloisters, to create a new quadrangle, a new gateway and piazza, and new towers, unique in Oxford, yet now inseparable from her dreaming spires. But when the Stuarts ceased to rule in England, All Souls was still a Gothic building, redolent of fifteenth-century traditions and linked by many old associations with the past.

[1] But Sir J. Thornhill "adorned" it in the eighteenth century, when he replaced Streater's fresco (Grant Robertson, 170). Mr. Vallance (*Old Colleges*, 46–7) has some interesting notes on All Souls.

[2] The Fellows of All Souls inherit from Warner's and Hovenden's days two of the finest rooms in the College.

[3] There seems to be fair evidence that the Puritans shot at something. But Professor Grant Robertson tells me that he knows of no adequate evidence to prove that the figure of Our Lord stood at any time on the High Street front.

All Souls College in 1675
(Loggan)

It is not at first sight easy to explain why All Souls failed to develope Commoners, and took a form so different from other Colleges in the end. Students of three years' standing in Oxford[1] were from the beginning eligible for election as Fellows, and besides them there were for a long while only Chaplains, clerks, choristers and servants. Hovenden mentions a plan of Archbishop Parker's to appoint scholars from Canterbury School to take the choristers' places.[2] But the plan came to nothing, and there may at that time have been some point in Lady Stafford's taunt that the Fellows of All Souls seemed rather "monkes in a rich abbey than students in a poore College." It seems, however, that in the reign of Elizabeth a new class of students below the degree of Probationers came into existence. There are said to have been thirty-one *Servientes* in 1612.[3] Of Commoners and Fellow-Commoners in the usual sense we hear nothing, though they were by that time very well known elsewhere. How long these poor students continued at All Souls is uncertain, but before the end of the seventeenth century they had apparently disappeared[4]; and with their disappearance ended any prospect of making the College a place of education for young men.

The failure of All Souls to develop a body of undergraduate students is not fully accounted for by some of the reasons that have been suggested for it.[5] It is not exact to say that Chichele fixed no property-limit for his Fellows, or that his foundation was a graduate community from the first. Other Colleges, University and Oriel for instance, were more strictly designed for graduate members. Other Colleges also, like New College and Magdalen, were just as much intended to train men for service in Church and State. The question of Founder's kin did not become important till the eighteenth century. The College buildings, if limited and crowded, could after all have been enlarged. The obligations of the Statutes, the conditions in regard to study and the Injunctions of the Visitors are not of themselves sufficient to explain the exceptional position which the College took. And yet, no doubt, several of these causes

[1] There was nothing to prevent their being undergraduates.

[2] See Burrows (*Worthies*, 116) and Grant Robertson (80–1).

[3] Whitgift seems to use the term *servientes* rather loosely in his Injunctions. But they were poor students rather than servitors. In one place (*Statutes*, 105) he associates them with the *socii* and *scholares*, as persons who might conceivably maintain *pueri* or *famuli* in the College.

[4] Even by 1660, perhaps (see Grant Robertson, 81). Langbaine puts the numbers of the College at seventy about 1651.

[5] Prof. Grant Robertson has some interesting pages on this subject (27–30). But some of the reasons there suggested do not seem to me conclusive.

did contribute to that result, and All Souls did in fact become chiefly a Society of Doctors and Masters, composed of men educated at other Colleges in Oxford, and preoccupied with their own studies and careers. The large legal element in the College, looking to the outside world for professional advancement, gave it a peculiar character, which to some extent New College shared. Above all, the division of the surplus income among the Fellows, and the practice of selling their places, to which they so obstinately clung, must have had a powerful influence in keeping up a close corporation, and in rendering the Fellows disinclined for changes which might involve new charges on the College funds. There probably was a time, between the accession of Queen Elizabeth and the Great Rebellion, when All Souls came near to developing Commoners, as other Colleges had done. But the opportunity was allowed to pass. The age of the Restoration, when the poor students disappeared, was not an age for liberal reforms, and no very strong reason was then needed to explain why a small and privileged Society with Conservative traditions should hesitate to take an important new departure. To some Oxonians of the seventeenth century it may well have seemed a stranger thing that New College should open its doors to Commoners than that All Souls should not. In the age which followed, the claims of Founder's kin, the practice of non-residence, and the want of educational activity in the College, all tended to stereotype the old and narrow view. When the College buildings were enlarged in the eighteenth century, and the College regulations freely altered by the Visitors, no suggestion apparently to encourage the growth of Commoners was made. The College had definitely taken its line, and any idea of expansion had vanished. All Souls became more and more a close society, reserved for the well-born and the well-to-do, proud of its distinctive character in Oxford, indifferent to University teaching and traditions, and linked firmly with the world outside it in which its most successful Fellows moved. Its reputation as a place of study diminished, but its reputation as a place of fashion increased. "Your Smarts, your gallant gentlemen," lived in its quadrangles. "You would think them," says a lively critic, "all bodies and no souls." [1]

[1] There are ample materials for the College history, which have been effectively used by Prof. Montagu Burrows in his *Worthies of All Souls*, by Prof. Oman in the *Colleges of Oxford*, and by Prof. Grant Robertson in his volume on *All Souls College*. I am greatly indebted to all three. Mr. C. T. Martin has printed a valuable *Catalogue* of the College Archives —charters, deeds, letters, accounts, and miscellaneous papers illustrating the whole history of the College. Gutch, who was Chaplain of All Souls, added useful notes to Wood's sketch (*Colleges*, 252–305), and his *Collec-*

William of Wykeham's example had inspired Chichele's foundation. Another great ecclesiastic, closely connected with Winchester, if not with New College also,[1] founded, before the fifteenth century was over, a College destined in loveliness to surpass them all. William Patten took the name of Waynflete from the little town on the Lincolnshire coast where he was born. His father, whose monument is now in the Chapel at Magdalen, was apparently a man of some standing.[2] It seems that the future Bishop was educated at Oxford, was appointed in 1429 Master of Wykeham's famous school at Winchester, and became also Master of a Hospital dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen there. From Winchester Henry VI drew him to take charge of his new College at Eton. The lilies of Eton have their counterpart in the lilies of Magdalen yet. A successful scholar, schoolmaster, administrator, Waynflete completely won the confidence of Henry. On the death of Cardinal Beaufort in 1447, he was recommended for the Cardinal's See. He grew into a powerful Minister and courtier. In 1456 he was Lord Chancellor. In the dark years that followed he was the chief support of the unhappy King. He had the wisdom to be reconciled with Edward IV. He offered civilities to Richard of Gloucester. He welcomed, perhaps with a more whole-hearted courtesy, the accession of a Tudor Prince. But Waynflete's love of education was probably the chief interest of his life. As wealth and opportunity came to him, he set himself to encourage learning. From the time of his appointment as Bishop of Winchester, the design of founding a College at Oxford seems never to have been absent from his mind. He lived long enough

tanea Curiosa contains some interesting details. Mr. Grant Robertson has drawn both on the *Wenman MSS.* in the Warden's keeping and on the *Tanner MSS.* in the Bodleian. I have to thank the Warden's kindness for leave to consult not only the seven vols. of *Wenman MSS.* with their miscellaneous notes—Wenman was an eighteenth-century Professor—the *Punishment Book*, dating from 1601, and the *Register* kept at his house, but also some of the original charters and documents in the College Archives—one of which is a letter addressed to King John—some of the fifteenth and sixteenth century *Bursars' Books* and *Computi*, the College *Register*, with its lists of Fellows and its notes and entries, becoming important in Hovenden's day, and the *Acta in Capitulis*—minutes of College orders and events—the first volume of which runs from 1602 to 1707. This minute book contains some of the most interesting entries. Hovenden kept some earlier minutes before this book began.

[1] Waynflete's education at Winchester and New College is not fully established. But his attachment to New College was close. He speaks (*Statutes*, Magdalen, 7) of "nostri Collegii beatæ Mariæ Virginis Wyntoniæ in Oxonia," but that may be only in his capacity as Bishop. (See Budden's Latin Life of Waynflete, 13 *sq.*, Chaundler's Life, 5–7, and Kirby's *Winchester Scholars*, and *Annals of Winchester College*, 198.)

[2] Richard Patten, otherwise Barbour, may have been a merchant, though the evidence is not strong.

to give his dreams a noble shape. His body lies in a magnificent tomb at Winchester. But his words of thanksgiving,

"Fecit mihi magna qui potens est,"

are carved over the entrance to the Chapel of the College which he built.

In 1448 Waynflete received the King's license to found in Oxford a Hall for a President and fifty graduate Scholars more or less, to be called the Hall of the blessed Mary Magdalen, or in common parlance Maudaleyne Halle.[1] For a site he secured among other tenements Bostar Hall[2] on the South side of the High Street, between the present Schools and Logic Lane, and Hare Hall which lay behind it further South. He gave his Society a Head and a Charter, and promised it Statutes later on. Twenty Scholars were appointed, to study theology and philosophy, all Masters or Bachelors of Arts. But before the new foundation had been long in existence, a larger project altered its history. The old Hospital of St. John the Baptist, which lay beyond the East gate of the town, which Henry III had refounded and which even Henry's grasping father had endowed, had fallen upon evil days. Its brethren were reduced to four. Its sisters had disappeared altogether. Its rules were disregarded and its funds ill spent. In 1456 Waynflete secured a grant of its possessions. Next year he received the Royal license to found a new College of St. Mary Magdalen, in which the Hospital and Magdalen Hall were both to be absorbed.[3] In June 1458, intending, we are told, to substitute heavenly things for earthly, he issued a Charter for this foundation, which provided for existing interests and made Magdalen Hall a part of the new plan. In the critical days which followed, the Founder bought the favour of King Edward. A valuable in-

[1] *Statutes of Colleges* (Vol. II, Magdalen, v). "Mawdelyn College" is also mentioned (*Ib.* 81). The pronunciation is older than the College.

[2] Otherwise "Borstalle."

[3] Mr. H. A. Wilson (*Magdalen College*, 9–16) describes clearly the stages in this process. The foundation deeds of the College are given in Mr. Salter's *Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist* (II, 413–32), and the Hospital's history is best given in the Preface to vol. III of that work. The same volume gives the Rule of the Hospital (1–6), a Computus Roll of 1340 (18–27), which shows a possible total of sixteen members besides the Master and servants at that date, and an Appendix on the Hospital architecture by Mr. R. T. Gunther, who suggests that there was accommodation for 10 Brothers and 8 Sisters. See also Wood (*City*, II, 519–29). In the heading to the Statutes (*Statutes of Colleges*, II) printed in 1853, the foundation is dated 1459. But the license to found the College is dated July 18, 1457, and Waynflete's earliest charters to it are dated September 30, 1457, and June 12, 1458. The earlier foundation also, though called Magdalen Hall, was, as Dean Rashdall points out (II, 512, n.), essentially a College from the first.

heritance from Sir John Fastolf of Caister, one of the great soldiers of Agincourt, whose name was destined to a slight corruption and a rare celebrity, came in. A derelict Priory at Sele in Sussex with benefices near increased the College holdings.[1] While the Scholars lived in the old tenements about the High Street, the building of the new College beside the Cherwell went on. Quarries at Headington, Wheatley and elsewhere furnished the stone. In 1467 the enclosing walls on the South were begun. The "great wall" along the Western boundary, now Long Wall Street,[2] and the "lesser wall" on the North boundary followed. The foundation stone of the Chapel was laid on the 5th May 1474.[3] The Hall, the Library, the cloister chambers and the first towers were gradually completed. Parts of the old Hospital buildings were for a time allowed to remain. In 1480, the year when Tybard, the first President,[4] gave place to Richard Mayew, the College, it seems, took possession of its new home.

Two or three years elapsed before the Founder's Statutes were finished, years occupied in organising the Society and in getting its ordinances into shape. President Mayew had some trouble with members who objected to the rules laid down. The Pope issued a Bull confirming Waynflete's regulations and attaching the College to the diocese of Winchester. The Founder paid more than one visit to Oxford. King Edward and King Richard enjoyed the College hospitality in turn. At last, in 1483, the Statutes seem to have been completed, and gradually the vacancies on the foundation were filled up. Waynflete was steeped in Wykeham's traditions, and Wykeham's code served for an example once again. But on some points the younger Bishop took a line of his own. In "Seynte Mary Magdalen College" there were to be finally a President, forty poor and indigent Scholars, clerks studying theology and philosophy, and thirty other poor Scholars, commonly called "Demyes," studying grammar, logic and sophistics.[5] There were also to be four Chaplains, eight clerks and sixteen choristers. Magdalen, like New College, was to have a famous choir. Two or three of the

[1] Other suppressed religious Houses were also annexed. (See later, p. 391.) There are interesting old deeds relating to Sele in the College Archives. (See *Fourth Report, Hist. MSS. Commission*, 463.)

[2] William Orchard or Orcheyerd was the chief mason. The day wages of the workmen varied from 3½*d.* to 6*d.* a day (Wilson, *Magdalen*, 22).

[3] This is the date given in the building accounts quoted by Dr. Bloxam (*Register of St. Mary Magdalen College*, II, App. I, 227). There is an error in Wood's date (*Colleges*, 322).

[4] John Horley was apparently Head of the earlier Hall (Wilson, 7 and 16).

[5] "Grammaticalia, logicalia et sophisticalia (*Statutes of Colleges*, vol. II, Magdalen, 6).

Fellows might study Civil Law or Canon Law, and two or three others might study medicine; but the theologians and philosophers far outnumbered the rest. The forty Fellows were, as usual, to be chaste and modest persons, fit for study and for the priestly life. They were to be, if possible, Masters or Bachelors in Arts, drawn specially from certain dioceses and counties.[1] Failing Masters and Bachelors, undergraduates might be elected, and in the last resort students who had reached their fifteenth year. A year's probation was required before their admission as full Fellows. Their commons varied with the price of corn from twelve to sixteen pence. But these commons were subject to reduction if bad times intervened, or if funds were needed to repair the buildings. Fellows were liable to lose their Fellowships if they deserted their studies, or married or turned monks, or if they succeeded to property or to a benefice of a certain value.[2] The Demies were boys appointed by the President, Vice-President and Deans, and drawn from districts where the College had property. They must have reached their twelfth year before admission,[3] and might stay on, unless their income was excessive, till they were twenty-five. They were to be thoroughly grounded in grammar first, and a few of them might devote themselves to the humanities,[4] so as to qualify for teaching others. They were called "Sir": we hear of Sir Browne and Sir Charnock. But for all their style they had only half the commons of the Fellows.[5] They had only half the Fellows' leave of absence also. The Founder was determined to justify their name.

The President of the Society was to be elected by the Fellows[6]

[1] Especially from the counties of Lincolnshire and Oxfordshire, and from the dioceses of Winchester and Norwich. (See the list in the *Statutes*, Magdalen, 17).) The rule was often evaded. There were also to be two Scholars on the foundation of Thomas Ingeldew, drawn preferably from the dioceses of York and Durham, and one John Forman Scholar (otherwise Formam) drawn from Yorkshire.

[2] "Si in eodem personaliter resideat" (*Ib.* 46).

[3] But it seems that in 1557 Gervase Smith was admitted at the age of nine. (See Macray, *Register of Magdalen*, New Series, II, iv.)

[4] "Circa grammaticalia et poemata, et alias artes humanitatis" (*Statutes*, 16).

[5] Their commons were soon afterwards fixed at 8*d.* a week. The servants had about the same allowance for food (*Ib.* 72 and 91–2). The choristers, it seems, had only 4*d.*, besides the scraps the Fellows left (Bloxam, *Register*, I, iii). On the choristers' dress see Bloxam (*Ib.* iv–v).

[6] The method of election was elaborate. The Fellows as a whole chose two persons from present or past Fellows of Magdalen or New College. Of these two the thirteen senior Fellows chose one, who was presented to the Visitor, the Bishop of Winchester, and instituted by him. But the Bishop had no power to veto or delay the election (*Statutes*, 6–9).

from either Magdalen or New College men. He might be a Master of Arts or a Doctor of law, theology or medicine. He drew, besides his commons, twenty pounds a year. He was provided with two servants and a groom. He had horses and plate and household utensils, sufficient "but not too sumptuous," and allowances when travelling upon College business. He was in fact a personage of dignity and substance, conspicuous among College Heads, and he might hold benefices of any value. But he must not without special leave be absent for more than two months in the year. He governed the College and supervised its property. But in matters of importance he was expected to consult the Fellows. Provision for his removal if necessary was made. The President had the right to entertain strangers. Kings of England and their heirs were to be treated with special honour. The association of Magdalen with the Royalty of England dates from its earliest years. Sons of nobles and of worthy persons also had special privileges as visitors, and out of these privileged strangers the Commoners of the future grew.[1] Otherwise no strangers were permitted to stay in College overnight. A Vice-President, elected by the President and the thirteen senior Fellows, was expected to live in the College and to help in its administration. He drew a salary of twenty-six shillings and eightpence,[2] and the Chaplains and clerks drew small salaries also. Three Bursars had charge of the College estates, three Deans of the studies and morals of the Scholars. These officers too were appointed by the President and thirteen seniors, and each drew a salary of thirteen and fourpence a year. A University Register notes that the Magdalen Bursars had dripping also as a perquisite, which in most cases fell to the cooks.[3] The College servants included a manciple, a butler, a chief cook, without dripping but with two assistants, two porters who acted as barbers also, and two grooms to look after the horses. Nothing is said about a gardener. Each week one of the graduate Fellows was expected to act as Seneschal of the Hall.

Waynflete's rules for behaviour in Hall, his injunctions against mischievous games and sports, his arrangements for scrutinies, for dress, for disputations, followed the general lines which William of Wykeham had laid down. Card-playing now had to be prohibited: we hear of members of the College gam-

[1] "Filii nobilium et valentium personarum," up to the number of twenty, were admitted at the President's discretion to stay in the College —"ad pernoctandum et ad communas"—at their own expense. But they must be in the charge of tutors—"sub tutela et regimine creditorum, vulgariter *creancers* nuncupatorum" (*Ib.*, 60 and 127).

[2] This was doubled in 1495 (*Ib.* 106).

[3] See Clark (*Register*, II, i, 287–8).

bling away their clothes.[1] But chess, it seems, was no longer an object of alarm. There was no mention, as at New College, of "the most vile and horrible" sport of shaving beards. But Magdalen Fellows had their own temptations, the keeping of dogs and ferrets, hawks and song-birds, the stealing of apples, sheep and deer. Magdalen too had its Christmas King: as late as 1588 we hear of him. And entries in the College Register and accounts from 1481 onwards record the election of Boy Bishops and the acting of religious plays.[2] Allowances for livery, omitted by the Founder, were soon declared to have been a part of his intention,[3] though Waynflete had expressly forbidden Visitors, Presidents or Fellows to make any change in his Statutes. Clothes were closely regulated. Inordinate hair was condemned. So were the bearing of arms and the dangerous habit of walking out alone. Each Fellow had a separate bed, though boys under fifteen slept together. But most of the rooms contained three or four beds. The seniors superintended the young ones, and were told to denounce their excesses and defects.[4] Careful provision for celebrating obits, for prayers for Kings and benefactors, was made, and allowances given to those who performed them.[5] There were special regulations against improper attempts to secure Proctorial office: there had been trouble on this point in the early days of the College.[6] There were rules for study and for taking degrees. University Graces were not to be despised. There was to be a Master to educate the choristers, and one of the Chaplains might, if qualified, undertake the duty.

Waynflete founded no great Public School. But like Wykeham he had large ideas of education. He was the first Public Schoolmaster to become a Bishop, the fore-runner of a celebrated race. He saw the dawn of the Renaissance. He was not unmindful of the needs of his age. Three Readers, drawing salaries and allowances from the College, were appointed to give lectures in Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy and Theology.[7] The lectures, which might sometimes begin at six in

[1] See the charges made at the Visitation of 1507 (Macray, *Register*, I, 35 *sq.*), and details quoted in Sir H. Warren's charming little volume (*Magdalen College, Oxford*, 84 *sq.*). When one hears of Yate B.A. selling his freedom (*libertatem*) for 5*s.* 5*d.* at cards (Macray, I, 45), one is tempted to read *liberatam* (livery) instead (see *Statutes*, 93).

[2] Chiefly, Dr. Boas thinks, liturgical or miracle plays (*University Drama in Tudor Age*, 2, 3, 11).

[3] *Statutes* (91–3).

[4] *Ib.* (73).

[5] E.g. the allowance of 1*d.* a week for the seven senior Demies who prayed for the souls of Sir John Fastolf and his wife. (*Ib.* 67.)

[6] *Ib.* (56–7 and 103–4).

[7] The philosophers each received £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, and the theologians £10 a year (*Ib.*, 48).

the morning, were open not only to the College but to scholars outside. College education was beginning definitely to replace the older system in the Schools. The Readers, if not Fellows already, succeeded to Fellowships when vacancies occurred. A fund was set apart, a hundred shillings yearly, for the instruction of Fellows and Scholars in sophistry and logic. One or more tutors were appointed for this purpose. And close beside the College a Grammar-School was founded for the free teaching of all boys who applied.[1] Its Masters and ushers soon became famous for their learning. They were nominated by the President and paid out of the College funds. Teaching from boyhood upwards was thus made available for almost every member of the College.[2] Wykeham's grammar-school and Wykeham's tutorial system[3] were reproduced upon the spot. And a generous offer apparently of free teaching for all comers replaced and extended the charities of the old Hospital of St. John.

The great Bishop's endeavours to endow his College ceased only with his death. Suppressed ecclesiastical foundations, not at Sele only but at Brackley and Aynho, at Wanborough and Selborne, added to its wealth.[4] There were lands in Hampshire and Lincolnshire and several other counties, houses in Oxford, houses in Southwark and the Strand. The deeds which record them, sealed with splendid seals, are full of mediæval history, of strange little details about the monks of Selborne and the family of Fastolf and the standard-bearer of Richard I. Waynflete's will brought the College more possessions, including his sandals and buskins which are still preserved. Henry VII visited Magdalen, as his two predecessors had done before him. But it is a myth which connects his benefactions with the May-day ceremonies held upon the Tower. Henry's son, Arthur, stayed there in his boyhood, and ancient tapestries in the President's Lodgings are believed to recall the marriage which was to have such serious consequences for the world. Other gifts of lands and money followed. Scholarships were founded from the earliest days. Ingeldew's and Forman's Scholars are men-

[1] "Quoscunque ad scholam grammaticalem . . . accedentes" (*Ib.* 76). But in practice it seems to have been restricted to members, including choristers, of Colleges and Halls. Dr. Bloxam insists that only "academical persons" were intended to use it (*Register*, III, 3–6). Another grammar school, with a Master appointed by Magdalen, was founded in Wainfleet.

[2] The Jurists shared in the teaching provided by the 100 shillings yearly. But nothing is said about students of medicine (*Statutes*, 78).

[3] "Informator" is the term used for the teacher, as usual.

[4] Mr. Wilson has an Appendix on the religious foundations annexed to the College (*Magdalen*, 264), and interesting details are given in the *Fourth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission* (459).

tioned in the Statutes. Other scholarships established in the sixteenth century, and named after the donors, are proofs of the good friends which the College had acquired.[1] Magdalen, though founded in days of revolution, had no early struggles with poverty to face.

Mayew, one of the earliest Presidents, was conspicuous in the Royal service. Like Wolsey afterwards, he was Almoner to the King. He helped to negotiate the marriage of Catharine of Arragon, and was made a Bishop in 1504. But he refused to give up his post at Magdalen. His non-residence led to serious troubles and complaints. And after a sharp quarrel the Visitor's interference brought his tenure of the Presidency abruptly to an end. Claymond, with his scholarship, his wealth, his generous alms-deeds, proved a more successful ruler. A man of high character and public spirit, he was the friend of Erasmus and of More. He was the friend too of Bishop Fox, and in 1516 he passed on to become the first President of Fox's new College of Corpus. His successor, Higdon, passed on in the same way to be the first Dean of Cardinal College.[2] Magdalen contributed in no small degree to man the new foundations, and the great name of the Magdalen Cardinal overshadowed them all. Wolsey, a Fellow of some years' standing, was Bursar of the College before the fifteenth century closed. We find him travelling upon College business and buying cloth for a chorister's clothes. But there is no ground for believing the story that he misapplied the College funds. In the days of his power he drew Magdalen men freely into his service. His influence was soon paramount at Oxford as elsewhere.[3]

Tyndale stayed at Magdalen Hall, and his doctrines spread widely among members of the College. The Fellows found less difficulty than we might expect in accepting Henry as Head of the Church,[4] and in discarding "Duns and such like stuff."

[1] See the benefactions of Guldford, Higdon, Morwent, Claymond, etc. (*Statutes*, 112 *sq.*). Money left by the last three is still distributed to the President, Fellows, Demies and others, as far as possible in fourpenny bits, on the first Monday in Lent (Warren, *Magdalen College*, 103). The choristers get new pennies.

[2] There are interesting notes on Mayew, Claymond and Higdon in the two great Magdalen *Registers* (Macray, VII, 105 *sq.*; I, 35 *sq.*, 114–15, and 123 *sq.*; and Bloxam, IV, 3 *sq.*, xxiii, and elsewhere; see also the indexes). But Mr. Wilson has missed nothing of what they contain.

[3] Wolsey's name first appears in the College books in 1497, apparently as an M.A. (Bloxam, III, 25). But he may have been a member of the College from 1491 or 1492. Mr. Wilson (71) thinks that he made a Visitation of the College as Legate in 1527. (See also later, Chap. X.)

[4] On Cranmer's Visitation early in 1535, and on Gardiner's first Visitation in 1532, see vol. III of the College *Register* (C) in the Bursar's keeping (pp. 23 and 113–14).

They may have felt more about paying for the new lecture in Greek which the Royal Commissioners of 1535 established.[1] Oglethorpe, a President elected under Thomas Cromwell, held office, though not continuously, under King Edward and Queen Mary, and survived as a Bishop to crown Queen Elizabeth.[2] But even his wise and cautious administration could not escape the disorders of the time. "Undecent innovations" made their way to Oxford. One member of the College, who lived to be a Bishop, is alleged to have taken away the Sacrament and broken it in pieces. Another, John Stokesley, who became Bishop of London, had already been charged with theft, perjury, adultery and witchcraft, and accused of baptizing a cat.[3] Hatchets were brought into the College Chapel. A riot broke against the gates. King Edward's Council threatened the existence of the Grammar School, and the Mayor and citizens of Oxford intervened in its support. The extreme Reformers attacked the priests and dispersed the College vestments. They paid the penalty when Queen Mary dispossessed Queen Jane.[4] Gardiner, as Visitor, ejected some of the Protestant Fellows. Julins Palmer, once a Fellow, was burned. Thomas Bentham, expelled at Gardiner's Visitation, is said to have prayed by the martyrs at Smithfield. And the Protestants triumphed again as soon as Elizabeth succeeded. Coveney, elected President in 1558, and strangely enough not a priest but a Bachelor of Medicine,[5] gave way to Laurence Humfrey, a well-known Calvinist divine. There was little violent change. The College proved "conformable" and accepted the new order. Even Humfrey after a stout resistance put the hated vestments on, and one hopes he had humour enough to enjoy, like his contemporaries, the compliments on his appearance paid him by the Queen.

Humfrey was a man of character and reputation. His fame drew Commoners freely to the College, but the Fellows resented the confusion which they caused. In 1584 complaints were made not only of "commoners higher and lower," but of battelers and poor scholars without number, who paid little regard,

[1] The payment is not recorded until 1540. In 1541 and 1542 payments were made for a geography lecture—perhaps a College experiment (Wilson, 78, n.).

[2] Accused of "superstition," Oglethorpe resigned in 1552, when Haddon, the Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, was appointed. But after Mary's accession Oglethorpe returned, till succeeded by Cole, an old servant of Wolsey, in 1555.

[3] See Bloxam (II, xliii and III, 23).

[4] But the Vice-President's Register, which begins in 1547, does not indicate that the Protestants suffered very severely, though some Fellows were removed and some withdrew (Wilson, 106 *sq.*).

[5] The Visitor thought the election irregular, but allowed it to stand. Coveney took orders later (Wilson, 106), and was deprived in 1561.

as it seems, to College rules.[1] Fifty years later the Visitor is found lamenting the "multitude of poore schollers and Servitors, which hang upon the Colledge in an idle and unschollerly way."[2] Humfrey's reign, in spite of his abilities, was marked by a good deal of disorder. Party feeling flourished. Mismanagement and corruption crept in. Mr. President was accused of favouring "atheists, ruffians, idle bellies," and, strangest of all, Papists. There was selling of places in College; the elections were compared to horse-fairs. There was "coursing of dogges, singing of rounds, throwing of stones in the night." Fellows who had shaved their heads in derision of the tonsure were sentenced to wear night-caps.[3] The Lord Lieutenant of the county, who had imprisoned a Magdalen man for poaching, was stoned as he passed under the tower. But the next President, Nicholas Bond, inevitably nicknamed the Bond of iniquity, restored peace and prosperity to the College. He owed his election to the Queen's interference. He had his enemies, who impugned his morals and accused him of dancing in company unfitting for a divine. But under Bond lectures and discipline and finance improved. Surpluses became available for the Fellows to divide.[4] The Queen's counsellors and nobles were entertained at Magdalen when she visited Oxford in 1592, and James I came there in person. James brought Prince Henry with him and complimented the Fellows on possessing "the most absolute building in Oxford." But the Prince, a gallant child of eleven, stayed among them, and won their hearts by drinking to their health. When he died, the College spent thirty shillings on "Blackes," and lamented him in lamentable verses. But Prince Henry from Heaven bade them not despair:

> "Est super ille meus florentibus integer annis
> CAROLUS, est vobis ELISABETHA super."[5]

In the years that followed this Royal visit Magdalen, we are

[1] Macray (II, 103).

[2] Macray (III, 52). In 1585 Bishop Cooper, the Visitor, limited them to 13, and attached them to the 13 senior Fellows. But they steadily increased. In 1612 they numbered 76, besides 24 Commoners and 10 "Battellatores," according to Twyne's figures (XXI, 514). An entry of 1590 in the Vice-President's *Register* again forbade strangers to sleep in College rooms.

[3] See Macray (II, 101–2, 117 and 133) and Bloxam (II, lxii).

[4] But this was perhaps justified by the increase in prices (Wilson, 138–9). For Bond's history and the charges against him see Macray (II, 171 *sq.*).

[5] See the concluding lines of the *Lachrymæ Oxonienses* (London, 1612). Besides the University elegies, Magdalen men published a little collection of their own, and Cambridge produced another collection. The three are bound up together at the British Museum. Wood's statement that the Prince matriculated at Magdalen is unproved and may be doubted. But

Magdalen College in 1566
(Bereblock)

assured, became "the very nursery of Puritans."[1] But that did not prevent it from electing a President who supported Laud. Accepted Frewen, an able and distinguished ruler, who after the Restoration rose to be Archbishop of York, became, in spite of early Puritan connections,[2] a Chaplain of Charles I. He worked with Laud in University matters. He set up in the Chapel an altar which critics compared to the altars of Bethel. And in 1642 he took a leading part in raising money for the King.[3] Magdalen men fought for the Crown. Magdalen Grove sheltered the King's guns. Magdalen Walks mounted batteries: the mound called Dover Pier remains. Rupert's trumpeters woke echoes in the cloisters. Rupert's riders gathered, it may be, behind the College walls. Charles himself watched the movements of his army from the tower. When Frewen passed to a Bishopric, during the War, John Oliver, trained in the same school of loyalty, stepped into his place. Oliver was removed by the Commissioners of Parliament, and some twenty-eight Fellows and perhaps twenty-one Demies were expelled at the same time. The hands of the Visitors fell heavily on the College.[4] Mr. Chibnall, the Bursar, was taken into custody for refusing to surrender the keys and books. To replace the obstinate Royalists and churchmen new-comers from other Colleges were imported. Some were brought from Cambridge, one even from Harvard overseas. John Wilkinson of Magdalen Hall, a veteran Puritan, succeeded to Oliver's post. Cromwell and Fairfax dined in the College and played bowls upon its green. A store of gold coins found in the Treasury, spur-royals and angels, was unhappily appropriated and divided by the Fellows.[5]

he had a Magdalen "governor," and may even have spoken of himself as a Magdalen man. For his visit in 1605 see Wake's *Rex Platonicus* (6th ed., 178–80) and Macray (III, 36–9).

[1] Its total numbers in 1612 Twyne (XXI, 514) puts at 246—though he adds his figures up wrongly.

[2] Frewen in early days is said to have been "Puritanically inclined" (Wood, *Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, IV, 221). Wood credits Magdalen Hall with 300 members, "mostly inclining to Calvinism," in 1624 (*Colleges*, 686).

[3] In 1642 the King asked for a loan at 8 per cent. In January 1643 he secured the College plate—which the Parliamentary troops had spared —except one or two pieces like the Founder's cup. (See the Vice-President's *Register*, ff. 96–7, and Macray, III, 55–7 and IV, 4.) For Frewen's career see Bloxam (V, 9–20).

[4] Mr. Wilson goes very carefully into this question (164–7). Prof. Burrows, who gives the answers of the Fellows on their examination and a good deal of information on the subject (*Register of Visitors*, 79–80, 97–8, 509 *sq.*, 571, etc.), has an estimate of 65 expulsions, including servants, and of 25 submissions. Certainty is not possible, but Mr. Wilson is the safest guide.

[5] All members of the College, even the servants, had a share. But it seems that a good deal of the money was repaid to the Treasury later (Wilson, 168–71).

But Wilkinson's health failed quickly: a new appointment was needed: and Goodwin, an old Independent minister, reigned from 1650 till the Restoration. If Addison's delicate mockery may be trusted, Goodwin's chief concern was to discover whether candidates for admission were or were not of the elect. Receiving them in a chamber hung with black, "with half a dozen nightcaps upon his head, and a religious horror in his countenance," the President would startle the young men by inquiring whether they were prepared for death.[1]

When King Charles returned, John Oliver came back again, and some five and twenty of the old Fellows and Demies came with him. The King interfered with recommendations and the Visitor with Injunctions, which were not always happily conceived. Oliver's successor, Dr. Pierce, a great champion of the Church establishment, was nominated directly by the King, but he soon proved "intolerable" to the Fellows. Controversial by habit—he was specially well read "in the quinquarticular controversies"—he found too much delight in controversy with his colleagues.[2] The appointment, again, of Dr. Clerke by Royal mandate in 1672, was little more popular. It was, we are assured, as welcome to the College as "a storm to a fleet." Clerke was a layman and a Doctor of Music. He took Orders soon after his election. Critics complained of his laziness. The College sank to the level of the times. Clerke's death in 1687 produced a famous contest for the Presidency. James II nominated Farmer, who was suspected of being a Papist, who was known to be a drunkard and a brawler, and who was clearly ineligible under the College rules. Even James was forced to drop him, and to substitute Parker, the Bishop of Oxford, in his stead. But the Fellows had already met and elected John Hough, and Hough refused to compromise or to submit. The memorable struggle which ensued is a part of English history. The country held its breath and waited, while the reckless King forced his nominees upon the College, expelled the Fellows who resisted, and thrust in Romanists instead. Then the scene changed as quickly. The Dutch fleet sailed. The panic-stricken King gave way. Hough returned in triumph, the excluded Fellows with him. And seventeen new Demies—Addison, Sacheverell and Boulter were among them—inaugurated a happier era in the "golden election" of 1689.[3]

[1] *Spectator*, No. 494.

[2] A cheerful lampoon on Pierce is reprinted by Dr. Bloxam (*Register*, I, 74–6).

[3] Dr. Bloxam's *Magdalen College and King James II* gives the fullest account of these transactions, and a list of the Fellows expelled (204). But see later (vol. II, Chap. XIX). The Buttery Book of 1688 in the Library shows the offending names struck out.

Wolsey is the most imposing personage in the early history of the College. But not a few of its members rose to fame. Grocyn as Divinity Reader made it the earliest home of the Classical Revival in Oxford. Wiliam Lily, the first Master of St. Paul's, Colet, if he ever was a Commoner of Magdalen, and the famous Grammar Masters in the College School adjoining, carried the tradition on. Archbishop Lee, Wolsey's successor at York, a bitter critic of Erasmus, was one of many eminent prelates, even if he was "arrogant, ignorant and venomous," as Erasmus thought. Cardinal Pole, in his brief hour omnipotent, was another.[1] Bishop Fox, the Founder of Corpus, was a third. Morwent, one of the early College Lecturers, became afterwards President of Corpus. Foxe, the Martyrologist, and Bodley, immortalised by his munificence, were great Elizabethans. But Foxe belonged to an older school of early, stubborn Protestants. He refused to take Orders or to attend the College Chapel, and he was driven to resign his Fellowship about 1545. Later on, he placed his son under the care of Laurence Humfrey, but the boy, who had no love for Puritan methods, ran away abroad.[2] Camden, the historian, may have been a servitor or chorister at Magdalen, before he passed on to Broadgates Hall.[3] Lyly, the author of *Euphues*, was trained there; but "his genie being bent to the pleasant paths of poetry, he did in a manner neglect academical studies." So was Florio, the translator of Montaigne, who shared with Shakespeare the friendship of Southampton. So was a more sinister but not less conspicuous figure, Simon Forman, schoolmaster, astrologer, magician, quack—

> "There Forman was, that fiend in human shape,
> That by his art did act the devills ape."[4]

Forman's doubtful services to fashionable ladies were among the many scandals of King James' Court. Sir Ralph Winwood, one of James' Ambassadors, and Sir Thomas Roe, who was not only an Ambassador but a pioneer of adventure in the East, were worthier representatives of the spirit of the time.

[1] It seems probable that Pole was a Commoner of Magdalen before he was nominated a Fellow of Corpus.

[2] Dr. Bloxam (*Register*, IV, 194–6) quotes the letters exchanged between John Foxe and Laurence Humfrey, from the originals in the Bodleian.

[3] But he is not in the list of choristers (*Ib.* I, 17–18).

[4] See *Sir Thomas Overburies Vision* (by R. N., Richard Niccols, 34), and Sir S. Lee's article in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* But Cambridge gave Forman his license to practise medicine. Mr. Wilson mentions some well-known names of Commoners (129, n.) who are not dealt with by Bloxam or Macray. For Lyly at Magdalen see Mr. Warwick Bond's Life in vol. I of his edition of Lyly's *Works* (6–16).

There are many names and many episodes worth mention in the College records. The fifteenth-century President who lived to the age of a hundred, anticipating an illustrious successor,[1] the sixteenth-century divine, John Piers, who took to tippling in an ale-house, and then, curing himself of his bad habits, became Master of Balliol, Dean of Christ Church and a great Elizabethan Archbishop of York,[2] the seventeenth-century scholar who saw the Devil grovelling on the floor of his bedroom, attired like a Bishop in lawn sleeves, and appropriately preceded by "a noise like the noise of geese," illustrate the infinite variety of College life. The entries in the accounts are full of homely little items—charges for a "gelycloth" and a barber's basin in 1481, twopence halfpenny in 1484 for holly and ivy for Christmas decorations, a penny to two scholars for cleaning the Bursary in 1525, one shilling and sixpence for a chimney-sweep at the President's house in 1627, twenty-eight pounds in the days of Queen Elizabeth for wainscoting the Hall. We have charges in 1561 of some forty-five shillings for setting up a theatre,[3] and of fourpence for taking it away. Plays for acting in the Hall were sometimes written by the Master of the College School. We hear in 1553 of the buying of "marmilade" for College use, of putrid fish given still earlier to prisoners by a charity determined not to pauperise the poor,[4] of Demies who in 1616 insisted on dining in Hall in hats instead of caps, of the ill-judged claim of an Earl's son to sit above all the other Fellows—a matter which the King had to be asked to settle, as the Visitor thought it "too big and too high" for him.[5] The details of a Gentleman Commoner's expenditure in the days when Oliver Cromwell ruled England show few signs of Puritan restraint: eighty pounds for tutoring, ten pounds for "a College pott," six pounds for "a tawny gowne," two pounds for a hat and silver band. To the four hundred and seventy-eight pounds spent in two years mercers, glovers and booksellers alike contribute. And the young man's expenditure on his marriage soon afterwards—two hundred and fifty-two pounds for a rope of pearl, seventy pounds and more for laces, twenty-four pounds for a silver warming-pan, a hundred pounds for "treating when wife brought home"[6]—reveals a certain lavishness of temper which an Oxford education had done little to repress.

[1] Macray (*Register*, I, 81). [2] Bloxam (IV, 93 *sq.*).

[3] If Dr. Boas' details are correct (*University Drama*, 23–4). I fear I cannot accept his total of 40*s.* 9*d.*, nor yet Mr. Macray's figure of 41*s.* 7*d.*

[4] In 1687 the College claimed that it gave in charity nearly £100 a year (Bloxam, *Magdalen College and James II*, 160–1).

[5] Macray (IV, 121). See also Macray's Notes from the Registers and Accounts, *passim*, especially vols. I, II and III.

[6] *Ib.* (IV, 10–11).

From Tyndale's day onwards Magdalen Hall was a Puritan centre, and Puritan associations had a powerful influence on the College life. Edward Hyde never belonged to the College,[1] but even he may not have been altogether untouched by the traditions of the Hall. John Wilkinson was Head of both. John Hampden joined the College as a boy of fifteen.[2] By the irony of fortune, the cup which he gave it went to swell the war-chest of the King. George Wither, the Puritan poet, sang to its "sweet delightful fountains" a few songs whose melody has never ceased to charm.

> "Shall I, wasting in despair,
> Die because a woman's fair?"

There was little in such a theme to separate Puritan and Cavalier. On the other side Peter Heylyn, uncompromising Royalist and churchman, earned the reputation of a "bluster-master" with those who distrusted his history of his time. "Holy" Hammond and Bishop Warner of Rochester, like Heylyn resolute friends of the establishment, were Chaplains to Charles I and eminent and lovable divines. Bishop Mews[3] of Winchester, the College Visitor, was present at Sedgemoor. Mews warned the Fellows not to press their claim to nominate the Principals of Magdalen Hall. But they refused to take his advice; they challenged the rights of the Chancellor, the Duke of Ormonde; and the Law-Courts disposed of their plea.[4] "Rabbi" Smith was a learned Orientalist expelled with many colleagues in 1687. Robert Charnock was James II's most obstinate supporter, and died later for his share in a plot to assassinate William III. In the same stormy times Addison passed from Queen's to a Demyship at Magdalen, to become an inseparable part of her traditions,[5] and George Hickes, the stout Non-juror, passed from his Deanery to a life of persecution.[6] Other figures famous or familiar in the Oxford of their day are commemorated in the College monuments, which have found a historian of their own.[7] The effigy of William Tybard, the first President, re-discovered in 1911, has

[1] Though recommended for a Demyship by James I.

[2] He is so described in the matriculation register, but the date of his birth is not quite certain.

[3] This is the spelling on his tomb in Winchester Cathedral.

[4] See Bloxam (V, 276–9).

[5] Addison, says Mr. Buckler (*Observations on the Original Architecture of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford*, 62–3), lived in a room on the East side of the main quadrangle, which no longer exists: in a chamber and study at the N.E. angle, adds Mr. Gunther, from Buckler's MS. notes (*St. John's Cart.* III, 400).

[6] Hickes was a Servitor of Magdalen and a Fellow of Lincoln.

[7] See the *Brasses and Other Funeral Monuments of Magdalen College*, by R. W. Gunther, which is reprinted at the end of Macray's *Register* (vol. VIII).

been restored to its place in the floor of the Chapel whose building long ago he watched. Memorials to several of his successors still remain. A music master whose fierce zeal for the Chapel music led him to kidnap a boy at Malmesbury and to bring him back in chains, deserves a line of record if not of respect. And Wood has dwelt upon the touching monument set up to John and Thomas Lyttelton in 1635, one aged seventeen, the other thirteen only, "quos innoxie obambulantes in campo minorem lubricus pes in undam misit." The elder died in trying to save his brother from drowning, and Cowley, then a school-boy at Westminster, wrote an elegy on both.

The College buildings, the loveliest in Oxford, embody some fragments of the old Hospital of St. John.[1] The arch of the Pilgrim's Gate is still to be seen in the wall upon the High Street. The main walls of the old Hospital Chapel close by it and of the vaulted chamber below are standing yet. Outlying parts of the Hospital were probably left while a site for the new quadrangle was cleared within. On the South side of this quadrangle Chapel and Hall were placed together. Wykeham's design was followed, Wykeham's workmanship in some respects surpassed. A cloister of singular beauty grew up round the other three sides, with buildings overhead.[2] The "lavacrum" occupied the centre. The President, the Fellows, the College Library, were lodged in chambers round. The Founder's Tower or "great tower," soon to be dwarfed by a greater, rose with its rich and delicate ornament over the entrance to the cloister from the West. It was, no doubt, intended to mark the main access to the College,[3]

[1] These fragments are probably older than any other College buildings in Oxford except parts of Christ Church. Mr. J. C. Buckler (*Observations*, 13) estimates the precinct of the Hospital at 94 acres, 1 rood, 24 perches. His *Rough Notes* on the Hospital history are preserved (MS. 27,963) at the British Museum, and Mr. Gunther has founded on them an Essay which is printed as Appendix III in the third volume of Mr. Salter's *Cartulary* of the Hospital. The main parts of the Hospital which survived the foundation of the College, seem to have been the North wall of the cloister, which survived till the rebuilding of 1824, the building beyond it—the "Stables"—removed in the eighteenth century, and once possibly the home of the Hospital Sisters, the Chapel with the vaulted room below it on the High Street, used in the sixteenth century as a lecture-room and an almshouse, and the College kitchen. A good deal of very early stone-work is probably built into the walls of the Chaplains' Quadrangle. The Hospital was a place where travellers or sick people might be received for a time (Salter, *Cartulary*, III, xiv.) It had more than one chapel. See also Wilson (*Magdalen*, 12–13) and the little old drawing reproduced from a MS. of Matthew Paris by Mr. Salter (III, 433).

[2] The South side was not intended to have buildings over it, and was not at first completed.

[3] Buckler (*Observations*, 36) cannot forgive the President who closed and planted out this gateway, and substituted as the main entrance "a contiguous porch."

and it contained the principal chamber of the President's quarters. A second tower, to hold the College muniments, its porch adorned with splendid stone-work, stood at the North-west corner of the Chapel. A third, where the Song School probably was held, has long been swept away.[1] The kitchen lay to the East between the Hall and the river. The Chapel, it seems, was finished by the summer of 1480, when the new buildings came into use[2]: four centuries since have added to its spell. The Ante-Chapel, to which Orchard gave a great West window, included a short nave and two short aisles. The high altar was placed in the choir. Outside, on the South of the choir, was a small square transept which has vanished. In the wall on the North side was a small oratory with a second altar. There were six other altars in the nave. The doorway on the West was sheltered by a shallow porch, a masterpiece of stone-work, where statues of Waynflete and St. Mary Magdalen, of Henry III and St. John the Baptist filled the places of honour, and where among the Founder's devices his lilies and roses recurred. The main gate into the College precincts was for long the gate facing the Chapel on the West. And further West, where now lies St. Swithun's Quadrangle, and where the ancient bell-turret still survives, were the Grammar School, begun in 1480, and the buildings which grew up about it to house the students whom it taught, known before long by the name of Magdalen Hall.[3]

The Founder died in 1486, but the work of building went on. Before the end of the century there were additional quarters for the President.[4] The " house of the School of the Choristers " was finished. The South cloister and the great gate were put up. A few years later the delightful figures which ornament the cloister buttresses, strange types of learning, Scripture and heraldic ingenuity, appeared.[5] In 1492, when Wolsey was

[1] See Agas' map. Mr. Wilson thinks (24) that this tower, in the wall towards the meadows, was probably the Song School. It stood at the Cherwell end of the New Buildings of 1734. The earliest choristers' school was near the kitchen (Bloxam, I, iii). See Wilson's ground-plan (30–1).

[2] There is 1*d.* charged in the accounts for " glew pro organis emendandis " in 1481. But a new and expensive pair of organs was apparently supplied in 1486 (Bloxam, II, xcvi).

[3] This name appears about the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was first called the Grammar Hall. The College owned the land and provided most of the Principals. But the Hall was a separate society, and finally it made good its independence.

[4] Probably on the site of the present Lodgings. The President had also for some time a London house, and entries for repairs to it occur in the accounts occasionally up to 1601 (Macray, VIII, 91).

[5] Mr. Reeks, a Fellow who died in 1675, has left a MS. in the College Library which treats these figures as an allegorical series. They date from 1508–9.

probably a member of the College, the President laid the corner-stone of the matchless Tower which overhangs the Cherwell,

"Prick'd with incredible pinnacles into heaven."

But there is no evidence beyond a vain tradition that Wolsey had any part in its building.[1] Raynold, the mason, deserves a larger share of credit for the grave charm and splendour of a monument which few in the cities of men surpass. After twelve or thirteen years of labour its exquisite proportions were completed. Its bells were installed—"the most tuneable and melodious in all these parts."[2] New buildings joined it to the Hall on one side and to the ancient Chapel of the Hospital on another, forming the small irregular court now known as the Chaplains' Quadrangle.[3] Perhaps on some May morning of those early summers the custom of singing on the Tower arose. But no white-robed choristers began it. No solemn chanting marked the obit of a King. The motive, it seems, was frolic rather than devotion. At any rate the spirit of frolic prevailed. In Wood's day they sang part-songs to "salute Flora every year." In the middle of the eighteenth century there was a regular concert. "Merry Ketches" and instruments were used. And it was only by degrees, and perhaps from motives of convenience, that this gave place to the singing of a hymn by the choir, a hymn written by a Fellow of the College and set to music by the College organist in the days of Charles II.[4]

The reign of Henry VIII saw improvements made in the Lodgings and the Chapel, and beautiful panelling introduced into the Hall.[5] Soon after, there is a curious reference in the accounts to the burning of the organs, but whether this was due to accident or to iconoclasm we are not told. In Protestant

[1] Buckler (*Observations*, 26) explains that the tower, 145 ft. high, "consists of four stories, unequally proportioned, and each more contracted than the other." To help the College with the cost of building, the tax of the fifteenth was remitted by the Crown (Macray, I, 25). Chandler (*Waynflete*, Appendix XXXII) gives details of early expenditure on the tower.

[2] But Wood is, no doubt, speaking of the new chimes given after the Restoration.

[3] The tower may have been meant at first to stand alone. The Gallery or Election Chamber, to the North of the Lodgings, which Dr. Goodwin made so mysterious, and which the eighteenth century swept away, dated from the same period.

[4] There is no reason to suppose that mass was ever said on the tower. The hymn—taken from the College grace written in the seventeenth century—was not introduced till nearly the end of the eighteenth century.

[5] At any rate at the West end, where the date 1541 remains. Buckler (*Observations*, 82, n.) gives the extreme length of the Hall as 73 ft., the breadth as 30 ft. 6 in.

changes the altars were destroyed. The vestments [1] and treasures of the Chapel were dispersed. Seats were allotted to the President's wife: Humfrey, the first married President, had not only an unpardonable wife but twelve unpardonable children. A new organ was bought in 1597. James I's visit led to some further improvements, including probably the noble screen between the Buttery and the Hall. The statues in the cloister were refreshed with paint. And in the same reign Magdalen Hall, filled with Puritans, overflowed its borders, and new buildings were added beside the Grammar School.[2] In Laud's day President Frewen restored the Chapel and beautified it further. New wood-work, new glass, new paving were provided. Richard Greenbury's Ante-Chapel windows of 1635 were spared by the Puritan soldiers, who are said to have trampled on the older glass which the College attempted to conceal. The design of the West window was unfortunately altered, to convert it into a better picture-frame. An eagle-lectern also was established; but the innovations gave offence.[3] Outside, Inigo Jones, if the tradition may be trusted, set up a new and stately gateway in the West wall of the College.[4] A block of rooms, meant principally for Commoners, was built near the river on the East.[5] Parliamentary violence did little to harm the buildings. Windows and statues may have suffered, but even the portraits of Charles and his Queen in the oriel of the Hall survived. Evelyn notes in 1654 that the Double Organ, though held to be an "abomination," had been left undisturbed. Cromwell took it to Hampton Court, but the Restoration gave it back to the College.

The Restoration brought other changes also. The ancient Chapel on the High Street with the vaulted room below it, which had survived from the old Hospital, was converted into chambers.[6] But the open-air pulpit in the corner, where for

[1] The vestments were very fine. We hear of over 100 chasubles of the richest make and colour (Bloxam, II, xii).

[2] The present Grammar Hall represents in part the original fifteenth-century grammar school, and in part some early seventeenth-century additions to Magdalen Hall (Wilson, 29 and 144).

[3] The lectern and the seventeenth-century windows of the Ante-Chapel are there now (Wilson, 146–8 and notes) after some vicissitudes. On the painted glass see Mr. Grinling's paper, often cited (*Oxf. Architect. Soc.*, N.S., IV, 111 *sq.*).

[4] But there is no reliable evidence that any work in Oxford was done by Inigo Jones. The ancient Cross outside the Hospital, and possibly in the Brethren's cemetery, stood, it seems likely, not in the street leading to the bridge, but inside the College grounds, in the corner between the old gate on the West and the new gate on the South (*St. John's Cartulary*, III, 423).

[5] It is now the kitchen staircase.

[6] In 1665 (Wilson, 188). The Report on the College charities given by Bloxam (*Magd. Coll. and James II*, 160–1) states that the Visitor

centuries past, with some intermissions, a sermon has been preached to the University on St. John the Baptist's day,[1] connects it with the College Chapel still. The East end of the Chapel was adorned with paintings, which Addison extolled in Latin verses, but which a later critic thought unworthy even of the walls of the kitchen.[2] The Library, which Waynflete had enriched with books [3] and fenced with regulations, was munificently increased. The old vestry below the Hall became a Common Room for Fellows. The Grove and Walks were carefully planted, and many an elm of that day stands. The immemorial Founder's Oak has been called "one of the vegetable wonders of the island." [4] "Go into the Water-Walks," cries Wood delightedly. "You will find them as delectable as the banks of Eurotas, where Apollo himself was wont to walk and sing his lays." [5]

ordered these chambers to be made on the Restoration. Mr. Buckler, it seems (22), would date them thirty years earlier, and we hear of four beds for temporary lodgers being placed in a room over the vault of the old Chapel before the Rebellion. The old Hospital Chapel stood just South of the later Ante-Chapel, and East of the present porter's lodge. It was a lecture-room in the days of Henry VIII, and the vault below, once a charnel-house, was then an almshouse. Skelton (*Oxon. Ant.* Pl. 156) reproduces a corner of it. Ingram (*Memorials*, II, Magdalen, 13) gives a better view. See also Wilson (12, n., 84, n., and 265–6), and St. John's Cartulary (III, 404 *sq.*).

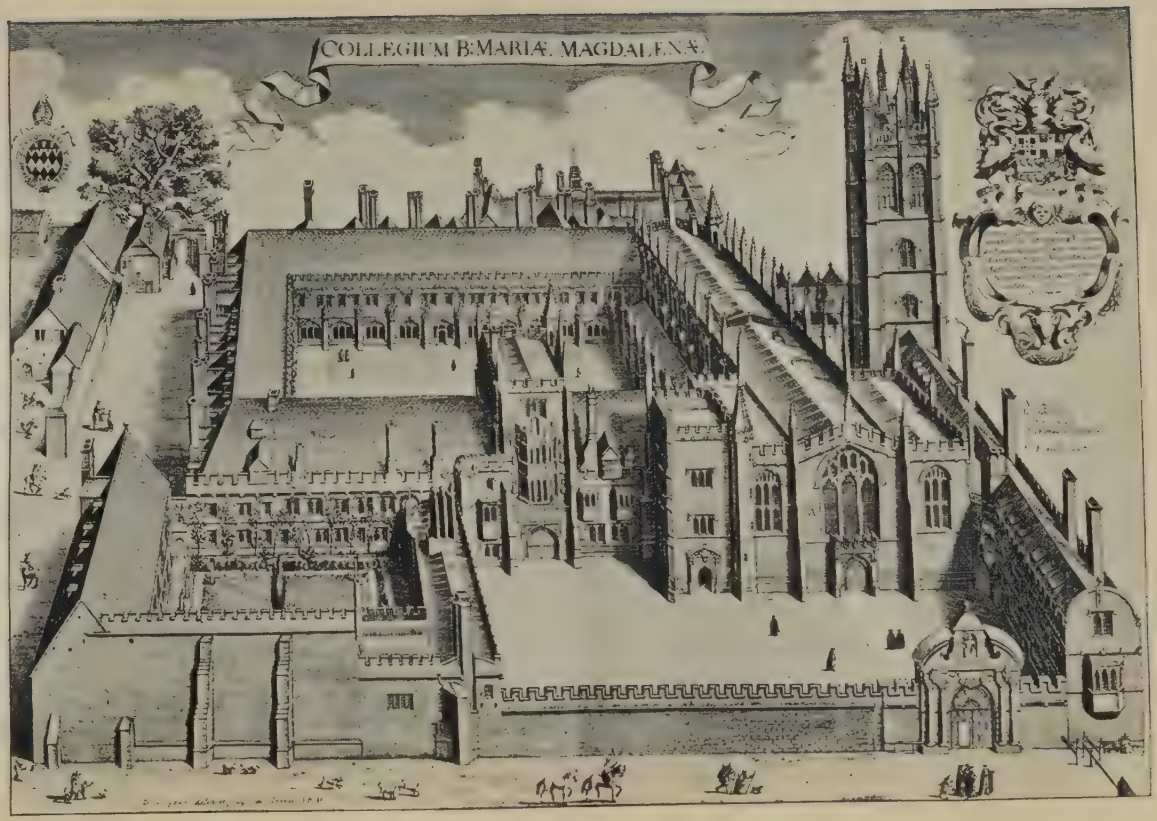
[1] The present Archbishop of York, when at Magdalen, revived the custom.

[2] Compare Addison (*Resurrectio Delineata ad Altare Col. Magdal. Oxon.*, 1698), Wilson (190, n.), and Buckler (66).

[3] Of some 900 books possessed in 1481 not more than 100, Dr. Macray estimated (I, 8), survive. For Waynflete's rules see *Statutes* (60–3).

[4] Macaulay (*Hist. of England*, 1877, II, 286).

[5] Magdalen has been fortunate in her historians, and the chief authorities have been already quoted. Mr. Salter's *Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John*, the great *Register* begun by Dr. J. R. Bloxam and continued by Dr. W. D. Macray, with its ample extracts, prefaces and notes, and Mr. H. A. Wilson's admirable history of the College contain stores of information. Mr. Wilson very kindly answered several questions which I put to him; and the College authorities—I ought specially to thank the President, Vice-President, Librarian and Bursar—allowed me to consult some of the records in the Library and in the Archives. Apart from the early charters and accounts, the *Computi* and Bursars' Rolls, which are full of interesting details, the most important volumes are the *Vice-President's Register*—beginning in 1547, growing very scanty during the Civil War, and breaking down altogether, except for a few scattered entries, after 1686; another volume of 84 pages also kept in the Library (*Reg. Coll. Magd. C.*), relating to the years from 1538 to 1615; and four volumes in the Bursar's keeping, labelled Ledgers A, B, C and D, which contain the *Register* of the College from about 1480 to 1550. These four "ledgers," full of deeds, elections, College events and miscellaneous entries, are not perfectly continuous, but sometimes overlap. Dr. Macray has a note on these Registers and on other authorities which he consulted



MAGDALEN COLLEGE IN 1675
(Loggan)

Two or three other Colleges were founded in fifteenth-century Oxford, of which only fragments and traditions now remain. On land which lay to the East of the North Bailey, afterwards called the Lane of the Seven Deadly Sins,[1] Henry VI granted leave in 1435 for the foundation of a College of Augustinian Canons. Thomas Holden and Elizabeth his wife gave a house and gardens valued at forty shillings yearly to the Prior of the Holy Trinity, London, on which to build a home for students in Oxford.[2] The new settlement was soon known as St. Mary's College, and Wood gathered up two hundred years later such details of its history as he could. We hear of its Hall, its Library, its Chapel, and of the young Canons maintained there by the great Abbeys of the Order. The Chapel, "a very faire fabrick built with freestone, and very good workmanship to be seen about it," supplied in the end materials for the Chapel of Brasenose College. Wood noted that the rules and customs of St. Mary's resembled those of "our auncientest colledges." Its Statutes are preserved in the Bodleian.[3] The kitchen and pantry were protected *contra Batellarios*. The Library regulations forbade students to monopolise any book for more than two hours, or to take a candle into the building at night.[4] We have a list of the College Priors. Richard Charnock, the host of Erasmus, was a scholar worthy even of the guest he entertained. Robert Ferrar, afterwards Bishop of St. David's, was a Canon of the House, a Reformer in the days of Wolsey, and a "valiant martyr" in Queen Mary's reign. We have a curious little inventory of the College possessions in 1541.[5] We have notes on its vicissitudes after the Dissolution. It served as a charity school and an almshouse. There was talk of reviving it under Cardinal Pole. In the days of Elizabeth it was conveyed to Brasenose College, and Frewen Hall now stands upon its site.[6] But the gateway of the old House where Erasmus lodged with Charnock and traces of the cloister are still to be seen. And something of the spirit of Erasmus, his joyousness, his eager zest in disputation,

in the preface to the first volume of his *Register* (viii-x). On the buildings and the brasses of Magdalen Mr. Vallance (*Old Colleges of Oxford*) has some interesting notes.

[1] And New Inn Hall Street later.

[2] See *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (Hen. VI, vol. II, 590) and Wood (*City*, II, 228–45).

[3] *Bodl. MS. Rawl. Stat.* 34. They were re-discovered by Dr. Rashdall in 1890. See also Clark's *Life of Wood* (IV, 105–6), and Rashdall (II, 479–80).

[4] Except for very important purposes, like finishing a sermon (Gibson, *Some Oxford Libraries*, 10–11).

[5] See Wood (*City*, II, 531–2 : see also 228–45).

[6] Frewen Hall became in 1859 the residence of the Prince of Wales.

lives again in the Hall, a stone's throw distant, where the heirs of mediæval Oxford gather for debate.

St. Bernard's College, for Cistercian students, was the last House built for monks in Oxford. Rewley no longer supplied what they needed, and Cistercian scholars were scattered among the different Halls. Chichele, no monk himself, received the King's license to found it in 1437,[1] the very year in which he bought the site for his more famous College. The land which he gave to the Cistercians lay to the North, beyond the wall and beyond the lands of Balliol and Durham. But it is probable that the Archbishop gave little except a site and a license for the endowment of the College.[2] The Cistercian Houses supported the monks. Cistercian Abbots contributed to the buildings, and Richard III by precept rather than example encouraged their generosity to flow. The College Statutes, issued in 1446 by the Abbot of Morimund in the far-distant diocese of Langres, provided for a religious community whose ruler was also its confessor, and for priests to say Mass at least three times a week. A grant by King Henry VI to William Bramley, the first Prior, and a record of the early rulers of the College remain. The rooms where the monks lived, the Chapel they served and the Hall they dined in—the Hall was built in 1502, the Chapel consecrated in 1530—still form a part of the outer quadrangle of St. John's. The College was granted to Christ Church after the Dissolution, and a description of the buildings dating from the days of spoliation is preserved.[3] But the figure of St. Bernard still dreams above the gateway, indifferent to the desecration of his courts within.

Two other little Colleges of mediæval Oxford, London College

[1] See *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1436–41, pp. 45–6) and Dugdale (*Monasticon*, V, 746). I do not know Dr. Rashdall's authority for giving the date (II, 479) as 1432. The foundation deeds in the Cistercian Register (ff. 43^{b}–45^{a}, not 93^{b}) which he refers to (*MS. University College*, 167), now at the Bodleian, do not seem to bear out this earlier date. Dr. Craster drew my attention also to the original ordinances for the government of the College by John, Abbot of Morimund in the Bodleian (*Oxford Charters*, 180), to Smith's notice of which Dr. Rashdall and Sir H. M. Lyte (342) refer. The MS. is badly stained and partly illegible now.

[2] Hovenden indeed suggested that Chichele only passed on to the monks land which he found unsuitable for All Souls. Wood credits the Archbishop with building the College, but it seems to have been unfinished half a century later. In 1421 the Augustinians had asked Henry V for land for a College on or near this site (*Collectanea*, III, 153). Dugdale (*Monasticon*, ed. 1846, V, 746) and Wood (*City*, II, 306) suggest that Chichele gave 5 acres: but a MS. history at St. John's puts the College site and gardens at 2 acres in Henry VIII's day (*Fourth Report, Hist. MSS. Comm.* 468).

[3] See the *View of Barnard College*, in the same MS. as the account of Durham College (Record Office, *Rentals and Surveys*, Roll 548).

and St. George's College, are even less remembered now. The House of St. George's Canons in the Castle, originally founded by Robert d'Oili, was for many generations a dependency of Oseney. It seems to have been re-established or re-organised in the fifteenth century as a College for students, with Statutes and a Warden of its own. The Statutes are in the Bodleian Library, bound up with the Statutes of St. Mary's. Wood describes it rather vaguely, and repeats the story that Henry V had planned to build a College here.[1] He speaks of Scholar Priests maintained in it for the service of the church, and of other Scholars "being in all 12, except commoners." He mentions that they were forbidden, among other rules, to clamber over the Castle walls at night. He alleges that they were for the most part Welsh and very poor. And it seems clear that by the time of the Dissolution their numbers at least were greatly reduced. London College may have had a longer history. But it also had a chequered life. Burnel's Inn, established in the thirteenth century among buildings once in the possession of the Jews, was acquired in the days of Henry IV by Richard Clifford, Bishop of London. It received a legacy of a thousand marks for the support of its scholars on the Bishop's death. But when this money ran out, the College endowment apparently ended. The name of London College survived for some time, and lasted, it is said, into the seventeenth century. But its existence must always have been precarious, even if Wolsey did not sweep it away.[2] Our knowledge, however, of these Houses is admittedly inadequate, and the empire of the monks was already passing when the Statutes of St. Mary's, St. Bernard's and St. George's were drawn up. The great Orders had learned to appreciate education better. They had realised the value of securing for their students the training which a University alone could give. But the part played by the monastic Colleges in the intellectual life of Oxford was from first to last comparatively small. They cannot be said to have contributed much on the whole to the cause of education or to the enlightenment of the nation and the Church.

[1] For Wood's account of St. George's, St. Mary's and St. Bernard's see *City* (II, Ch. XXXI). The St. George's College Statutes are in *Bodl. MS. Rawl. Stat.* 34 (ff. 25^{a}–30^{b}). Oseney may have felt bound to do something in the fifteenth century for education. But how much there was in the old foundation to build on it is difficult to say.

[2] On London College see Appendix XXV in Dean Rashdall's second volume, and Wood (*City*, I, 157–9, and II, 88). Wood mentions also a College planned by Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, "about the latter end of Edw. I," and another projected by Sir Peter Besils who died in 1424 (*Colleges*, 650–1).

CHAPTER X

THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW AGE

WITH the death of the last Plantagenet King at Bosworth the Middle Ages came to an end. Mediæval Oxford, with its cramped and venerable system, its unendowed teachers, its many little struggling Halls, its small Colleges intended principally for graduates and standing to a large extent apart, slowly gave place to newer things. Strange dreams of power and knowledge took possession of men's minds. The Classical Revival threatened the old philosophies and the old traditional religion. A cultivated Paganism sprang up at its side. But before the Renaissance could take root in England, it had to adapt itself to the English temper, to convince practical men of its usefulness, to fit itself into the framework of University life. The Florence of Lorenzo, of Politian, of Macchiavelli laid her spell on the scholars of Oxford, but to the graver minds of the new generation it was with the voice of Savonarola that she spoke. Colet returned from Italy to expound not Plato but St. Paul, to use the New Learning to interpret Scripture, to plead for a new spirit in the English Church. Erasmus brought his laughing wit to ridicule hypocrisy, his wide and fearless scholarship to plead for peace and freedom. More turned away from Macchiavelli's statecraft to dream with delicate and wistful fancy of commonwealths in which the claims of Labour counted, which made "gentle provision" even for the poor. Wolsey, the strongest and stateliest representative of the system that was passing, saw almost as clearly as the Oxford Reformers the imperative need of reform, and, had time and power been spared him, he might perhaps have re-organised the world of Oxford as vigorously as he strove to re-organise the European world beyond.

Yet the early years of the Tudor era brought no sudden change. The University, fresh from its compliments to Yorkist Princes, was a little anxious about its own safety. Lambert Simnel was the son of an Oxford joiner.[1] Bishop Stillington of Bath and Wells, a prominent Yorkist involved in his conspiracy, took refuge

[1] This is the official account in the *Rolls of Parliament* (VI, 397). Wood (*Annals*, I, 643) calls the father an organ-maker, other accounts a shoemaker and a baker. (But see *Reg. Ann. Coll. Merton.* xxxiii).

in the University town. The King claimed the Bishop's surrender, and the Masters were greatly troubled as to whether they ought or ought not to give him up.[1] In 1488 Henry VII visited Oxford, accompanied by the Chancellor, Bishop Russell of Lincoln. He made a modest offering in Magdalen Chapel, and gave forty oaks from Shotover towards the re-building of St. Mary's Church. Later on he established an obit for the widow of the famous King-maker, and memorial services for his own parents, his wife and himself. By an "indenture quatripartite," to which the King and the Mayor of London were parties, the Monastery of Westminster promised ten pounds to maintain these services, "yerely for euer while the world shall endure."[2] Henry, equally unconscious of the future, founded three Divinity Scholarships for Westminster monks.[3] Prince Arthur visited Oxford more than once, and was entertained at Magdalen: we have a proclamation of 1501 regulating the price of beer during his stay.[4] He intervened, like his relatives, in the election of University Bedels, but not with the happiest results. The Lady Margaret, his grandmother, immortalised by two noble Colleges at Cambridge, founded at Oxford the earliest Professorship which still exists. In 1497 Edmund Wylford, a Bachelor of Theology, was appointed to lecture on the "*Quodlibeta* of the Subtle Doctor," and in 1502 the post was put on a permanent footing and a salary of twenty marks assigned. The conditions insisted on a daily lecture,[5] and provided by a biennial election against neglect of duty through incompetence or age. It is significant, if the record be true, that a "very great multitude of hearers" could still be drawn to listen to the theology of Duns Scotus in the Oxford Schools.[6]

Meanwhile the life of the University went upon its way. Bishop Russell was succeeded as Chancellor by Morton, and after Morton's death the election of Mayew, President of Magdalen, again gave the Masters a resident Head.[7] But in 1506 Archbishop Warham's long reign began. Warham had many ties with Oxford. He had been a Fellow of New College and Moderator of the School

[1] *Epist. Acad.* (513 *sq.*). The Bishop was finally surrendered and imprisoned.

[2] *Univ. Arch.* (N.E.P. pyx E.). Mr. Gibson is printing this deed of November 1504 in his edition of the Statutes.

[3] Lyte (372).

[4] In *Register C* of the Vice-Chancellor's Court (f. 103[a]). It is dated September 25, 1501. The Prince paid three visits, in 1495, in 1496 and in 1501 (Lyte, 372).

[5] On every "legible" day with very few exceptions. Mr. Gibson is printing the Ordinance in full from the original in the University Archives (N.E.P. pyx E.).

[6] Wood (*Ann.* I, 654).

[7] Morton died in 1500. Bishop Smyth of Lincoln, the Founder of Brasenose, was then Chancellor for two years and a half.

of Civil Law. He was an able lawyer, drawn into diplomacy and politics like other ecclesiastical statesmen of the time. But with all his gifts and his generous sympathy for the scholars of the Renaissance, he was not a man to strike out on new lines of his own. Lovable indeed the Archbishop must have been, "one of the best of men," Erasmus called him, wise, judicious, learned, modest, active in business, a saint in character, a gracious giver, a kind and witty friend.[1] But Warham lived in difficult times. All his energies perhaps were needed to keep on good terms with an encroaching Cardinal and an arbitrary King. "Ira principis mors est," he pleaded weakly when Catharine of Arragon in her hour of trial turned to him for support. And statesmen so readily impressed with danger are rarely found to be courageous in reform.

While Warham ruled, new Colleges were founded. Brasenose followed the old lines. Corpus breathed the spirit of the Renaissance. And presently Wolsey's great foundation rose upon the ruin of St. Frideswide's to eclipse them all. The Heads of Colleges began to exercise more influence in the University. The younger Regents lost their predominance: the Tudors relied rather on the older men. While the Colleges increased, the Halls were rapidly declining. "Stars," said Fuller, "lose their light when the sun ariseth." The Warden of New College declared in 1526 that sixteen Halls had "decayed in these few years," and that only a hundred and forty scholars in all the Halls were left.[2] Over sixty Halls are mentioned as surviving in the middle of the fifteenth century,[3] but during the next two or three generations most of these disappeared.

In the meantime the old dispensations continued to ease the rigour of the academic system. We have Graces granted freely, for the preaching of a sermon, for a musical composition, for saying a Mass for the soul of the University's Founder, whom even devout worshippers might have found it difficult to name. There is a curious little record in 1513 of a reduction of fees granted to a Minorite under pledge of secrecy; no one must be told.[4] Pestilence continued to play havoc in the University. Wood notes in August 1485 "a strange and unheard of sickness," which in

[1] See the Appendix to Mr. Lupton's *Lives of Vitrier and Colet*, and the Letters of Erasmus *passim*, with the fine, free versions given by Mr. Froude.

[2] *Letters and Papers* (ed. Brewer, IV, 1221). Wood suggests (*Ann.* I, 661) that about 1503 there were 33 Halls slenderly inhabited. Mr. Salter (*Med. Arch.* I, v) puts them at that date as low as 10. But *Register C* (f. 101) gives a list of 59 in 1501—though many of them may have been only weak survivals. It is possible that the Warden's estimate was not far wrong.

[3] See the list in *Mun. Acad.* (687–92), dated 1462.

[4] See *Register G* (ff. 11ᵃ, 24ᵇ, 27ᵇ, 182ᵇ and 185).

a few weeks " dispersed and killed most of the Scholars."[1] Next year there was another " pestilential Disease," and in the years that followed constant outbreaks. In 1517 the sweating sickness, apparently a virulent form of influenza, appeared. The King rushed from house to house in a panic. Wolsey was prostrated and his life despaired of. Four hundred students, it was wildly rumoured, had died at Oxford in a single week. When the Court moved to Abingdon, More bade the citizens of Oxford hang out wisps of straw as a warning of infection.[2] Lectures were dispensed with. Leave was granted readily. From Merton and Oriel, from Magdalen, University and New College, the Fellows fled to country quarters or dispersed to their homes. Other maladies arose from bad drainage and bad sanitation. The dirt of mediæval cities is now happily forgotten, but judged by our standards it was a gross and unclean age. Students fell off. The Schools were full of " querks and sophistry." The Mendicants were degenerate, the best scholars tinged with " Wiclivism." All things, whether taught or written, " seemed to be trite and inane." [3] Populous streets, Wood adds, were deserted. Oxford rents fell ominously.[4] Apathy descended on University and town. In 1523 the authorities wrote to Sir Thomas More :

> " We are of the poor. Once we had each our yearly grant, some from noblemen, some from those who support monasteries, many from priests who have country livings. Now, however, those who ought to give assistance refuse to do so. Abbots fetch their monks home, noblemen send for their children, and priests for their relations. So is the number of scholars diminished. So our halls fall down. So all liberal customs grow cold. The Colleges alone persist." [5]

In the town the old quarrels with the scholars, which had perhaps been growing less notorious, blazed out afresh. An audacious vintner named John Haynes, successively Bailiff and Mayor of Oxford, disturbed the University's dignity and peace. He sold bad wine. He flouted academical authority. He stirred up clerks and monks to attack one of the Proctors in the dead of night. And he seems to have found a good many admirers, though he was eventually brought to book and driven from the

[1] *Annals* (I, 642).

[2] Lyte (431–2). There were alarming epidemics in 1493, 1509, 1517 and the years which followed, especially in 1528 and 1529.

[3] Wood (*Ann.* I, 665–6). But statements of this kind, often repeated, should be accepted with some reserve.

[4] E.g. the Oxford rents of St. John's Hospital were £129 in 1293, but only £66 in 1478 (Salter, *Cartulary of St. John's*, III, 29). But the largest part of the fall was due probably to the Black Death.

[5] See *FF.* (*MS. Bodl.* 282, f. 61).

town.[1] There were troubles with the watch.[2] It did little credit to the University's administration of justice when scholars who had killed one of the "Kinges wachemen" and wounded and insulted others, were sentenced only to say Masses, to pay six and eightpence as a fine, and one and eightpence to repair a Bedel's staff.[3] There were troubles over prices and over the Vice-Chancellor's inquiries into the sale of food; the town Bailiffs would not empanel juries to assist him. There were complaints about the University's jurisdiction and attempts at retaliation by the Mayor. But the townsmen as usual found that they gained nothing by appealing to higher authorities, while churchmen like Warham or Wolsey held the reins of power.[4]

Nor were "the vulgar sort of scholars" more amenable to discipline than their contemporaries in the town. A certain John Roys, "a lusty son of Venus," seems among other offences to have turned highwayman and to have robbed scholars near the gates. But it is not clear that he suffered any punishment beyond giving sureties to the University Steward to answer for what he had done.[5] Another impetuous gentleman broke into a lady's house to woo her with eight armed companions at his back. He seized his mistress and put her in prison, says the Court Register demurely, "investing himself (falsely) with proctorial powers." The lady denied that she had ever encouraged him, and the offender had to pay her twenty-six shillings and eightpence, to repair the doors which he had broken and to spend a fortnight in Bocardo himself.[6] A long interrogatory in one of the old Registers[7] preserves the misdeeds of "ser Gytto and ser Gryffyth," who armed themselves and others for a fray in Easter week. The offenders cited "yn payn of the grett curse" included two Canons of St. Frideswide's and a monk of Abingdon, and one of them was driven to confess to the enormity of having heard Mass after "he had perfytt knowlege by hys wyffe that he was excommunicat." There were students still who went poaching

[1] See Wood (*Ann.* I, 663, and II, 12–3) and Lyte (424–6).

[2] But there was also some co-operation. In January 1450 University and Town agreed to provide for a time four scholars and four townsmen to form a night watch at the four gates of the town (*Registrum Aa*, f. 7).

[3] See *Records of the City of Oxford* (ed. W. H. Turner, 25–8). There are several versions of the chief offender's name (Boase, *Register*, I, 116).

[4] Indeed the higher authorities themselves had sometimes to yield to the claims of the Church. In June 1505 Warham withdrew from the Court of Star Chamber a small case relating to certain windows in Peckwater Inn, in which the Prior of St. Frideswide's was concerned, and invited the Chancellor and the Warden of New College to settle it. (See *Reg. C*, f. 222.)

[5] See Wood (*Ann.* I, 653).

[6] This was in October 1501 (*Reg. C*, f. 110[a]).

[7] *Reg. G* (f. 316).

at Shotover and hunting the King's deer, who lived in unlicensed lodgings in the town, and who begged abroad without a license.[1] There was still need for stringent rules against interrupting Masters at their studies, against throwing pebbles and removing desks, against ringing St. Mary's bell without permission, against damaging meadows and cutting down trees. There was still, in spite of pacts to the contrary, sharp quarrelling between North and South. Rowdy "legists" went out to break the Northern Proctor's doors and windows. A pitched battle took place in the High Street, in which the Principal of one Hall was unpleasantly conspicuous and the Principal of another was killed. The old order might be slowly passing, but the time-honoured methods of disorder remained.

Yet even where antiquity was strongest, a new world was beginning to unfold. There were Oxford influences, it seems, among the men of letters gathered round the early Tudors. John Skelton owed more perhaps to Cambridge than to Oxford, but he claimed a laurel wreath from both.[2] The success of his poems in an age of easy morals condoned his notorious failure as a parish priest. Pope, it is true, condemned him as "beastly." Puttenham in an earlier generation found him both ridiculous and rude. But with all his irregularities, his fierce sardonic humour, and the grossness and buffoonery mingled in his verse, Skelton had flashes of a higher spirit, as kindlier critics from Erasmus to Coleridge have allowed. There may have been honesty if not discretion in his satirical attacks upon the Church, in the shafts which flew even beyond the "cankered cardinal" and found a target in the King. Henry Bradshaw, a Chester monk, who wrote a poetical life of St. Werburgh[3] more conspicuous for piety than for poetry, was reputed a student of Gloucester College. Stephen Hawes passed apparently from Oxford to be a groom of the chambers to Henry VII, and used his University education to treat "of love so clerkly and so well." His allegory, "The Passetyme of Pleasure," tells how Graunde Amoure, the hero, taught by the seven daughters of Doctrine—the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* in poetical attire—faced and conquered many perils

[1] Scholars begging without license from the University were subjected by Henry VIII's legislation to punishment as "stronge beggers." (See Shadwell's *Enactments in Parliament*, I, 100–1, on 22 Hen. VIII, cap. xii.)

[2] He speaks of Cambridge as his "alma parens." For his life and writings, see Dyce's edition of his *Works*, Warton's *History of English Poetry* (Sect. xxxiii), the *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.* (III, 56–82, where Skelton and Barclay are treated together) and Sir S. Lee's valuable article in *D.N.B.* A convenient edition of his chief poems has been published by Prof. W. H. Williams.

[3] Printed by Pynson in 1521, and mainly a translation. Reprinted by the Chetham Society (ed. E. Hawkins) in 1848. Bradshaw died in 1513. See also Warton (Sect. xxvii).

to win the affections of la Bel Pucel. The poem, which Wynkyn de Worde printed in 1509, has a place of its own between Chaucer and Spenser, between the Canterbury Tales and the Faery Queen. Its six thousand lines claim boldly to cover "the knowledge of the Seven Sciences and the Course of Man's Life in this Worlde."[1] Towards the end they sustain the reader with a familiar couplet:

> "For though the day be never so long,
> At last the belles ringeth to evensong."

Alexander Barclay may or may not have been at Oxford.[2] He was certainly a priest at Ottery St. Mary, where he produced his famous "Ship of Fools," and he afterwards became an Ely monk. Barclay knew Morton and admired Colet: "this man," he wrote of Colet, "hath won some soules." Lord Berners, whom tradition associates with Balliol, rendered a famous Chronicle into English which gave it a new and lasting splendour, and his versions of the great romances of chivalry took their place beside his version of Froissart.

Other writers, whom it is still more difficult to connect with Oxford, carried on the study of history in the Tudor age. Blind Bernard André of Toulouse wrote annals of Henry VII and enjoyed the patronage of Bishop Fox.[3] Robert Fabyan, a rich citizen of London, produced an indifferent chronicle which broke occasionally into indifferent verse. Polydore Vergil of Urbino, for many years Archdeacon of Wells, taught English chroniclers to endeavour to distinguish evidence from myth, and has claims to be considered the first critical writer of English history. He is accused of borrowing books too freely from Duke Humphrey's Library. And he is said, when Wolsey's displeasure led to his imprisonment, to have secured the University's interest in his behalf.[4] These men all helped to make a new literary tradition, and the great printers gave them a publicity unknown before. Caxton was himself a

[1] In Wayland's edition of 1554, the earliest in the British Museum, the title is slightly altered. Warton (Sect. xxviii) gives a careful analysis of the poem.

[2] It is not likely, though he has been claimed for Oriel. He was probably a Scotchman. The "Ship of Fools" was largely a translation of Sebastian Brant's "Narrenschiff"; see the large edition by T. H. Jamieson. Sir A. Ward sums up in *D.N.B.* all the material facts of Barclay's life.

[3] His annals were "in such points as he hath professed to know," says Speed, "not unworthy to be vouched." See Gairdner's Preface to the *History* of Andreas in the Rolls Series, and Busch (*England under the Tudors*, I, 393–5).

[4] For Polydore Vergil see especially Sir H. Ellis' Preface to the Camden Society's reprint of *Three Books* of his History, Busch (I, 395–8), and *D.N.B.*

translator and a lover of romances.[1] Wynkyn of Worth,[2] who succeeded to Caxton's house at Westminster and to Caxton's reputation, began to print books not for rich men only but for everyone who realised what printing meant. And Richard Pynson, also a foreigner by extraction, who became in due course printer to the King, easily surpassed Wynkyn in the quality of his work.[3]

The clerks of Oxford could not be indifferent to the power and the productions of the Press. But in the University the love of letters took a larger purpose and a nobler tone. Grocyn is the first figure who emerges there clearly as a leader of the Classical Revival. He was a boy at Winchester. He was a Fellow of New College in 1467, where the Warden, Chaundler, could appreciate his gifts. He, no doubt, knew Vitelli. He acted as tutor to Warham. He learned Greek, he may even have taught it, in these early years.[4] He was Reader in Theology at Magdalen in 1483, when Richard III paid his visit to the College. Eight or nine years later, he was occupying rooms at Exeter. In 1488 he betook himself to Italy, like other eager and ambitious students of the day, and spent two years there, principally at Florence, drinking deeply of the scholarship he found. Linacre, it seems, was there before him. William Latimer and William Lily followed in his steps.[5] Aldus, the great Venetian printer, praised Grocyn's universal learning. The Greek lectures, which he delivered on his return to Oxford, showed, one may well believe, the serious, practical bent which English churchmen were to give to the Renaissance. They brought the New Learning for the first time into intimate connection with English academic life. John Colet was fired by Grocyn's example to set out for Italy to study in his turn. Erasmus, arriving later still in Oxford, recognised Grocyn

[1] On Caxton's writings see *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.* (II, 333 *sq.*).

[2] Wynkyn de Worde.

[3] For these and other early printers see Mr. E. G. Duff's *Early Printed Books*; *A Century of the English Book Trade*; *Printers, Stationers, etc., of Westminster and London* (1476–1535), Blades' *Life of Caxton*, and *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.* (II, Ch. xiii). Wood has notices of Barclay, Berners, Bradshaw, Fabyan, Hawes and Skelton in the first volume of his *Athenæ* (ed. Bliss).

[4] "Ipse Grocinus . . . nonne primum in Anglia Græcæ linguæ rudimenta didicit?" wrote Erasmus to William Latimer in 1517 (Allen, *Erasmi Epistolæ*, II, 486).

[5] The dates of these journeys are not quite certain. If Linacre and Latimer became Fellows of All Souls in 1484 and 1489 respectively, and if Lily entered Magdalen in 1486, it seems unlikely that they were all in Italy with Grocyn. Prof. Burrows (*Collectanea*, II, 319–50) gives the fullest account of Grocyn's career. But Mr. Allen (I, 273, n.) gives the facts most accurately. See also Mr. Allen's note on Linacre and Latimer in Italy in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.* for July 1903. Linacre may have remained in Italy continuously for several years.

as "a mine of knowledge," as "the patron and preceptor of us all." Grocyn was more conservative in some ways than his companions. He never abandoned the Schoolmen. He set Aristotle above Plato, the master of learning above the master of myths.[1] But he was hailed as a leader by the younger generation. More found him, in Colet's absence, the master of his life. After the end of the century he was constantly in London and often preaching by Colet's invitation at St. Paul's. He held in turn many benefices and appointments. His friends knew how generously he used the income which they brought. "We might well wish," wrote Erasmus, who had had his differences with Grocyn, "that faculties like his should not be subject to death or to old age."[2] But for all his critical ability, for all his scholarship and authority and humour, Grocyn, it seems, wrote little, though he wrote a Ciceronian style, and practically none of his writings have survived.[3]

Thomas Linacre was Grocyn's executor and life-long friend. His love of letters was even more remarkable, his learning even wider. He came from Canterbury to Oxford. He was one of the first Fellows of All Souls to learn Greek. He studied in Bologna, Florence, Rome and Venice. He took his medical degree at Padua. Tradition says that Lorenzo de Medici allowed him to share the studies of his sons, and that Pope Leo X never forgot his fellow-pupil. Another story tells how, on leaving Italy, the grateful English student built on the summit of the Alpine pass a rough stone altar to the land where he had learned so much. Oxford soon recognised Linacre's accomplishments, his fine character, his devotion to knowledge. Erasmus thought him "as deep and acute a thinker" as any he had met, and that, although Linacre once advised him to put up with being poor. Linacre's scholarship was admired even more than his science. But he too turned the New Learning to practical account. He not only revived classical medicine. He was probably a tutor to Prince Arthur. He had a share in teaching or in stimulating More. He wrote a Latin grammar for Colet's school, which the Dean unhappily did not approve of. He wrote another later for the Princess Mary, which had a happier fate.[4] In 1509 he was

[1] Writing to Aldus, Grocyn contrasted the *πολυμαθῆ* of the one with the *πολυμυθῆ* of the other.

[2] Nichols (*Epistles of Erasmus*, III, 287).

[3] Grocyn's criticism of the Pseudo-Dionysius shows his acumen. But the inventory of his books, made by Linacre and found in Merton College Library, does not show any marked originality. The Fathers are there, and the Schoolmen, and several Latin classics. The list is not a complete list, but the Greek books in it are very few. (See *Collectanea*, II, 319–24.)

[4] The *Rudimenta Grammatices*. It was translated into Latin by George Buchanan, and became a standard book abroad. It follows the same lines

made one of the King's physicians. His patients included, besides his friends, the leaders in the world of letters, statesmen like Wolsey, Warham and Fox. He had the chief share in founding the College of Physicians, and its first meetings were held at his house. He left funds to establish three Lecturerships in Medicine, two at Oxford and one at Cambridge, which, against his intentions, became College sinecures.[1] His medical writings, on Galen especially, were valuable and important, more valuable than the originals, said Erasmus, in his whole-hearted way. Yet even Linacre was not too scientific to believe that rings blessed by Henry VIII might save the wearer from convulsions.[2] He planned a translation of Aristotle. He pored over philosophy and grammar. He had a fastidious literary taste. He was paid for his professional work by ecclesiastical preferments. In his last years he was admitted to priest's Orders. Serious scholarship and clerkly learning proved in the end the strongest passions of his life.[3]

Other Oxford scholars were conspicuous among the contemporaries of Linacre and Grocyn. Bishop Tunstall, an honourable figure among Tudor Churchmen, belongs more properly to Cambridge, though he is said to have been at Oxford and perhaps at Balliol first. But William Latimer's connection with Oxford was more close. Like Linacre, he went from All Souls to study in Italy, and became one of "the lights of learning" in his day. He had a hand in Linacre's and Grocyn's translations. Erasmus sought his help with his Greek Testament—"I adjure you in the name of Letters, sweetest Latimer"[4]—and praised his integrity of life. He is said to have been tutor to Reginald Pole. He declined an invitation—rarely offered to an Oxford tutor—to teach the Chancellor of Cambridge Greek.[5] He held two country livings but remained faithful to All Souls. In spite of his accomplishments he left no published works behind. William Lily, Grocyn's godson, went up to Oxford a few years after Colet, and passed on from Magdalen to travel in the East. He visited

as the *Progymnasmata Grammatices vulgaria*, but is not identical with it. The latter is apparently an improved edition of the grammar which Colet rejected. Linacre wrote also a more elaborate work on the eight parts of speech, *De Emendata Structura Latini Sermonis Libri Sex*, which occupied him to the end of his life.

[1] Connected in Oxford with Merton, and in Cambridge with St. John's.

[2] Allen (*Age of Erasmus*, 218).

[3] The most complete Life of Linacre is that by J. N. Johnson (ed. Graves). See also Dr. Payne's article in the *D.N.B.* and the authorities cited there.

[4] Nichols (*Ep. of Erasmus*, II, 275). The Latin is "humanissime Latamere" (Allen, *Eras. Epist.* II, 248). But Latimer pleaded that the Greek of the New Testament was not the Greek he knew (*Ib.* 438–42 and 585–7).

[5] The Chancellor was Bishop Fisher.

Jerusalem. He stayed in Rhodes. He sojourned in Italy. He came home to teach in England, and to join More in translating Greek epigrams into Latin elegiacs. Colet secured him as the first Master of St. Paul's. There, in co-operation with Erasmus, he produced the Latin grammar which proved the foundation of his fame. His Song on Manners—*puerum nil nisi pura decent*—found its way into other publications and has found an anonymous translator since:

> "Come child that art, to learn inclin'd,
> Imprint these sayings, on thy mind."[1]

But Lily was killed prematurely by an operation against which his friend Linacre had advised in vain.

Richard Pace belongs to a later generation: some would connect him with Oxford and with Queen's.[2] It is more certain that he studied in Pavia and other famous Italian cities, and learned to know Erasmus during his stay abroad. He was in Rome with Cardinal Bainbridge, an old Provost of Queen's, when the Cardinal was assassinated in 1514. He returned with recommendations to Wolsey which soon made him a personage in the English Court. He became Secretary to the King and a busy diplomatist. He exerted himself to make Henry Emperor and Wolsey Pope. Preferments flowed in upon him, Colet's Deanery and apparently two other Deaneries as well. He became Reader in Greek at Cambridge.[3] He was a powerful friend of the New Learning. He was warmly praised by Erasmus as "the most loving and honest of men." Life at Court might be splendid misery, as that brilliant scholar said. But Henry's Court, on the same authority, was a very museum of knowledge, and the only place in Europe for such gifted Ministers as Pace.[4]

Erasmus stands apart, watching his English friends with keen appreciation, the close and dear companion of the choicest spirits of the age. More has a place of his own in English history. But Colet was in a special sense the leader of the Oxford movement for reform. Erasmus after all was only a passing visitor at

[1] Mr. Lupton drew attention to a curious little version in verse of *Qui mihi Discipulus*, written at the end of a verse translation of Dionysius Cato's *Moral Precepts* (1700) now in the British Museum. Lily of course figures in the early pages of Wood's *Athenæ* (vol. I, ed. Bliss), with Grocyn, Linacre, Colet, More, Pace and other contemporaries. For the history of Lily's Latin Grammar, see Foster Watson (*English Grammar Schools to* 1660, 243 *sq.*).

[2] Bishop Langton of Winchester, who gave Pace his education, was an old Provost of Queen's. Pace says that Langton sent him to Pavia to study, but gives no hint of Oxford (*De Fructu*, 27). Dr. Magrath is inclined to claim Pace as a Queen's student (*The Queen's College*, I, 154).

[3] *Letters and Papers* (ed. Brewer, III, 1540). See also Allen's *Eras. Epist.* (I, 445, n.).

[4] Froude's *Erasmus* (ed. 1910, p. 225).

Oxford. More had but a brief share of Oxford education. Colet, like Grocyn, Linacre and Latimer, had more enduring ties with Oxford life. He was born, it seems, about the end of 1466.[1] Savonarola was fourteen years older. Macchiavelli was three years younger, Luther and Raphael seventeen. The son of a Lord Mayor of London, the sole survivor, tradition says, of two and twenty children, John Colet inherited a large fortune. He went to Oxford, as a Commoner, it has been thought, of Magdalen, about 1483.[2] His relatives—on his mother's side he had great connections[3]—procured for him early a number of benefices, including the rich living of Stepney. But Colet cared for study more than wealth. He read philosophy. He excelled in mathematics. He had an astonishing memory.[4] He "devoured" Cicero. He dived into Plato and Plotinus. After some ten years at Oxford the call of the New Learning drew him abroad, and we do not know exactly where in Italy he spent his time. But we know that in March 1493 he became a member of the confraternity which Innocent III had established in connection with the Hospital founded on the site of the old Schola Anglorum in Rome.[5] We know from Erasmus that he devoted himself to the sacred writers, that he studied Origen and Cyprian, Ambrose and Jerome. We know that he drank in the teaching of Pico and Ficino.[6] We can hardly doubt that he

[1] One version of the inscription on his monument runs "Vixit annos 53. . . . Obiit anno 1519" (Lupton's *Life* of Colet, 237–8). Erasmus, who was probably born in October 1466—though his monument at Rotterdam says 1467 (Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*, 95, n.)—speaks of Colet as being two or three months his junior (*Lives of Vitrier and Colet*, ed. Lupton, 23).

[2] Wood says (*Athenæ*, I, 22) that "one or more of his sirname" were at Magdalen. But Dr. Bloxam found no trace of John Colet in the College Registers (Lupton's *Life*, 27, n.). He may have lived in rooms and belonged to no College. It may even be that some other College has a claim which it will yet make good.

[3] His mother was a sister of Sir John Knevet, who married first a daughter of Lord Grey of Ruthyn and secondly a daughter of Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham (Lupton, 13).

[4] His commentary on Dionysius seems to have been written from memory. See also Wirtzung (*General Practise of Physicke*, ed. 1617, p. 120).

[5] See Cardinal Gasquet's *History of the Venerable English College, Rome* (24). This suggests that Colet's journey to Italy was earlier than Mr. Seebohm and perhaps even Mr. Lupton thought. Pole, Bainbridge and Pace are all said to have acted as Wardens of the English Hospice in Rome, which entertained many well-known Englishmen, and sheltered English Romanists in Elizabethan days (*Ib.* 38–54).

[6] Pico della Mirandola and Politian died in 1494. Colet was strongly influenced by the writings of Marsilio Ficino, the veteran leader of the Neo-Platonists of Florence, who translated Plato, Plotinus and Dionysius, and who left an unfinished commentary on the Romans, a copy of which is now in the British Museum (*Harl. MS.* 4695). On Savonarola's influence over Pico and Ficino see Seebohm (Chaps. I and II).

visited Florence and sat under the pulpit of Savonarola. At any rate he brought back to England something of the spirit of that extraordinary man. He returned more than ever a theologian and philosopher, rating the early Fathers far above the Schoolmen,[1] strangely impressed with the mystical writings which a long-established literary imposture attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, the convert of St. Paul,[2] and still more impressed with the need of bringing all the knowledge and the powers at his disposal to purify the doctrine and the practice of the Church. But to Colet the interpretation of Scripture was still the chief use to which knowledge could be put. In 1496 he was back in Oxford. Next year he was lecturing in Latin on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, free public lectures to which the whole world of the University went.[3]

Colet proved to be a remarkable speaker, original both in method and in style. To Erasmus his discourse seemed like a limpid fountain, "flowing out of the abundance of the heart." He was not a great scholar. His Greek, it seems, was always elementary. He was still struggling with it as a beginner in the last years of his life.[4] At Oxford he lectured on the Vulgate, not on the Greek text. He was not perhaps a very keen critic, or he would not have believed in the authenticity of Dionysius the Areopagite, which Grocyn was afterwards forced to disavow. But he was profoundly versed in Latin, then the ordinary instrument of learning. He was a man of wide reading, of deep knowledge, and of a fearless piety which went deeper still. His message to the clerks of Oxford was not the message of the Schoolmen, but something more practical and easier to understand. For the scholastic hair-splitting and torturing of texts Colet substituted a free exposition of his author's meaning. He wanted to know what St. Paul thought, what manner of man he really was. He

[1] Colet certainly disapproved of Aquinas and the Schoolmen, but there is little ground for thinking that he disapproved of Augustine. See Allen (*Eras. Epist.* I, 268) and Lupton (*Vitrier and Colet*, 22).

[2] See Lupton's edition of Colet's *Two Treatises on the Hierarchies of Dionysius*, a Platonist philosopher who long passed under that name, the article on Dionysius Pseudo-Areopagite in Murray's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and Bishop Westcott's article in the *Contemporary Review* for May 1867.

[3] MSS. of these Lectures are preserved at Cambridge, in the libraries of the University, of Corpus Christi and of Emmanuel. Colet went on to lecture on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, on the theories of Dionysius and on the Sacraments of the Church. I do not think there is any ground for the suggestion that these Lectures at Oxford were irregular or contrary to rule. I am of course constantly indebted to Mr. Lupton's writings on the subject.

[4] This seems clear from the statements of More, Erasmus and Colet himself. (Brewer, *Letts. and Papers*, II, 1588, 2941, and Nichols, *Ep. of Erasmus*, II, 287 and 393.)

did not fear criticism. He did not insist on the Bible's verbal inspiration. He was willing to believe that Moses in his account of the Creation accommodated himself to the understanding of the people "after the manner of a popular poet."[1] He was not afraid of exposing abuses—the failings of the clergy, the scandals of the ecclesiastical Courts. "O Priests! O Priesthood! O the detestable boldness of wicked men." He that professed Christ should be pure, inwardly washed and white and shining. Religion lay not in rites or ceremonies. Sin was the only enemy. Nothing conquered evil but good. The true Church of Christ was as a city set upon a hill, breathing the "vital air of the Spirit of God." And men, journeying daily towards it, were made clean by the divine fire, made luminous by the divine illumination, made perfect by the crowning love of God in Christ in heaven.[2]

Colet's appeal to Oxford was no new one. It was the old voice of mediæval faith and self-surrender. But it was infused with a new fearlessness of comment and inquiry, a new impatience of sophistications, a new intolerance of abuse. And it was spoken through the mouth of Oxford to the educated world. His influence on the best minds round him was supreme. Erasmus, newly arrived in England and charmed by all he saw —a delicious climate even in December, a society of intelligent and learned men, and maids or nymphs divinely beautiful who greeted every voyager with a kiss—found at first that he had lost little by not going to Italy instead. At Oxford, in the autumn of 1499, he listened to Colet as he would have listened to Plato. He met him at a famous dinner given, it seems, by Colet, where over their wine they discussed in Latin the story of Cain.

> "Colet was more than equal to us all. He seemed to rage with a sacred fury. There was something about him sublime and august. His voice took another tone, his eyes another look. His face and his figure grew larger. There breathed on him a spirit divine."[3]

Before long Erasmus knew Colet better and drew a very winning picture of him. Others might dwell on the Dean's reserve,

[1] See the *Letters to Radulphus*, translated by Mr. Lupton, who, however, substitutes "some" for "a." Parts of these Letters seem to have been suggested to Colet by Pico's *Heptaplus* on the Creation.

[2] The fine passage from the Lectures on the First Corinthians is quoted in full by Mr. Lupton (*Colet*, 82–3). Compare Colet's *Two Treatises* on Dionysius (128).

[3] See the Latin in Allen (*Eras. Ep.* I, 268). Neither Mr. Nichols' version (I, 215–16) nor Mr. Froude's (ed. 1910, 45) has quite the same force. As Colet was apparently host, the dinner was probably not given at St. Mary's College. It may have been at Magdalen, with Wolsey in the "mixed and nameless" company, or at Colet's lodgings or at an Oxford inn.

on his fierce and austere gravity, on the relics of mediævalism in his opinions, on his obstinate preference for celibacy, on his distrust of Humanists who were not Christians too. "Those books alone ought to be read in which there is a salutary flavour of Christ . . . Do not become readers of philosophers, companions of devils."[1] But Erasmus pierced to the heart of his friend.

> "He was a man of genuine piety. He was not born with it. He was naturally hot, impetuous, and resentful—indolent, fond of pleasure and of women's society—disposed to make a joke of everything. He told me that he had fought against his faults with study, fasting, and prayer, and thus his whole life was, in fact, unpolluted with the world's defilements. His money he gave all to pious uses, worked incessantly, talked always on serious subjects to conquer his disposition to levity; not but what you could see traces of the old Adam when wit was flying at feast or festival. He avoided large parties for this reason. He dined on a single dish, with a draught or two of light ale. He liked good wine, but abstained on principle. I never knew a man of sunnier nature. No one ever more enjoyed cultivated society; but here too he denied himself, and was always thinking of the life to come."[2]

Colet's lectures at Oxford continued for some years. But in 1504 he was nominated to the Deanery of St. Paul's. In May 1505 he received its temporalities, and in the same year he inherited his father's wealth. The Chapter at East-minster —the old name contrasted it with Westminster—was demoralised and corrupt. It offered a fine field for reform. The Cathedral itself, a vast structure in the heart of London, with a spire that rivalled the loftiness of Strasburg's and a length that far exceeded the length at Milan or Cologne, was as busy as a crowded thoroughfare, the scene of half the traffic, begging and gossip of the town. Colet laboured to introduce discipline and order. He recalled men to their duties whether popular or not. Plain in his dress[3] and frugal in his habits, he set the example of simplicity of life. He cut down lavish hospitality. He condemned the worship of images. He objected to preachers reading their sermons; unhappily his Diocesan could do nothing

[1] Lupton's *Colet* (76).

[2] I quote from Mr. Froude's brilliant summary of this well-known letter (ed. 1910, 106). But Mr. Lupton's translation is fuller and closer (*Vitrier and Colet*, 30–2). For the original see the Leyden edition of the *Letters* (1706, *Ep.* ccccxxxv) or the London edition (1642, Book XV, Lett. 14). Erasmus dwelt on Colet's intellect rather than his sunny nature, and he suggested a touch of parsimony; he could never understand what economy meant. But like Mr. Froude he was a great artist with a vivid pen. I have to thank Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. for permission to quote Mr. Froude's versions.

[3] He never would wear the scarlet robes in which he is depicted in a fine window in Christ Church Hall to-day (*Vitrier and Colet*, 26).

else. He preached constantly in English, to great congregations, and it was long since such preaching had been heard at St. Paul's. From Oxford the voice of Wycliffe seemed to speak again. He could not forgive the luxury and worldliness of churchmen, the rush for wealth, the quarrels over tithes and offerings, the piling up of benefices—there may have been a touch of conscience there. Avarice and arrogance in the clergy were blacker sins than a hundred concubines. He who is chief, let him be the servant of all. Wolsey's ears must have tingled, if he came to hear. "All corruptnes, all the decaye of the churche, all the offences of the worlde" came from the covetousness of priests.

Colet has been credited with "a particular dislike of Bishops," and some Bishops did not conceal their disapproval of him. The Bishop of London especially was of the old Oxford school—"a superstitious and impracticable Scotist."[1] He appealed against Colet to Warham and the King. But the Archbishop supported the Dean. Colet was accused, quite truly, of preaching against war: and Henry, on the brink of a campaign, sent for him, talked with him, and finally pledged him as a friend. "Let everyone have his own Doctor. This man is the Doctor for me." Colet's great sermon preached before Convocation in 1512 has been called the overture to the Reformation.[2] He was no Protestant. Had he lived till the storm broke over England, he would have been found, one cannot help thinking, at More's side. But he admitted privately, Erasmus tells us, that many things were generally taught which he did not believe. And for the reform of ecclesiastical abuses he pleaded as tenaciously as Luther himself. In the famous pilgrimage which Colet and Erasmus made to Canterbury in 1514,[3] the Dean could not conceal his anger at the relics produced for adoration and at the treasures accumulated by the celebrated shrine. There was a vein of Puritanism in him which contemporary prelates found it hard to understand. The grave faults of the system round him weighed upon his spirit. His health grew worse. The sweating sickness attacked him again and again. He was still able to visit Oxford and to dine at Exeter with Grocyn. But in September 1519 after a brief illness the end came. "I know that it is well with him," wrote Erasmus, broken-hearted. "He has been taken from this wicked and troublesome world. . . .

[1] But Bishop Fitzjames had been a well-loved Warden of Merton, and was a more distinguished man than Erasmus allowed.

[2] This sermon is given in full in Appendix C of Mr. Lupton's *Life*.

[3] It is generally agreed that "Gratianus Pullus" in Erasmus' sketch is only a disguise for Colet (Seebohm, 288–9, n.).

If my writings are of any avail, I will not suffer the memory of such a man to die."

Colet left few works, but under the shadow of his own Cathedral he left an enduring monument behind. He became a pioneer of middle-class education. He delighted in the purity and simplicity of children, as he would fain have delighted in the purity and simplicity of the Church. He would give his scholars a Christian education, good manners and good literature, both Latin and Greek; and it did not greatly trouble him that the Bishop of London could not understand the necessity for Greek. Over the Master's chair he set the figure of the Child Jesus. Above it was the injunction "Hear Ye Him." And "thryse in the day prostrate" the children had to repeat the prayers enjoined. The School was large, twice the size of Winchester or Eton. The curious number of a hundred and fifty-three scholars may have been suggested by the number of feast days and Saints' days which made holidays or half-holidays in the year. All nationalities were admitted, but the School was specially meant for London boys. Hours were long, both winter and summer, from seven to eleven and one to five. The charge was only fourpence, on admission, which went to pay for keeping the School clean.[1] A large endowment was settled upon it. By a happy stroke Colet made the Mercers' Company its rulers. He induced William Lily to be its first Master. He invited Lily and Linacre and Erasmus to help him with books for his boys. And he wrote a grammar for them himself,[2] with a touching and familiar preface. "I pray you, all little babies, all little children, learn gladly from this little treatise. . . . And lift up your little white hands for me, which prayeth for you to God."[3]

John Colet was still at Oxford when Thomas More came up, straight from Archbishop Morton's household, a merry and

[1] The Statutes of the School are printed by Mr. Lupton in his *Life of Colet* (App. A), from the original MS. at Mercer's Hall. Mr. Lupton's second chapter has an interesting account of London schools in Colet's day, and the foundation of St. Paul's is fully treated in Chap. IX, though some of the views expressed there have not been universally accepted.

[2] Colet's *Æditio* or accidence was first printed in 1527. But for its early history, and for the contributions made to it by Lily and Erasmus, see Mr. Lupton's article on Lily in the *D.N.B.*, and Mr. F. Watson's *English Grammar Schools to 1660* (Ch. XV).

[3] Mr. Lupton's *Life* and his other writings upon Colet have replaced Samuel Knight's *Life* (1724) as the first authority on the subject. Sir S. Lee has a valuable article, with a careful note on authorities, in the *D.N.B.*, and Mr. Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers* had no small share in restoring Colet to his proper rank in the history of his time.

lovable boy.[1] But Colet was soon to start on his travels, and More left Oxford before he returned. It was in London, no doubt, that he saw him oftenest and knew him best. For his early love of letters More, it seems, was indebted to Linacre and Grocyn. To Linacre especially he owed his knowledge of Greek. His great-grandson has said that he belonged to Canterbury College, but his stay at Oxford in any case was brief.[2] We are told that his father, a successful lawyer, grudged him his Oxford training and kept him short of funds, that he disapproved of the boy's devotion to Greek letters and philosophy, and that after a year or two he brought him back to London and plunged him into his preparation for the Bar. But More left behind him in the University a strong impression of ability and charm, and he carried away from it all that was best in the spirit of the place. Oxford friends gathered round him in London. He wrote omnivorously. He had a genius for languages.[3] He found time not for law only but for verses, history, epigrams, theology. He met Erasmus, perhaps at Lord Mountjoy's, perhaps at Sir Henry Colet's, in 1499. He fell more and more under the influence of John Colet, in whose strength and earnestness he found support. While Colet was lecturing on St. Paul at Oxford, More was poring over Pico della Mirandola,[4] or lecturing on Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* in Grocyn's London church. He knew the world and its delights. But a piety almost as austere as Colet's drove him for a time to fasts and prayers. He dreamed of becoming a Franciscan friar. And even when he put these thoughts behind him, fell in love perhaps and married,[5] flung himself into a great professional career,

[1] Of fourteen or fifteen. Mr. Allen (*Eras. Epist.* I, 265–6) inclines to accept Mr. Nichols' suggestion that More was born in February 1477 and not in February 1478. See the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (March 1897, 321–7) which to some extent supersede Mr. Seebohm's Appendix B. More went up, it seems, in 1492. But the University Registers are missing between 1463 and 1505.

[2] Probably less than two years (Hutton, *Sir Thomas More*, 17). Wood (*Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, I, 79 *sq.*) clings to the tradition that More was a member of St. Mary Hall, where he is said at any rate to have occupied a room. The *Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore* (*sic*), written probably by Cresacre More, Sir Thomas' great-grandson, is the authority for the statement about Canterbury College. (See J. Hunter's edition of this book in 1828.) Hoddesdon, writing some twenty years later, in 1652, repeats the statement (*Hist. of Sir Thos. More*, 3). In the records of Canterbury College in the Chapter Library at Canterbury I have found no proof.

[3] See Pace's testimony, quoted in Bridgett's *Life* (12).

[4] More translated Pico's Life and Works, and there is little doubt that they greatly influenced his mind.

[5] That is the explanation of Erasmus. More's life as a young man was not blameless (Allen, *Age of Erasmus*, 205).

became a brilliantly successful lawyer, "beloved of Cardinals" and a companion of the King, proved himself not only a most capable adviser, but the most witty and agreeable courtier of the day, More kept unsoiled the eager faith, the zest for knowledge, the deep belief in all things simple, pure and true, which, lit with his inextinguishable humour, won the hearts of his friends and the admiration of mankind.

More never lost his love of Oxford. He was appointed Steward of the University.[1] The Masters wrote to him to lament the decline of their numbers and the decay of their Schools. Wolsey proposed to refer to him questions in dispute between University and town. On Wolsey's fall More tried to save the Cardinal's College from destruction. When a narrow-minded priest, perhaps a clerk of Oxford, wrote to warn him against the heresies of Erasmus, More replied with energy and scorn. The best of mankind had been accused of heresy. Jerome had said worse things of monks than Erasmus. The Vicar of Christ himself had approved of Erasmus' work. "You complain of the study of Greek and Hebrew. You say it leads to the neglect of Latin. Was not the New Testament written in Greek? Did not the early Fathers write in Greek?" Erasmus had spent more years in studying Scripture than his hasty critic had lived in the world. In short "Erasmus is the dearest friend I have."[2] When a Court preacher ventured to denounce Greek studies from the pulpit, More was called on to answer him in the presence of the King, and he so trounced the ignorant offender that the latter begged for forgiveness on his knees. And when the reaction against the New Learning at Oxford produced a clique of so-called Trojans to resist the spread of Greek, and one of them gave vent to his prejudices in a sermon, More, who was with the King at Abingdon, promptly took the challenge up. He wrote a striking letter to the University, reproving a folly which was growing into madness, and which threatened to destroy all liberal education. What right, he asked, had the Oxford preacher to denounce Latin, of which he knew little, Science, of which he knew less, and Greek, of which he knew nothing at all? The finest writings on all subjects, divinity included, were in Greek. The object of Oxford and its great foundations was to support students in the acquirement of knowledge, not merely theological or scholastical instruction, but useful learning of whatever nature it might be.[3]

[1] Wood (*Fasti*, 183) and Foster (*Alumni Oxonienses*, 1026).

[2] Froude's *Erasmus* (ed. 1910, 151 *sq.*).

[3] Compare Mr. Froude's version of this letter (*Erasmus*, 148–50) with that given in Bridgett's *Life of More* (172–6). The Latin is quoted in Hearne's edition of Roper's *Life* (59–67).

More was happiest perhaps when pleading thus for tolerance and learning. But his tragedy, if it be a tragedy, was to be played out on a larger stage. The exquisite picture of his home in London has been drawn by Erasmus as only he could draw. The dream picture of his undiscovered country was the first application to English politics of the new spirit of social reform. Only More perhaps, with his wistful, humorous fancy, could have conceived in the early sixteenth century a commonwealth founded on equality and freedom, a State indifferent to private property[1] and contemptuous of wealth, with a universal rule of work and leisure, a high regard for justice and for education, a large indulgence of opinion, a frank delight in fools. The even more celebrated picture of his superb tranquillity in face of death is among the unforgotten scenes of English history. "Son Roper, I thank the Lord the field is won." More was not unconscious of weakness and temptation. He was not by temperament invariably serene. His practice was not always equal to his theory, his voice was not always the voice of wisdom or restraint.[2] His tender playfulness, his mocking wit, his rich and many-sided nature concealed, it may be, struggles which left their mark. Yet no more lovable or noble Englishman passed from fifteenth-century Oxford into a changing world, and none, as that strange world's shadows gathered round him, kept the shining dreams of boyhood more undimmed.

More had in no common measure genius and strength combined. Colet had more strength than genius. But in Erasmus, with less strength of nature, genius was supreme. In words he was the greatest artist of his age. In scholarship he had few equals. In range of sympathies and understanding he perhaps had none. He steps in and out of the life of Oxford, in and out of the lives of his famous Oxford friends, with a brilliant restlessness, a fearless intimacy, very characteristic of the man. All Europe is his stage, all educated Christendom his audience. Oxford can only claim to have won, as he passed through it, his sensitive affection and respect. But Erasmus, more than any other single figure, embodied the Renaissance as it was interpreted by the scholars of the North. He was their literary leader. No

[1] Colet had guardedly approved of the ideal of a community of goods. (See Lupton's *Life*, 74.)

[2] More's controversial writings were little above the level of the age, and his attitude towards heretics is not easy to reconcile with the ideals of the *Utopia*. Of the early lives of More those by Roper, Stapleton (*Tres Thomæ*) and Cresacre More are the most important. Dean Hutton's and Father Bridgett's are among the best modern lives. Sir S. Lee's article in *D.N.B.* is full of useful references and information. For human interest Erasmus' account is unsurpassed.

Humanist of his generation had such repute. And none loved the world and its humours more intensely than the eager, vivid, eloquent Dutchman, whose wit charmed every one except the monks, and whose seriousness could touch the deepest chords in natures essentially religious like John Colet's and Thomas More's.

It was in 1499 that Erasmus first arrived in England.[1] His fame at that time was still to be made. But he had already been schooled in hardship and experience, and had learned to hate the vice and gluttony, the ignorance and impostures, which he connected with the monastic life. He had discovered his own powers and weakness and ambition. He had passed, not unscathed, through the University of Paris. He had found patrons and pupils to fill his ever-empty purse. He had made friends wherever men or women could appreciate his charm. Conspicuous among his pupils in Paris was Lord Mountjoy, who brought him to England and introduced him everywhere. Erasmus found it all delightful. He was at home in every kind of society, even in the hunting field. His English perhaps was the English of a Dutchman, but his Latin talk was irresistible. Young Thomas More became an intimate friend. One day More took him off to the Palace at Eltham, and presented him without warning to Prince Henry, then a beautiful and gracious boy of nine. At Oxford, where Prior Charnock welcomed him at St. Mary's College, he soon became familiar with the leading scholars of the time. He wrote with enthusiasm about them all, Grocyn and Linacre, Charnock and Colet. He had come to Oxford, he told Colet, "to spend a month or two with men like you."[2] And Colet's strength and power impressed him most. Colet, it seemed to him, had taken arms against the dull and sordid and omniscient, who were to be his own enemies through life. Colet was trying to bring back the Christianity of the Apostles. He was serving the cause of education as well as the interests of the faith. It was Colet whose destructive criticism perhaps swept away the Dutch scholar's lingering respect for the Schoolmen, Colet, who did not hesitate to censure even Aquinas for the presumption with which he "defined everything in that rash and overweening

[1] The date of Erasmus' first visit has often been given as 1497 or 1498, and Mr. Seebohm states his reasons (94, n.) for choosing 1498. But it is now established that Erasmus first came over with Lord Mountjoy in 1499, and spent two or three months at Oxford in the autumn of that year. (See Nichols, *Ep. of Erasmus*, I, 200 and 224–5.) Erasmus seems to have been the guest of Sir William Saye, Mountjoy's father-in-law, both in London and at Greenwich. Mr. Nichols' volume *The Hall of Lawford Hall* contains a good deal of information about Mountjoy and his relations with Erasmus. For Erasmus' early life see Allen (*Eras. Ep.* I, Appendix II).

[2] "Unum aut alterum mensem" (Allen, I, 249). See also Nichols (I, 223).

manner."[1] It was Colet who urged him to stay on at Oxford, to take up the exposition of the Bible, and to help him in his new Crusade. But though Erasmus could appreciate such labours, he was not yet prepared to work upon those lines.[2] He had not, he told Colet, knowledge or strength enough. "With what face can I teach what I myself have not learned?" He was charmed with England, but the call of Italy, of freedom, of adventure, was too strong. In January 1500, laden with presents of money, which the Custom-house at Dover seized, he left England for the Continent again. His old comrades in Paris welcomed him warmly. "We rejoice to have recovered what was part of our souls." If Erasmus had lost his money, the friends whom he had made in England were worth, he was reminded, far more to him than gold.

Five years of hard work followed, rendered all the harder by poverty and uncertain health. Erasmus read everything, from Lucian to Duns Scotus. He studied Origen and Jerome. He devoted himself to the Bible. Above all, he "buried" himself in Greek. He also dipped into Hebrew, but desisted, "knowing that one man's life and genius are not enough for too many things at a time."[3] He could not raise funds to get to Italy. "I am as poor as a rat," he writes, "but I must and I will be free." And meanwhile he was gradually making himself a name. His *Adagia*, a collection of classical proverbs and quotations, at once brought him reputation, though the first incomplete edition was full of blunders. His *Enchiridion*, or Pocket Dagger of a Christian Soldier,[4] was written, he told Colet, to teach the art of piety as opposed to a faith of formularies and rites. His edition of Lorenzo's Valla's Annotations on the New Testament[5] was a preparation for his greatest work. In 1506, when he was again in England,[6] his credit as a scholar was established. He could translate Euripides into Latin and offer his versions to

[1] *Vitrier and Colet* (ed. Lupton, 33).

[2] See Nichols (I, 221–2). It is hardly necessary to point out that the three volumes of Mr. Nichols' translations of the letters of Erasmus, and Mr. P. S. Allen's great edition of the Latin text, have, with their notes, to some extent superseded the older lives by Knight, Jortin and Drummond, valuable as these are.

[3] Seebohm (169).

[4] Or, in the English translation attributed to Tyndale and published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1533, the "manuell of the christen knyght."

[5] Valla was a Canon of the Lateran and a brilliant Latin scholar, famous for his independent views.

[6] He returned in 1505 (Nichols, I, 387, and Allen, I, 414). For his stay at Cambridge—Fisher probably took him down there—see Allen (I, App. VI). Mr. Froude's statement (*Erasmus*, 89) that he was at Lambeth in 1501 or 1502, is probably mistaken.

Archbishop Warham.[1] Warham became a generous patron. No more impenitent borrower than Erasmus ever lived. He visited Cambridge and obtained his Grace for a Doctor's degree. But next year English pupils were forthcoming, anxious to travel to Italy with him, and in their company he set out for his long-wished-for goal at last.[2]

Erasmus, it is to be feared, soon tired of his travelling companions. But in Italy he found a royal welcome. It was less easy for him to find a settled resting-place. It was never easy to secure a settled income. He received his Doctor's degree at Turin. He visited Bologna, Florence, Padua, Rome.[3] He saw face to face a Pope of the Renaissance rejoicing in the cruel wickedness of war. He stayed with Aldus, the great printer, at Venice,[4] and his *Adagia* in a new edition swelled into a portly folio there. But the hopes raised by the new reign in England called him back. More was the new King's friend. Linacre was his physician. Colet was soon to win his admiration and respect. Mountjoy wrote with enthusiasm of Henry's love for men of learning, of his "almost divine character," of a new age dawning, a laughing heaven and an exulting earth. Henry himself summoned his dear Erasmus to find rest from all anxieties in England. With their joint resources and endeavours they might nobly defend the Gospel of Christ. No wonder that the wandering scholar was attracted to "this new auspicious star." In July 1509 Erasmus travelled Northwards. Within a few months he was back in England, and writing the *Praise of Folly* in More's London house.[5]

He had no reason to complain of his reception. His friends gathered round him. Work and pay were forthcoming. More and Grocyn were hospitable. Warham and Fisher were ready to help. In 1511 Erasmus was again at Cambridge, teaching Greek.[6]

[1] In January, 1506 (Allen, I, 417). Their acquaintance seems to have begun then. (See Erasmus, *Catalogus lucubrationum*, ed. 1523, pp. 6–7.)

[2] Erasmus says he was not in charge of these young gentlemen, but only superintendent of their studies (Nichols, I, 416).

[3] Also Venice, Ferrara, Siena and Naples. (See Nichols, I, 451–7.)

[4] Erasmus stayed in the house where both Aldus and his father-in-law lived (Allen, I, 443, Nichols, I, 437). The household consisted of some thirty-three persons. The house still stands, it seems, on one of the smaller canals near the Rialto. (See art. on Erasmus in Italy, *Eng. Hist. Review*, vol. 10, 1895, and De Nolhac, *Érasme en Italie*, 33.)

[5] For the King's letter see the Leyden edition of Erasmus' *Works* (III, 1840). For Mountjoy's see Allen (I, 449–52) and Nichols (I, 457–60). Erasmus, it seems, started for England in July 1509 (Allen, I, 452 and 459), but he could hardly have arrived quite so early as Mr. Nichols suggests (I, 465).

[6] His position has been questioned. But he may have held the Professorship of Divinity founded by Lady Margaret. Cambridge of

Queens' College, where quarters were assigned to him,[1] still recalls the charm of mediæval England. But he seems to have found strangely little pleasure in the quiet beauty of the place. He disliked the climate. He disliked the beer. He saw no chance of profit. He lived "the life of a snail." He travelled to London whenever he could. He made occasional pilgrimages. He longed for the society of More and Colet. And he worked hard at his great literary projects, especially at his New Testament and his edition of Jerome.[2] But in 1513 he was evidently making up his mind to run away. He had already repented of coming back to England.[3] He had discovered that an island was at best a place of banishment. He was sighing for the sunshine, the libraries, the generous Cardinals of Rome. The King was kind, but full of war and business. The "mountains of gold" he had dreamed of had never appeared. In 1514, taking his Jerome and his New Testament with him, he set out to visit Froben's famous press, and though he never ceased to wander, Basle was from that time forward his most constant resting-place and home.[4]

In the years that succeeded, Erasmus became the most renowned scholar in Europe. And he became more than ever the advocate of reasonable reform. But the world about him was splitting into factions which he could not join. He could only use his ever-growing influence for reconciliation, unity and peace. He had not, it is true, the fearlessness of Luther. He had not "strength for martyrdom." He dreaded revolution. But he dreaded also lest he should "be found fighting against the Spirit of God." He would gladly have made war on ignorance and abuses, without breaking the fabric of the mediæval Church. Both sides lost patience with him. On both the fiercer spirits had their way. "My popularity," he told the Pope in 1523, "is turned to hatred. Once I was Prince of Letters, Star of Germany, High Priest of Learning. The note is altered now." In such a time of "monstrous tempest" the pure faith which he had pleaded for went down. "Christ," he sighs, "has been sleeping so far." Theologians had forgotten to call upon Him. "Christ will not wake till we call to Him in sincerity of heart."[5]

course fills a much larger place than Oxford in this "Oxford Reformer's" life.

[1] Mr. Nichols thinks he occupied part of what was then the Master's Lodging (II, 26).

[2] But it seems that his translation of most of the New Testament was made some years before this (Allen, II, 182).

[3] Yet he was soon writing to Pace that no land in the world was like England, and in none would he better love to spend his days (Froude, *Erasmus*, 199).

[4] Erasmus was in England for a visit in 1515, and again in 1516 and 1517.

[5] See *Epist.* DCXLIX in the Leyden edition (Pt. I, 745–8) and Froude's *Erasmus* (317 and 371).

Fate did not mean Erasmus to become an Englishman. He was a graft, as he said, not a native here. He never spent more than a few months in Oxford. But he shared the dreams of the Oxford Reformers, and his books must have profoundly influenced Oxford men. The *Praise of Folly*—Folly in her cap and bells surveying the weaknesses of every order of mankind, Princes and soldiers, scholars and statesmen, grammarians, philosophers, theologians, monks—was written at More's elbow, and breathed all More's spirit of irony and fun. Editions poured from the press. Bishops and Cardinals chuckled over it. Holbein illustrated the text. Milton found it the talk of Cambridge a century after its author's death.[1] The *Novum Instrumentum*, a far greater and graver project, raised the same unhesitating standard of revolt, and dwelt, as Colet had dwelt, on the need of a reformed and practical Christianity, against pagans and sceptics on the one side, against formalists, dogmatists, impostors on the other. But now Erasmus was speaking to the world of scholars. His New Testament introduced alike to clerk and to layman the Greek text of the Epistles and Gospels, accompanied by a Latin translation better than any made before, and illustrated by a vivid and invaluable commentary to emphasise the lessons taught. Let all men study in the words of Scripture the life and work of Christ. Philosophers, Platonists, Pythagoreans fought for their own masters. Why should not Christians know and fight for theirs? The philosophy of Christ could be learned far more easily than the philosophy of Aristotle, and He at any rate was a teacher from heaven. But no-one could study the Gospels without contrasting with them the practice of the Church. Celibacy, chastity, simplicity of doctrine, the faults of prelates, the hypocrisies of monks, the abuses which had crept into ritual and dogma, the worldliness and superstition which were demoralising faith, these were the texts on which the fearless editor enlarged. And once again he seized the opportunity to denounce the most orthodox studies of the Universities of Europe in words which no critics of the Schoolmen could forget.

> "We have been disputing for ages whether the grace by which God loves us and the grace by which we love God are one and the same grace. We dispute how the Father differs from the Son and both from the Holy Ghost, whether it be a difference of fact or a difference of relation, and how three can be one when neither of the three is the other. . . . Entire lives have been wasted on these speculations, and men quarrel and curse and come to blows about them. . . .

[1] Of the *Moriæ Encomium* there are many editions and translations. See also Froude (*Erasmus*, 137–42), Seebohm (193–204), Drummond (*Erasmus*, I, Ch. VII, etc.). The well-known letter from Erasmus to Martin Dorp on the subject is given in Mr. Allen's second volume (90–114).

"The schoolmen have been arguing for generations whether the proposition that Christ exists from eternity is correctly stated; whether He is compounded of two natures or consists of two natures; whether He is *conflatus*, or *commixtus*, or *conglutinatus*, or *co-augmentatus*, or *geminatus*, or *copulatus*. The present opinion is that none of these participles are right, and we are to have a new word, *unitus*, which still is to explain nothing. If they are asked if the human nature is united to the Divine, they say it is a pious opinion. If asked whether the Divine Nature is united to the human, they hesitate and will not affirm. And all this stuff, of which we know nothing and are not required to know anything, they treat as the citadel of our faith."[1]

Young Oxford, in revolt against the Schoolmen, must have delighted in outspoken comments such as these. Erasmus' New Testament made him a leader of reform. It marked a turning-point in the religious revolution. More rejoiced at its astonishing success. The Pope with strange facility approved it. Scores of thousands of copies were sold in France alone. "It contributed more," a great student has said, "to the liberation of the human mind from the thraldom of the mediæval clergy than all the uproar and rage of Luther's many pamphlets." But it made no inconsiderable uproar on its own account. Conservatives were shocked that any scholar should try to improve upon the Vulgate. Many of them had forgotten, and did not wish to be reminded, that the original was written in Greek. Erasmus had no blind respect for verbal inspiration. He pointed out errors and rejected spurious texts. He was accused of a want of reverence, of correcting the Holy Ghost. He was not readily forgiven for wishing to make the Bible too familiar. Why, asked the obscurantists, need the Gospels and Epistles be available for Scots and Irishmen, for Saracens and Turks? Why should Erasmus want to hear the husbandman sing them over the plough, and the weaver hum them to the tune of his shuttle? But, as the opposition gathered strength and the friends of the old order rallied to attack him, Erasmus only developed his teaching and amplified

[1] For the Latin notes on First Timothy, I, 6, see vol. VI of the Leyden edition of the *Works* (926–8). I have quoted from Mr. Froude's vigorous version (*Erasmus*, 131–2), but I have ventured in one place to alter "neither" into "none." Mr. Allen (II, 164 *sq.* and 181 *sq.*) has two valuable notes on Erasmus' New Testament. He gives the preface which introduces the "annotatiunculæ," and the letter to Pope Leo in February 1516, introducing the book. Erasmus' work on it probably began at least as early as 1505. Colet lent him two Latin MSS. from the library of St. Paul's. See also among others the letters to Budé and to Bullock (tr. by Nichols, II, 280–4 and 324–32). The paraphrases on the separate books of the New Testament, a free version in a popular form, which Erasmus began to issue in 1517, were specially successful in England. A complete English translation of them was printed in 1548 (Allen, III, 136–7). Mr. Drummond (*Erasmus*, I, Ch. XI) gives a useful account of the New Testament and the St. Jerome.

his theme. The *St. Jerome*, which Froben also published in 1516—the Notes to the New Testament had been full of quotations from St. Jerome [1]—proved that the first among Latin theologians was upon his side. "To confess the truth, Jerome is our only theological author, whom we can put in the same rank with those of Greece." [2] Leo X accepted the dedication of this great edition, and recommended the author for a Bishopric. And though Erasmus was never to be Cardinal or prelate—he might with little effort at accommodation have been both—his writings never ceased to charm his age. In the Oxford book-shops, if John Dorne's day-book be a fair criterion, they were more in demand than Duns or Aquinas, they filled more space than Aristotle himself.[3] The *Colloquies*, which began to be published in 1519, set the seal upon his reputation. They showed him at his greatest as an artist rich in observation and experience of mankind. No man had drawn more vivid or delightful pictures of the world in which he moved. To that world the *Colloquies* revealed him more clearly than ever as one of the rarest spirits of his time, unsurpassed in humour, tolerance, understanding, unfailing in his keen and laughing sympathy with every side of life, unsparing in his scorn of falsehood, undaunted in his tenderness for all things holy and innocent and true. He continued to write through the storms that beat around him. To the last he pleaded strongly for the simple, human faith he loved. And though the rulers and the disputants of his day refused to listen, generations after him his larger temper has prevailed.

Magdalen had given a lead to the New Learning, and the Masters of the School beside it fully maintained the reputation of the College. The School became the home of a movement for new methods in teaching Latin grammar. Donatus, who had been the instructor of St. Jerome, Dolensis,[4] who had paraphrased Priscian in the days of Cœur de Lion, were going out of fashion, none too soon. The famous manual of Donatus on the eight parts of speech had been characteristically converted into a treatise on morals, which connected the declension of the noun

[1] The authorised Latin version of the Bible was substantially St. Jerome's work. Erasmus' Greek Testament had doubtless many faults of scholarship. It was, as he said, "hurried out headlong" (Nichols, II, 251). But it was a great advance on the standards of his age.

[2] Nichols (II, 179). See also Mr. Allen's note (II, 210–11).

[3] About 1520. See *Collectanea* (I, 71 *sq.*, and II, 453 *sq.*). It has been calculated that Dorne sold in his shop opposite St. Mary's 2,383 books in the year, of which about 250 were by Erasmus (*Bodl. Quart. Record*, I, 176).

[4] Alexander De Villa Dei (Ville-Dieu) was a native of Dol in Brittany. (See *ante*, p. 180, n.)

with the declension of the soul from God. The rhyming hexameters of Alexander De Villa Dei had been overloaded with generations of glosses, and to mockers like Skelton the venerable grammarian seemed only "a gander of Menander's pole." John Anwykyll, John Stanbridge and John Holt, all masters in Magdalen College School, ranked among the first of the grammar reformers. Anwykyll's *Compendium* was printed by the early Oxford Press. Stanbridge's grammars had a wide circulation and became models for many a class-room. Holt's *Lac Puerorum* or *Mylke for Children* was honourably known before the fifteenth century closed. Stanbridge and Holt alike brought simpler methods into a field where they had long been needed. Lily, Linacre, Erasmus did not disdain to follow the same path. And Robert Whittington, a pupil of Stanbridge,[1] carried on the new educational tradition, though his needless assumption of the title of "Protovates Angliæ" offended scholars compared with whom he was reckoned "but a crackling thorn."[2]

But a far more conspicuous personage than these was for a brief space Master of Magdalen College School, before he became the magnificent patron of School and College and University alike. Tradition, which cannot confidently settle the date of Wolsey's birth, declares that he went up to Oxford very early and became a Bachelor of Arts at fifteen.

> "Degree of school I had
> And Bachelor was, and I a little lad."[3]

He undoubtedly became Fellow and Bursar of his College.[4] Skelton belittled his Latin, and laughed at his knowledge of "quadrivials and trivials." But a greater poet than Skelton has borne witness to his scholarship, and Wolsey must surely have had some reputation as a student if he succeeded Anwykyll and Stanbridge as Master of the College School. He valued and encouraged learning afterwards, from Latin grammar up to the

[1] Whittington's books on grammar figure as largely as Stanbridge's in John Dorne's list (*Collectanea*, I, 172–5).

[2] On these early grammarians see Lupton (*Colet*, 21–5), Bloxam (*Register of Magdalen*, III, 7 *sq.*), who quotes and supplements Wood, Chandler (*Waynflete*, 253–4), and F. Watson (*Eng. Gram. Schools to 1660*, ch. xiv).

[3] So sang Thomas Churchyard in Elizabethan days. (See *The Tragedy of Cardinal Wolsey*, printed at the end of Gollancz's edition of Cavendish's Life, 266.) Fiddes (*Life*, 4) says that Wolsey took his B.A. at fourteen, but does not prove it.

[4] Junior Bursar in 1498–9, and Senior Bursar in 1499–1500, says Dr. Macray (*Register of Magdalen*, I, 29–30). He supplicated for the degrees of B.D. and D.D. in 1510 (*Reg. of Oxf. Univ.* I, 67). See also Bloxam (*Register*, III, 24 *sq.*). Dr. Bloxam thinks that Wolsey resigned his Fellowship in 1502.

widest studies of his day. In 1500 he received a living from Lord Dorset, and with that the flow of preferments began. A few years later he was the King's chaplain, deep in Bishop Fox's confidence, and a rising man at Court. Promotions and benefices followed quickly. In 1509 Wolsey became Dean of Lincoln and Almoner to the new King. Five years later he was Bishop of Lincoln and Archbishop of York. Before the end of 1515 he was Chancellor and Cardinal, and ruler, men said, both of King and of kingdom. "Finally," writes Tyndale, he "became what he would, even porter of heaven. . . . And ever as he grew in promotions and dignity, so gathered he unto him of the most subtle-witted, and of them that were drunk in the desire of honour, most like unto himself." [1] The Masters of Oxford were quick to recognise his eminence. They turned from Warham to the rising sun. They conferred degrees upon him. They hailed him as their Pontifex, their spokesman, their Mæcenas. For a personage so powerful, "adored as a Deity," even the title of Majesty did not seem to be too great.[2] And it may be added that the compliments which reached the Cardinal from Cambridge were at least equally emphatic and profuse.

Wolsey was immersed in policy and business. But he found time to play a large part in Oxford life. "Sweet as summer" to those who sought him, he was quick to respond to the University's appeals. He visited Oxford in 1518, coming over from Abingdon in company with the Queen. He was entertained at Magdalen. He attended and addressed a great meeting of Masters. He undertook the revision of the Statutes. He was invited, a little later, to nominate Proctors.[3] And he supplied the University with new and formidable weapons to carry on its old struggle with the town.[4] The Charter, which he obtained from the King in 1523, raised the authority of the Chancellor and his officials to a height not touched before. It gave them sole jurisdiction in all suits affecting persons entitled to the privileges of the University in all parts of the Kingdom. They were to have their own gaol for offenders. They received grants of fines

[1] See Tyndale's *Practice of Prelates* (Parker Soc., 310 and 308). Wolsey enjoyed at different times, among other preferments, the Deaneries of Lincoln, Hereford, York and St. Stephen's, Westminster and the Bishoprics of Tournai, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, Durham and Winchester, to say nothing of the Archbishopric of York and the great Abbey of St. Albans.

[2] "Archipresul sanctissime," "benignissime Princeps," "Sacrosancta majestas" are among the phrases used. (See *Reg. FF*, ff. 17^b, 18^b, 43, 49^b, etc.) But such compliments were not uncommon, especially in Latin letters.

[3] See Lyte (424) and *Reg. FF* (50^b, 52^b, 53^b, 54).

[4] There are references to the Charter and to Wolsey's services in *Reg. FF* (87^b, 88, 89).

and treasure trove and confiscated goods. They were secured against writs of error and vexatious appeals to the Royal Courts. Above all—and here the sting lay—they and their scholars and the great class of privileged persons gathered round them were given unrestricted rights of trading in Oxford, with power to form corporations of traders and to make regulations for them, in complete disregard of the representatives of the town.[1]

But Wolsey's high-handed generosity had gone too far. The Oxford burgesses bitterly resented this attack upon their rights and customs, and there was a curious delay in putting the Charter into force.[2] Slumbering enmities woke to life again. The University officials were accused of abusing their authority. The townsmen petitioned against the Charter, and refused arbitration on the subject, even by Sir Thomas More. One Mayor, William Fleming, declined to swear to observe the University liberties or to recognise the service on St. Scholastica's day. Another, Michael Heath, a brewer, protested against oaths to the University which interfered with his duty to the King. He went further and brought down excommunication on his head.[3] Citizens set to work "to bark and cry out and clamour," to thwart the University administration in every way they could. The Guildhall doors were shut against University officials. The Commissary was accused of "exstorcyon" in levying charges on salmon and herrings. The University retorted. Leading traders in the town were discommoned and their shops put out of bounds. Each side continued for long to make charges against the other. But the townsmen were determined not to give in. The Masters them-

[1] For the terms of this famous Charter see *Med. Arch.* (I, 255–72), *Registrum privilegiorum* (Oxf., 1770, 53–75) and Lyte (427).

[2] For the town's point of view see Turner's *Records of the City of Oxford* (*passim*, but especially vii *sq.*, 33–41, 62–6, 72–130). Wood (*Ann.* II.) gives an account of the matter under the years 1523 and 1528, which suggests that the full extent of the new privileges was not realised by the University till 1528. But I cannot think with Sir H. M. Lyte (428) that they remained unknown to the University all that time. Wood states (*Ann.* II, 23) that the Charter was conveyed to Oxford by the Cardinal's Commissaries, three prominent University men, under the year 1523. It is clear from Twyne's extracts published in the City *Records* that the town's protests began in that year. And it seems that owing to these protests the operation of the Charter was postponed. In July 1528 it was apparently revived, possibly enlarged, and published in Congregation. In February 1529 it was enforced by the King's Writ. And from that date the struggle was waged with vigour—in spite of attempts to settle it, notably in January 1533—till the final arbitration in December 1542. Wood's account is not always clear (e.g. *Ann.* II, 73). In *Reg. KK* (f. 31^{b}) there is a curious passage describing the discovery of Wolsey's Charter apparently—then almost forgotten—by the University Scribe in the Royal Treasury in 1566. (See also Wood, *Ann.* II, 35.)

[3] A third, William Frere, may have been as strong a representative of the town which nine times elected him as Mayor.

selves seem to have realised that the Charter claimed more than they could hope to enforce. After some twenty years of controversy they agreed to arbitration and even petitioned for its repeal. Wolsey's Charter was dropped. But a generation later the Elizabethan Act incorporating the Universities took occasion to revive and to confirm it. And a vague and illogical saving clause guaranteeing the rights and liberties of the city did not allay the suspicion or prevent the troubles which ensued.[1]

Wolsey's schemes for the benefit of Oxford had something of the generous grandeur which stamped his schemes of policy abroad. "Nothing mean," says Fuller, "could enter into this man's mind," though the dictum perhaps may not apply to the Cardinal's methods of accumulating wealth. He proposed to codify the University's Statutes, to revise its studies, to endow Lecturers in new subjects, to combine the suppression of monasteries which had served their purpose with large projects for improving education. The Statutes badly needed revision. The long-accumulated stores of ordinances and traditions were often contradictory and confused. The Chancellor, Warham, was all in favour of reducing them to order: some, he admitted, had fallen into disuse, and some into entire oblivion.[2] But when the University proposed to give Wolsey power to cancel and re-issue Statutes at discretion, Warham not unnaturally demurred. He pointed out that the details of University regulations could only be properly dealt with by people who knew them and who lived on the spot. He suggested that the Cardinal should be invited first to indicate what changes and improvements he desired. The Masters assured their Chancellor that his advice was all-important, and promptly disregarded everything he said. The laws and customs of the University were placed unreservedly at Wolsey's disposal, to deal with as he pleased. But his premature fall or his overwhelming occupations prevented the proposed reforms from taking shape.[3]

Whatever may have been Wolsey's claims to scholarship, there is no doubt where his sympathies in education lay. The brilliant challenge issued to the Schoolmen by scholars like More and Colet and Erasmus had produced a strong reaction. The lost causes of Oxford have never lacked the power to fight. Greek was a passion with the friends of the New Learning. To resist it, a

[1] See *City Records* (168–72), *Enactments in Parliament* (I, 185–8 or 13 Eliz. c. 29), Boase (*Oxford*, 106–7). In Twyne's Inventory of Muniments, which Dr. Poole has printed (*Lect. on University Archives*, 40–1), there is a note of various documents in the Archives bearing on this famous controversy.

[2] *Reg. FF* (ff. 14b–15).

[3] Fiddes (*Life of Wolsey*, 168 *sq.*). See also the letters quoted by Fiddes in the *Collections* at the end of that volume (27 *sq.*), and Lyte (422–3).

new academic party of Trojans arose, who " raged in every pulpit against Greek, Latin and Hebrew," and would burn every Terence or Virgil, " though it should cost them their lives." [1] Orthodox churchmen, who were far from being fanatics, still viewed Greek with some suspicion. " The ignorant party," as Wood called them, had behind them all the most cherished traditions of the past. If Greek has ruled too long in the Schools of Oxford, it had at any rate a hard struggle to gain admission there. Even More might have hesitated to administer his sharp rebuke to its enemies in the University unless he had felt certain of the great Cardinal's support. Every man educated at Oxford, he told them, and not only the resident Masters, had a right to an opinion on the subject. The Primate would not have the new studies meddled with. The Cardinal of York would not endure it. The King's Majesty, more learned and more pious than any English monarch had ever been before, would not look on passively while " worthless blockheads " interrupted the course of sound instruction in the oldest University in the realm.[2]

Wolsey, however, did not confine himself to rebukes. He mourned over the " penury " of teachers at Oxford. He invited thither students from all quarters—Cambridge men among them, who brought dangerous Lutheran ideas. New Lecturers were appointed. Race and country were not to count in their selection: there was a fine cosmopolitan spirit among the scholars of the Renaissance: all the Cardinal cared for was their power to teach. Thomas Lupset, one of Colet's boys at St. Paul's, returned, fresh from his studies at Paris, to lecture to crowded audiences at Oxford, to expound Linacre's version of " Proclus his Sphere." The University overflowed in acknowledgments to Wolsey.

> " We place it in the Number of your immortal Benefits, that your exuberant Goodness towards the common Advancement of Learning, hath vouchsafed to send Lupset among us." [3]

Nicholas Kratzer, the mathematician immortalised by Holbein, was drawn from Bavaria. Juan Luis Vives, a brilliant young Spaniard, came over from the Netherlands, to deplore the " windy, dense, and damp " climate of Oxford, and to prove himself a pioneer in education. Students welcomed this " mellifluous

[1] Tyndale, quoted by Lyte (435–6).

[2] Froude (*Erasmus*, 150), and *ante* (p. 426). Wood reckons among the friends of the New Learning at Oxford Wolsey, Grocyn, Linacre, Tunstall, Stopley, More, Pace, " and who not " (*Ann.* II, 17).

[3] *Reg. FF* (f. 43). See also Allen (*Eras. Ep.* I, 527–8), Wood (*Athenæ*, I, 69–72), and Lupset's published *Workes*. Lupset was well known to Pace, Erasmus, Linacre and Pole, and seems to have taught Thomas Winter, Wolsey's natural son. Thomas Starkey, who lectured during the same period at Magdalen, was named as Proctor by Wolsey in 1522.

Doctor" as one of the most interesting teachers of the day. Queen Catharine encouraged him to write on the education of women, and till the ill-starred advent of Anne Boleyn he enjoyed great popularity at Court. More marvelled at his mastery of knowledge. Erasmus prophesied that Vives' fame would overshadow his own.[1]

Wolsey certainly knew how to choose his men. He hoped to effect reforms in education at both Universities alike. For Oxford he planned a number of Professorships, and new Schools for the Professors to lecture in. His first proposals, it may be, were not carried through.[2] But in connection with Cardinal College six Public Professors were arranged for, three, unmarried, to lecture on Theology, Philosophy and Canon Law, three, who might be married, to lecture on Medicine, the Humanities and Civil Law. Their selection was to be entrusted to a Committee on which not only representatives of Cardinal College but officials of the University sat. It is worth noting that most of the Heads of Colleges were members of this Board[3]: the Oxford Heads of Houses were gradually coming into their own. The Professor of Philosophy would naturally be concerned chiefly with Aristotle and Plato. But the Professor of Theology was to lecture on the text of the Old and New Testaments as well as the *Quæstiones* of Duns Scotus. And the lectures on the Humanities were to include not only Cicero and Quintilian, but Lucian, Homer, Hesiod, Aristophanes, Euripides, Sophocles and Pindar. Cardinal College with its magnificent endowments was to be only part of

[1] See Vives *On Education* and the other volumes which Dr. Foster Watson has devoted to translating and editing Vives' works. See also Allen (III, 507–8) and Lyte (438–40). Vives' *Dialogues* were long popular at Westminster, Eton and elsewhere (Watson's *Tudor School-boy Life*).

[2] Fiddes (*Life of Wolsey*, 197 *sq.*), following Wood, gives a list of seven new Chairs, which must be received with caution. Bloxam (*Reg. of Magdalen*, III, 70–3) gives an account of Thomas Brynknell, whom Wood names as Wolsey's first Divinity Lecturer. It is not easy to be sure of the relation which Wolsey's original plan for University Professorships bore to the six Public Professors arranged for in the *Statutes of Cardinal College* (ed. 1853, 122 *sq.*)—each of whom declared himself to be "in publicum collegii vulgo vocati *the Cardinal College* et Academiæ Oxoniensis in N. professorem electus"—and to the three Public Readers or Professors arranged for in the Statutes of Corpus. It is clear, I think, that Wolsey latterly intended to pay his Professors out of the revenues of Christ Church. But it is not impossible that Corpus in early days gave some of them maintenance and lodging. (See later, Chap. XI.) Wolsey's plans were, no doubt, modified as time passed, and Fox may have co-operated with him.

[3] *Statutes* (Cardinal College, 124). But the list is curious. Magdalen and Oriel and the Monastic Colleges are not mentioned, and Merton appears as "Sancti Martini." Merton was sometimes spelt and pronounced as Marton, Marten or Martin. (See *Stats.*, Corpus, iv, and Plummer's *Elizabethan Oxford*, 102.)

a great scheme of education, linked up with grammar-schools all over England. The projects of Wykeham and Waynflete were to be far surpassed. The treasures of the old monastic houses were to contribute to the new ideals. Indeed Wolsey went so far in appropriating their resources, that Henry himself intervened with a "rude yet loving" letter of rebuke. The proud Cardinal was compelled to protest that he really wanted nothing from the Monasteries. Indeed he would rather sell all he had than accept their self-sacrificing "offers" in future. His conscience should not be spotted. Nothing should cast a doubt on his love and dread for God and for the King.[1]

Wolsey did not live to complete his great designs. But the University had no reason to complain of his devotion. His influence must have helped the friends of progress. Only sometimes the pace of progress threatened to be too fast. Luther's theses found their way to England. Oxford theologians on Wolsey's invitation were sent up to London to condemn them. Cambridge burned the new opinions. But among the promising Cambridge students whom Wolsey had drawn to his new College, it seems that the pestilential doctrines had already taken root. Tyndale, who is thought to have taken his Bachelor's degree in 1512,[2] had begun to read the Bible "privily to certain students and fellows" of Magdalen. From Magdalen perhaps the fine infection spread. Archbishop Warham wrote in distress that "no small number of young and incircumspect fools" at Oxford had become tainted with the new ideas. He wished to discuss with Wolsey the best means of quietly putting these heresies down.[3] John Clarke, the leader of the party, a man with the stuff of a martyr in him, had expounded St. Paul's Epistles in Cardinal College. Thomas Garret, a graduate of Magdalen, was selling copies of Tyndale's New Testament and Latin treatises by German Reformers. He had even ventured to send them to the Reading monks. Students were meeting in Oxford to discuss them. The malcontents increased in number, and profiting by the example of Luther, they affixed their "libels" to church doors.

Then Wolsey struck. He had not Warham's patience. The authorities ordered Garret's arrest. Anthony Dalaber, a student

[1] See Ellis (*Original Letters*, 2nd Series, II, 20), Brewer (*Letts. and Papers*, IV, 1970), and Lyte (443–4).

[2] Under the name of Huchens or Hychyns, an alternative surname which his family used. He took his M.A., it seems, in 1515 before going on to Cambridge. (See Boase, *Register*, I, 80.)

[3] See Ellis (*Orig. Letts.*, 3rd Series, I, 239–42). Sir H. M. Lyte (459, n.) would date this letter not earlier than 1526 or 1527. Garret's arrest and adventures took place early in 1528 (Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Pratt, V, 829).

of St. Alban Hall, helped to smuggle him off to Dorsetshire. But on the third day Garret rashly returned. Cottisford, the Commissary or Vice-Chancellor, seized him, and shut him up in a cellar in his house. During evensong the prisoner escaped. He made his way to Dalaber's room, borrowed his coat and started for the West again. Dalaber carried the news to Cardinal College. There he had the pleasure of seeing Cottisford come into church " as pale as ashes " and draw the Dean out of the choir. Presently Dr. London appeared, the unpopular Warden of New College, " blustering and blowing like a hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey." The authorities in their extremity consulted an astrologer, regardless of the precepts of the Church. They learned that Garret had fled to the South-east, and his arrest near Bristol shortly afterwards may have enforced the futility of relying on the stars. Dalaber too was arrested in Oxford, sharply examined and set in the stocks. Under the ordeal, it seems, his courage failed. Dr. London, who had some kindliness underneath his bluster, would have been content to pack the heretics back to Cambridge. But Oxford under Wolsey's instructions set to work to purge its own. Six members of Cardinal College, headed by John Clarke, were imprisoned and excommunicated, the Organist only being excused on the ground that " he was but a Musitian." Most of the offenders showed signs of recantation or remorse. They were made to march round from St. Mary's to St. Frideswide's, carrying faggots—a disagreeable reminder—and flinging heretical books into a bonfire at Carfax as they passed. Clarke and two of his College friends died, carried off, it may be, by the sweating sickness.[1] But the Bishop of Lincoln had shown himself implacable, and the Protestants insisted that the hardships of their treatment had caused the prisoners' death.

Clerks at Oxford were less difficult to silence than the larger public out of doors. Scurrilous books, as many churchmen thought them, were already pouring from the press. Outspoken comments on Church abuses were passing from mouth to mouth. *The Wicked Mammon*, *The Revelation of Anti-Christ*, *The Sum of Scripture* and other significant pamphlets were dreaded hardly less by ecclesiastical opinion than English versions of the Scriptures themselves. Simon Fish's *Supplication of Beggars* was a vigorous attack on the clergy as idle thieves who made beggars of the poor.[2]

[1] Dalaber's account of these occurrences is given by Foxe (V, 421 *sq.* and Appendix). See also Wood (*Ann.* II, 29 *sq.*), Lyte (459 *sq.*), and Brewer (*Letts. and Papers*, IV, 1761 *sq.*). Was the " deep cave " with its " filthy stench," in which the prisoners languished, anything worse than Dr. Cottisford's cellar ? Mr. Froude's account (*History*, ed. 1893, I, 524 *sq.*), if not quite free from bias, is given in delightful detail.

[2] See the concluding passage of *A supplicacyon for the Beggers*, of which there is an early if not unique copy in the British Museum.

Sir Thomas More set to work to answer it with *The Supplication of Souls*, and condemned its author as "the proctour of hell." Henry, still the confident champion of all that was orthodox in Princes, summoned theologians from each University to examine these alarming theories. Cromwell was driven to wishing that Luther had never been born.[1] A conference, held in London in 1530, condemned a number of dangerous propositions. Oxford was required to search its records for the facts in regard to its treatment of Wycliffe.[2] The King showed more and more inclination to be guided by University divines. He had discovered that their approval might be needed to satisfy his conscience if he should unhappily be driven to differ from the Pope.

Oxford had her share in the tragedy of Wolsey, in the unlovely comedy of the King's divorce. Already the last Prior of St. Frideswide's had been transferred to Oseney. A new and magnificent College was rising on the ruins of the ancient House, where nuns and monks had prayed in Oxford for centuries before the University began. Three sides of the great quadrangle were progressing and in part completed. One of the lordliest Halls in England, with a kitchen hardly less imposing, had been built. The Cardinal, said the Oxford wits, had founded a College and finished an eating-house. Prebendaries, in Cranmer's view, were good vianders if nothing more. Wolsey himself seemed as omnipotent as ever—when suddenly and dramatically he fell. In October 1529 the Great Seal was taken from him. The plunder of his possessions followed swiftly on his disgrace. His fine foundation at Ipswich was suppressed. In vain he pleaded for his "poor innocents." In vain he hoped that the College at Oxford would escape. "To destroy the whole," he wrote to Gardiner, "it were too great pity." For "weeping and sorrow" he could hardly write to Cromwell at all. The King was persuaded to promise that something should be saved from the wreck at Oxford. Some College there should be. But Cardinal College was doomed. From Henry's caprice there could be no appeal. With his last words the dying Cardinal bore witness to the princely heart of a master who, rather than miss any part of his appetite, would endanger the loss of one half of his realm.

On the 1st March 1530 Henry wrote a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, the rulers of the Colleges and the Regents and Non-Regents of Oxford, asking for their opinion on the validity of his marriage with Queen Catharine.[3] They were to give their views

[1] See Brewer (*Letts. and Papers*, IV, 2869), and Wilkins (*Concilia*, III, 727 *sq.*).

[2] "As well all and singular the saide Articles of condempnation of the saide Wicleph as allso the confirmation theruppon of the saide Consaile of Constancie" (*Reg. FF*, f. 108b).

[3] See Burnet (*Hist. of Reformation*, ed. Pocock, VI, 36).

sincerely and without abuse. But incidentally they were warned to avoid any "wilful and sinister opinions," and to remember that their sovereign lord would not pass over any "unnatural misdemeanour" on their part. The Masters of Arts, however, proved to have independent if not sinister opinions. They were prepared to consider the question, but they refused to leave it to a Committee or to the Faculty of Theology alone. Thereupon the King wrote again, expressing his "marvel and discontentation" that factious and irreverent young men at Oxford, "mere subjects," should try to "play masters," and decline to follow where their wise, sad, learned and substantial seniors led. "*Non est bonum irritare crabrones*": Royal hornets had better not be roused.[1] Warham too expressed surprise at the Masters' hesitation. He had begun by asking for a unanimous decision.[2] He now recommended a Committee on the subject. Majorities were not always wise. Paris and Cambridge had handled the question with more sense. The King sent down agents to cajole the University leaders at Oxford, as he had already cajoled them at Cambridge. Threats and bribery were freely used. The Royal agents, the Bishop of Lincoln among them, were received with derision and pelted in the streets. Pictures of gallows were drawn on the gates of the College where the Bishop stayed. The women of Oxford proclaimed their sympathy with the Queen, and their leaders were carried off to Bocardo. But the pressure from above went on. Warham insisted that, as the Masters were so difficult to deal with, a Committee must be appointed to settle the question over their heads. The Chancellor of the University was willing to ride rough-shod over all constitutional scruples in order to "purchase the favour of our sovereign lord."[3]

In the end the King and the Chancellor had their way. The Faculty of Theology referred the question to a Committee consisting of the Bishop of Lincoln, the Vice-Chancellor Cottisford, and John Kinton the Franciscan, a prominent and single-minded theologian, with thirty other members, who probably owed their selection to the first three.[4] The other Faculties were induced to vote that the Committee's decision should be regarded as theirs. Even the Masters of Arts, after some very free speaking, declared for the same course by twenty-seven votes to twenty-two. The

[1] *Hist. of Reformation*, ed. Pocock (VI, 37–8).

[2] "Cor unum et sententia una" (*Reg. FF*, f. 100[b]).

[3] See Pocock (*Records of the Reformation*, I, 287).

[4] See Lyte (475), and the copy of the "Acta Oxonii circa Divortium Henrici VIII Regis" given by Wharton (*MS. Lambeth*, 594, 115–16). The Vice-Chancellor's decree quoted by Pocock (I, 528) speaks of them as elected by the Faculty of Theology. See also Wood (*Ann.* II, 40 *sq.*) and *Grisild the Second* (ed. Macray, 75–9). An Act which would have admitted hostile theologians to vote on the subject was arbitrarily postponed.

Regents ratified this act of abdication. And the Committee lost no more time in deciding that a man's marriage with his brother's widow was, if the earlier marriage had been duly consummated, contrary to divine and human law. The condition made the judgment valueless for Henry's purpose, if the facts in regard to Catharine's first marriage were as the Queen said.[1] But the King relied with good reason on his power of glossing over inconvenient details. He treated the decision as all that he desired. The University which had hitherto bowed with astonishing complaisance before Lancastrian, Yorkist and Tudor alike, could perhaps hardly be expected to withstand the Royal will.[2] But the Masters saved their consciences by their reservation. Some of them saved their honour by the protest which they made. And if the story shows again how easily a Tudor Prince could browbeat his subjects, it shows also that there were many Oxford men who would not sacrifice their sense of justice even to the imperious pressure of the Court. The mediæval University was already passing. The old traditions were deeply shaken. Strange paths were opening before the feet of the new generation, paths where free spirits like Colet, More, Erasmus, Luther led. The sad and learned seniors, whom the King relied on, might lean when danger beckoned to the side of safety. But at least the younger spirits of Oxford still had the courage to plead for independence, to claim the liberty of thought and of opinion which was its real enchantment for the best minds of the Middle Age.

[1] The Queen declared that her first marriage had never been consummated, a statement which, as Wolsey probably realised, rendered it very difficult for the Roman Church to grant the divorce. Cambridge, subjected to the same pressure a little earlier, gave practically the same reply (Mullinger's *Cambridge*, I, 620–2). Mr. Froude gives his reasons for doubting the Queen's statement (*History*, ed. 1893, I, 440–1), which are not conclusive.

[2] Wood's comment may be worth quoting (*Ann.* II, 40): "The K. for his part acted John the Baptist, that it was not lawful for him to have his brother's wife, and the Pope K. Herod, yet I am sure in the catastrophe of the scene, the K. served the Pope as Herod served the Baptist, and beheaded his Supremacy in the Church of England."

APPENDIX

THE EARLY STATUTE BOOKS AND REGISTERS OF THE UNIVERSITY

THE University Statutes are of course the principal authority for its constitutional history. The earliest collection known was discovered only a few years ago by Mr. F. Madan and Mr. S. Gibson on two leaves of a thirteenth-century Bodleian MS. containing treatises on grammar (*Bodl. MS. e Musæo*, 96), and was printed in April 1921 in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (vol. III, 117–18). It consists mainly of proclamations dealing with the preservation of the peace, and some two-thirds of its contents reappear in the official Statute-books (see *ante*, pp. 37, and 142–3). The date of the writing is probably not later than 1275, and the most interesting Statute in the little collection, requiring every Scholar to be on the roll of some Master, is apparently earlier than 1231. Only one, that forbidding cursory lectures in Canon and Civil Law at certain hours, relates entirely to studies, and the MS. is mutilated at this point.

Apart from this early fragment the ancient Statutes are preserved in four Manuscripts, of which the most venerable and important is *Registrum A*, the Chancellor's Book. The oldest portion of this Register is in fact a codification of the Statutes in force about the beginning of the fourteenth century, many of them based on very early customs and promulgated during the preceding years. It may have been written about 1325, or at any rate before 1350. Most of the Statutes are undated and are not easy to date from internal evidence. The second Register in point of time is *Registrum D* (*MS. Bodl.* 337), written probably about 1375, and principally compiled or copied from the Chancellor's Book. The third is *Registrum C*, the Junior Proctor's Book, which dates from 1407, and which we owe to Richard Fleming, the Founder of Lincoln College, who was Proctor in that year. And the fourth, *Registrum B*, is the Senior Proctor's Book, dating from 1477, which Mr. Anstey rightly criticised as full of blunders. Anstey did not ignore *Registrum D*, but he did not appreciate its importance, and his collection of *Munimenta Academica* was based chiefly on his readings of the Chancellor's and the two Proctors' Books.

These four early sources are supplemented by other MSS. of less importance and of later date. *Registrum CC*, now in the British Museum (Cott. MSS., Claudius D.8) is a transcript of that part of *C* which is in the original hand. *Registrum E* is a volume of Statutes drawn up by George Darrell, Junior Proctor in 1604, which represents an attempt to codify the ancient Statutes, as well as those of

Edward VI, of Cardinal Pole, and of Elizabethan days. And *Registrum F* (or Đ+) is another transcript of Statutes, taken chiefly from *B* by Thomas James, with additions by Brian Twyne. The name *Registrum F*, or *Liber Epistolarum F*, is also given to the old Letter Book of the University, written partly in John Farley's hand and often called by his name. It contains letters principally in Latin, from 1421 to 1509. These have been printed from the original MS. by Mr. Anstey under the title of *Epistolæ Academicæ Oxon.* A later Letter Book, *Liber Epistolarum FF* (now *MS. Bodl.* 282) runs from 1508 to 1597. Other Letters of the University are in the Cottonian collection.

To these authorities must be added the numerous volumes of *Registers of Congregation* (and of Convocation later). These begin with *Aa* about 1448, which has special value for the light it throws on academical studies and on proceedings in Congregations, and are carried on by *G* (1505–17), *H* (1518–35), *I* (1535–63) and many others. Add also the many volumes of the *Registers of the Chancellor's Court*; Dr. Clark mentions fifty-three of these, down to 1706 (Wood's *Life*, IV, 140–2); Dr. R. L. Poole gives a list of seventy-two, down to 1857, in Appendix II to his *Lecture on the History of the Archives*. These begin with *Aaa*, the Register of the Court from 1434 to 1469, of which Anstey has printed a considerable portion.

The *Matriculation Books*, *Subscription Books*, and other important MS. authorities begin later.

The *locus classicus* for the MS. authorities used by Anthony Wood, including those in the University Archives, is of course Dr. Clark's full and valuable catalogue in vol. IV of his *Life* of Wood. Mr. Anstey's introduction to his *Munimenta Academica* must be read in the light of more recent and exact information, of which Mr. Gibson's notes—his Note in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* for April 16, 1921, is only one example—are among the best illustrations one could have. But we have not long to wait for the publication of Mr. Gibson's great work on the Statutes, which has been for some time passing through the University Press.

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